

# RESEARCH REPORT



## Housing Needs of the Métis People



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**THE HOUSING NEEDS  
OF THE  
MÉTIS PEOPLE**

Prepared by  
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for the

**MÉTIS NATIONAL COUNCIL**

May, 1996  
Ottawa, Ontario

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## INTRODUCTION

The Métis National Council is the political representative organisation of the Métis people at the national level in Canada. It remains very concerned with the continuing housing problems confronting all too many Métis across Canada, and was pleased to be able to produce this study of Métis housing needs in anticipation that Governments, both federal and provincial, will heed the information if presents.

As many Canadians and government officials are unfamiliar with just who the Métis are, this report opens with a review that attempts to explain who the Métis are, how many there are and where they live. We then present some basic data about Métis social and economic conditions that are relevant to understanding Métis housing conditions, paying special attention to income data and to an analysis of the distribution of Métis by household type. In a third section, we review available information on Métis housing conditions, examining the major housing problems confronting Métis in different regions of Canada, the numbers in core housing need and the importance that social housing programs have had in alleviating that need in the past.

If anything stands out from this research, it is the continuing importance of taking positive action to deal with affordability issues in urban areas, the evident suitability and over-crowding issues in rural areas, and the tremendous needs of Métis single-parent families in both urban and rural settings. We try to show the important contribution that social housing programs in place between about 1973 and 1992 had on reducing these housing problems. Now that these programs have effectively been terminated, we anticipate that the problems will rapidly get worst.

We hope that by providing substantive data on the housing problems confronting the Métis, Governments will come to realize that the elimination of social housing programs has a social costs, which the Métis will have to bear to a disproportionate degree. Poor housing conditions contribute, among other things, to poor health, poor education performance, and even to criminal behavior, all of which entail costs to Canadian society. The Métis National Council remains prepared to discuss alternative ways of assisting Métis people improve their housing conditions, and looks forward to the opportunity to deal with the Government of Canada on these matters at the earliest opportunity.

The Métis National Council wishes to thank the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for its generous contributions to this project, and in particular, Mr. Tony Wellman, who was responsible for overseeing this project, and without whose forbearance and advise this report could not have been completed.



## THE HOUSING NEEDS OF THE MÉTIS PEOPLE

The above noted report was prepared by David A. Boivert for the Métis National Council. The objective of the report was to explain who the Métis people of Canada are; to provide some basic data on the social/economic conditions relevant to understanding Métis housing conditions; and examining major housing problems confronting the Métis in different regions of Canada.

Technically, the term *métis* simply denotes a person of mixed North American Indian and European ancestry. It is common knowledge that métis first emerged as a result of the contact between Indians and Europeans (particularly French *voyageurs*) in the fur trade. The evidence suggests that a mixed Indian/European population came to exist in virtually all territories exploited by the fur trade, but their numbers remained inconsiderable until the fur trade entered the Northwest. Generally speaking before 1876, Métis tended to be grouped with and treated as Indians. In 1876 however, the federal government enacted the **Indian Act** which introduced a legal distinction between Indians and Métis. In a series of amendments over the next several decades, it became virtually impossible for Métis to be accepted as Indians for purposes of the Act. In so doing, the Act served to create two classes of aboriginal people: Indians who fell within the bounds of the Indian Act and Métis who did not.

Today, most Métis live in urban areas, though, as a group, they remain less urbanized than the general Canadian population. Winnipeg and Edmonton were clearly the two principal urban centres to which Métis migrated. About one third of Canada's Métis population lives in nineteen urban centres counting 1000 or more Métis, most of which are found in Western Canada, while 29% lives in urban centres counting less than 1000 Métis. Generally speaking, Métis formed only a small fraction of the urban population of these centres, but in some their proportion of the population is much larger, ranging from 5% to 33% of the urban population. Each of the three Prairie Provinces has at least a dozen rural communities where the Métis represent fifty percent or more of the population. Also, throughout the West, there are between thirty to fifty rural communities which could be called "Métis communities", depending on the benchmark used to define Métis community.

An analysis of Métis household by type reveals that by far the majority of Métis households are family households and that by far the majority of these family households have children. Indications are that young families with children predominate. The size of Métis families are, on the whole, no larger than the normal Canadian family. But as Métis are more inclined to form families, Métis families are also more subject to break-down than the Canadian average. Approximately 1 in every 5 family households is a single parent household. It is estimated that roughly 23 % of all Métis households can be considered to be living in poverty, using Statistics Canada guidelines, which is about twice the Canadian average. The majority, approximately 48 % of these need households are single parent families; about 37 % are married or common-law couples; and the remaining 15 % are non-family households, principally single individuals living alone.

Métis in larger urban centres tend to occupy older but larger housing units than Métis in more rural areas, and, despite being older on average, their dwelling tend to be in a better state of repairs than those occupied by Métis outside urban centres. However, housing costs are significantly higher for Métis in large urban centres and far fewer Métis own their own home there than in smaller centres and more rural areas. Approximately one in every three Métis household in Canada has a housing problem -a suitability problem, an adequacy problem and/or an affordability problems - and cannot afford to pay the average rent for a suitable housing unit in the local market without exceeding the 30 % of Gross Housing Income guideline.

All indications are that Métis, like other Aboriginal people, have a rapidly growing population, which is currently characterized by a large child cohort that will come of age and bear children itself over the next ten to twenty years. This will feed a strong demand for housing among Métis into the foreseeable future. The demand will be principally for family housing, but, as life expectancy improves, demand for seniors housing will gradually grow.

In summary, the major housing problems confronting Métis are:

- ° The high cost of housing in urban areas accentuates housing affordability problems and prevents Métis from accessing homeownership;
- ° In rural areas, the major problems seems to be the physical condition and suitability of housing occupied by Métis.

The need is for measures to assist Métis in the larger urban centres access adequate and suitable housing that they can afford and to assist those in rural areas up-grade the quality of the housing stock.

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## LES BESOINS DES MÉTIS EN MATIÈRE DE LOGEMENT

Le rapport cité en rubrique a été préparé par David A. Boivert pour le Ralliement national des Métis. Les objectifs du rapport étaient de décrire le peuple Métis du Canada, de fournir des données de base sur les conditions sociales et économiques permettant de comprendre les conditions de logement des Métis et d'examiner les principaux problèmes de logement des Métis des différentes parties du Canada.

Le mot *métis* désigne une personne issue d'un croisement d'Indien d'Amérique du Nord et de Blanc d'Europe. C'est bien connu que les premiers Métis sont nés après que les Européens soient venus en Amérique du Nord pour y pratiquer le commerce des fourrures (particulièrement les voyageurs français). Des faits suggèrent qu'une population mixte (Indiens et Européens) a surgi dans presque tous les territoires où il y avait commerce des fourrures. Ils n'étaient qu'en petit nombre jusqu'à ce que le commerce des fourrures s'étende dans le Nord-Ouest. Avant 1876, les Métis avaient tendance à se regrouper avec les Indiens et à recevoir le même traitement. Toutefois, en 1876, le gouvernement fédéral a adopté l'**Acte des Sauvages** afin d'établir une distinction juridique entre les Indiens et les Métis. Au cours des quelques décennies qui ont suivi, il est devenu pratiquement impossible pour un Métis d'être accepté en tant qu'Indien pour l'application de cette loi. Par conséquent, la Loi a servi à créer deux classes d'Autochtones : les Indiens à qui la loi s'appliquait et les Métis à qui la loi ne s'appliquait pas.

De nos jours, la plupart des Métis vivent en milieu urbain, bien qu'en tant que groupe, ils soient moins urbains que la population canadienne en général. Winnipeg et Edmonton étaient les deux principaux centres de migration des Métis. Environ un tiers de la population métisse du Canada vit dans 19 centres urbains pour un total de 1 000 Métis ou davantage, pour la plupart vivant dans l'Ouest canadien. Vingt-neuf pour cent vivent dans des villes dénombrant moins de 1 000 Métis. En général, les Métis ne forment qu'une petite fraction de la population urbaine de ces centres; par contre, dans certains centres, leur proportion augmente, pouvant représenter de 5 % à 33 % de la population totale. Chaque province des Prairies compte au moins une douzaine de collectivités rurales où les Métis forment 50 % de la population ou plus. De plus, dans l'Ouest, on trouve entre 30 et 50 collectivités rurales que l'on pourrait désigner comme collectivités métisses selon la définition que l'on a de cette appellation.

Une analyse des types de ménages des Métis révèle que pour la majorité, les Métis forment des ménages familiaux avec enfants et que la plupart de ces ménages familiaux sont jeunes avec des enfants. Dans l'ensemble, la taille des familles métisses est similaire à celle des familles canadiennes. Cependant, les Métis étant plus enclins à fonder des familles, le pourcentage de leurs ménages brisés est plus élevé que la moyenne canadienne.

Environ une famille sur cinq est une famille monoparentale. Selon les normes de Statistique Canada, on évalue à près de 23 % le pourcentage de ménages métis vivant dans la pauvreté, ce qui représente environ deux fois la moyenne canadienne. La majorité de ces ménages dans le besoin, soit approximativement 48 %, sont des familles monoparentales; environ 37 % sont des couples mariés ou des conjoints de fait et 15 % sont des ménages non familiaux, principalement des personnes vivant seules.

Les Métis vivant dans les grands centres urbains ont tendance à habiter des logements plus vieux, mais plus grands que ceux habités par les Métis dans les régions rurales. En plus d'être en moyenne plus vieux, leurs logements sont en meilleur état que ceux des Métis des régions rurales. Cependant, le coût des logements est relativement plus élevé dans les grands centres et beaucoup plus de Métis citadins sont propriétaires comparativement aux Métis vivant dans les plus petites villes ou dans les régions rurales. Environ un ménage métis sur trois au Canada éprouve des besoins impérieux de logement - taille, qualité et abordabilité du logement - et sont incapables de payer le loyer moyen du marché local pour un logement convenable sans pour autant dépasser la norme du 30 % du revenu brut consacré au loyer.

Tout indique que les Métis, comme les autres peuples autochtones, voient leur population croître rapidement. Celle-ci se caractérise actuellement par une cohorte importante d'enfants qui, dans les dix ou vingt prochaines années, seront des adultes qui auront eux-mêmes des enfants. Dans un avenir prévisible, la demande de logements augmentera inévitablement parmi les Métis. Elle portera principalement sur des logements familiaux, mais comme l'espérance de vie s'accroît, la demande de logements pour personnes âgées augmentera graduellement.

En résumé, les problèmes impérieux de logement auxquels sont confrontés les Métis sont les suivants :

- ° Le coût élevé des logements dans les centres urbains accentue les problèmes d'abordabilité et empêchent les Métis d'accéder à la propriété.
- ° Dans les régions rurales, les principaux problèmes semblent être l'état et la taille des logements habités par les Métis.

On a donc besoin d'établir des mesures pour aider les Métis vivant dans les grands centres urbains à accéder à des logements de qualité et de taille appropriée à des prix abordables et aider ceux vivant dans les régions rurales à améliorer le parc de logements.

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## PART I

### THE MÉTIS PEOPLE

According to the 1991 Canadian Census, there were 212,650 persons in Canada who listed their ancestry as Métis. As we shall see, the Census underestimates the true size of Canada's Métis population by a significant amount, but even current Census estimates show that there are almost as many Métis in Canada today as there are Indians living on reserves. The Métis are in fact the second largest constituency of aboriginal people in Canada after North American Indians, and are far more numerous than Inuit, another of Canada's aboriginal peoples. In this section, we review who the Métis are, their numbers, and where they live.

#### Who Are The Métis?

There is little doubt that a Métis people - a Métis ethnicity or nationality - exists in Canada today. Proof of this is the relatively large number of Aboriginal people, particularly in Western Canada, who identify themselves as Métis for census purposes. This is a rather unique phenomenon; in no other settler state (e.g. the United States, Australia) did a mixed-blood population ever develop a distinct ethnicity. To understand who the Métis people are today, it is important to review briefly the unique circumstances which led to the emergence of a distinct Métis people in Canada.

There are two principal reasons why a Métis nationality developed in Canada. The first has to do with the unique history of the Canadian Northwest, where the Métis were especially populous in the century prior to Confederation; and the second has to do with the unique Indian Act regime that the federal government imposed on aboriginal peoples after 1876, which helped mightily, if unwittingly, to delimit a Métis nationality in Canada.

Technically, the term *métis* simply denotes a person of mixed North American Indian and European ancestry. It is common knowledge that *métis* first emerged as a result of the contact between Indians and Europeans (particularly French *voyageurs*) in the fur trade. The evidence suggests that a mixed Indian/European population came to exist in virtually all territories exploited by the fur trade (e.g. the Ohio country, the territory around the Hudson's Bay etc.), but their numbers remained inconsiderable until the fur trade entered the Northwest. The Old Northwest was one of the last areas opened-up by the fur trade (the area was really only opened-up after the fall of New France in 1763), and considering its great distance from Montréal and need to maintain numerous out-posts for trade purposes, its exploitation required relatively long stays by

men who worked for the fur trade companies. A *métis* population soon emerged - by the early 1800's, Métis were already amassing at Pembina for their annual buffalo hunt in Sioux country - and became very numerous. On the eve of the take-over of the Northwest by Canada, there were over 10,000 Métis in the Red River Colony alone, where they accounted for over 80% of the population.<sup>1</sup> In the Northwest, *métis* clearly developed a national consciousness as a distinct people - the Métis - and displayed a capacity to organise as a people - for buffalo hunts and later for political purposes as well. They were throughout the 19th century a major economic and political force in the territory which was then nominally under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is these Métis who organised resistance to the take-over of the Northwest by the recently created federal Government of Canada in 1869 - which culminated in the creation of the province of Manitoba - and later again in Northern Saskatchewan, where they ignited a rebellion of aboriginal peoples - which culminated in the hanging of Louis Riel, the Métis leader, in November, 1885. It is for their role in the Riel Rebellions that the Métis are chiefly remembered today.

In emphasizing the history of the Northwest, we do not mean to suggest that this is the only region where Métis came to exist. There were *métis* in other parts of Canada even at this time. For example, there were *métis* all along the fur trade route going from Montréal to the Old Northwest, and there is evidence that at least some *métis* in the Ohio country eventually moved North to places like Sault-Ste-Marie in Ontario. But it was only in the Old Northwest that the *métis* came to have the critical mass to emerge as a distinct Métis nation. Had it not been for the demographic and political importance of the Métis in the Old Northwest, it is unlikely that the federal government would ever have adopted the policy it did towards the Métis post 1876.

This brings us to the second major reason for the emergence of a distinct Métis nation in Canada: federal aboriginal policy. Generally speaking, before 1876, Métis in both Canada and the United States tended to be grouped with and treated as Indians. The United States government, for example, never developed separate policies for the mixed-blood population that it, from time to time, found living with or along side the Indians (among the Cherokees for instance). No distinction was made between full-blood and mixed-blood members of Indian tribes. The U.S. Government consequently had no trouble accepting Canadian Métis on Indian reserves in the United States (e.g. Turtle Mountain) when the Métis began their exodus from the Province of Manitoba post 1871.

Initially, Canadian policy was very similar. Prior to Confederation, colonial authorities had come across *métis* north of the Great Lakes in the negotiation of the Robinson Treaties and in the Treaty No. 3 area just west of Lake Superior. The policy adopted at that time was that *métis* who lived like Indians (and most of them did) could be allowed into Treaty, provided that the Indian chiefs did not object (and there is no indication that they ever did). Métis treaty adhesions took place throughout this area, and,

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<sup>1</sup>See W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, (Toronto, 1967) p. 61; M. Giraud, *Le Métis canadien*, (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945), pp. 513 to 648, and Eric Waddell, *Du continent perdu à l'archipel retrouvé* (Québec, 1983), p. 59.

in Treaty No. 3, covering the Rainy River region, *métis* were even allocated their own reserve (which has since been declared an Indian reserve and all its Métis residents made status Indians under the Indian Act). When Canada entered the Northwest in 1869, it at first simply continued this policy. Eager to extinguish aboriginal title to all the lands that could support agriculture, the federal government proceeded rather rapidly - upon conclusion of the First Riel Rebellion in 1870 - to negotiate treaty with Indian bands living in the area of the Prairies then known as the "Fertile Belt". By 1877, treaties had been negotiated with all Indians in this area, although not all bands immediately accepted to be placed on reserves. As in Ontario, Métis who wished to do so were at first allowed to adhere to treaty, but this policy soon changed.

In 1876, the federal government enacted a unique piece of legislation called the **Indian Act**. The British North America Act of 1867, which had created the new federal state called Canada, had explicitly given the federal government exclusive jurisdiction over "Indians and lands reserved for Indians", but it wasn't until confronted with the need to provide an administrative framework for all the Indians that it had recently placed on reserves in Western Canada, that the federal government chose to exercise this legislative power. The Indian Act ostensibly created a regime to administer Indians on reserve, but, in the process, it structured federal policy towards both Indians and Métis. For unlike previous policies, or what was happening in the United States, the Indian Act of 1876 introduced a legal distinction between Indians and Métis in that it, for the first time, precluded Métis from adhering to treaty.<sup>2</sup> In a series of amendments over the next several decades, the anti-Métis thrust of the Act was tighten so as to make it virtually impossible for Métis to be accepted as Indians for the purposes of the Act (i.e., to be granted Indian status). In so doing, the Act not only departed from what had been standard procedure in both Canada and the United States prior to then, but it also served to create two classes of aboriginal people: Indians who fell within the bounds of the Indian Act and Métis who did not. It thereby unwittingly defined the contours of the Métis Nation, less precisely perhaps but no less surely, than it did for the Indian Nations themselves.

This change in Canadian policy towards the Métis was motivated first by what was happening in the Province of Manitoba at about the time the Indian Act was being drafted. The Manitoba Act of 1871 had, among other things, provided that 1.4 million acres of land were to be set aside for the Métis in Manitoba in compensation for relinquishment of their claims to "Indian title". However, the Act had not elaborated how this was to be done, leaving the matter to the discretion of the Governor General-in-Council (i.e., the federal Cabinet). The MacDonalld Cabinet did not act to fulfil this commitment immediately, arguing that it had first to extinguish Indian title in Manitoba (which was largely completed by 1873). Then came a change of government in Ottawa. In 1873, the MacKenzie Liberals replaced the MacDonalld government. Leery of creating a large reserve for Métis in Manitoba - the prevailing view was that this would take too much land out of production - the Liberals devised a new way of dealing with Métis land claims: *scrip*. Rather than set aside land for the Métis in Manitoba, it issued money scrip

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<sup>2</sup>See Section 3 (d), *Indian Act*, 1876 in Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, *Indian Acts and Amendments, 1868-1950*, (Ottawa, 1981), p. 15.



to Métis heads of families and later to Métis children in that province in fulfilment of the federal government's obligations under the Manitoba Act. Money scrip was a certificate denominated in dollars and issued to the "bearer" which could be redeemed for an amount of Crown Land equivalent to what the face value of the certificate could buy. All Métis in Manitoba were given money scrip, but few ever redeemed their scrip for land. Most sold it at a fraction of face value to land speculators, and many then moved out of the Province.<sup>3</sup>

The federal government found scrip to be a particularly fortuitous way of dealing with Métis land claims. To begin with, scrip ensured that any lands allocated to the Métis would be treated as freehold property, which could be bought and sold on the market, just as settler's lands could, rather than as the virtually inalienable property that characterized lands set aside as Indian reserves. Scrip was extended to all areas of the Northwest after 1885, and it became customary for a period for the federal government when it negotiated treaty with the Indians - as it did in the northern Prairie Provinces at the turn of the century - to appoint a Scrip Commission to deal with the Métis resident in the area at the same time as it negotiated treaty with the Indians. Once the federal government hit upon the idea that it was both desirable and possible to deal with Métis claims to aboriginal title differently than Indians, it was virtually inevitable that the Indian Act should make a distinction between these two aboriginal groups. Whereas initially only Métis who had received scrip in Manitoba were denied access to Treaty, as scrip was extended to cover more and more Métis, the Indian Act too was amended to exclude more and more Métis. After a time, the federal government came to consider any "half-breed" born before a certain date (1885) to be Métis and entitled to scrip. Any mixed-bloods living on reserves in the Prairie Provinces were therefore encouraged to accept scrip and leave the reserve, and, of those who remained, many were later forced to leave the reserve on the grounds that they were Métis, whether or not they had accepted scrip.

The most fundamental reason for the change in federal policy towards the Métis was Ottawa's ambitions to limit its responsibilities for aboriginal peoples. If there is one constant in the federal government's approach to the aboriginal peoples of Canada, it is that it has always sought to limit its "responsibilities" to the fewest number of aboriginal people that it can reasonably get away with. The fact that the Canadian Constitution was for a long time interpreted in such a way as to allow Parliament to limit the extent and scope of the federal government's responsibilities under section 91(24) simply by statute greatly assisted it in this regard. This had less to do with any lofty notions of Parliamentary Sovereignty - in the United States, with its congressional system of government, the courts too recognized the ultimate primacy of Congress over Indian Nations - than with the fact that, unlike the United States, where constitutional jurisprudence on aboriginal matters is founded on the notion that Indian tribes are

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<sup>3</sup>For information on scrip and what happened to it after it was given to Métis see L. Heinemann, *An Investigation into the Origins and Development of the Métis Nation, the Rights of the Métis as an Aboriginal People, and their Relationship and Dealings with the Government of Canada*, (Research report prepared for the Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, Gabriel Dumont Institut, Regina, 1984).

sovereign but dependent nations, in Canada aboriginal peoples were simply considered "wards" of the State. The basic characteristic of any ward is legal incompetence to exercise rights of citizenship; the basic responsibility of any wardship is to act on behalf of the ward in all areas where he or she is legally incompetent to do so personally; and the basic objective is to enable the "ward" eventually to take care of himself or herself as any other citizen. The federal government's obligations to Aboriginal peoples were consequently conceived as being fundamentally temporary and transitory in nature, a matter of unfortunate necessity rather than as a matter of inalienable right. Being no different in principle than any other wardship obligation, it was only natural that Parliament should through legislation specify who was and was not an aboriginal ward and the legal limitations that would apply to them; and, as in the case of orphans and the insane, Parliament was also obliged to provide for the administration of these wards and set out the terms and conditions, if any, upon which its wardship would be terminated.

As a consequence, the federal government has always had great latitude to define and limit its "wardship" responsibilities. Virtually the only limitation that has ever been placed on its discretion in these matters are court rulings to the effect that the federal government must exercise its "fiduciary" or "trust" responsibilities in the best interest of the aboriginal people on whose behalf it is legally acting. The courts have never challenged the federal government's right to define the aboriginal people in its charge, the nature of the legal incompetencies placed upon them, or the scope of federal responsibilities in their respect. The Indian Act is the instrument the federal government uses to define and delimit the constituency for which it accepts "wardship" responsibility and the nature of that responsibility. A good case can be made that, from day one, the federal government intended to limit its obligations strictly to Indians on reserve or in territories under federal administration. In any event the federal government has repeatedly used its discretionary powers to limit the number of aboriginal people in its charge. The Indian Act applies only to a certain class of Aboriginal persons, that is, to persons who were recognized as having the status of Indians under of the Act (i.e., status Indians). All other aboriginal people were considered "enfranchised" - a term which derives from the fact that status Indians were originally not eligible to vote in federal elections - and held to be full citizens for whom the federal government no longer had any wardship responsibility. The numbers of Aboriginal people under its care and responsibility could be controlled by altering, when need be, the definition of who could and could not be granted status.

The Métis were the first Aboriginal people which the federal government chose to exclude from its scope of responsibility. The Indian Act expressly denies Indian status to anyone who is Métis. The term Métis itself is never defined, and a great deal of discretion was left with Indian agents in the implementation of these provisions. Clearly, the prohibitions against Métis were applied more stringently in the Prairie Provinces than elsewhere. In Eastern and Central Canada, where Indians and Europeans had a longer history of interaction, mixed-bloods already formed the bulk of the population on many Indian reserves and no attempt seems to have been made to remove them on the grounds that they were *métis*. However, the band lists that were used to establish who was a status

Indian often missed whole families of aboriginal people, who were then faced with the prospect of having to convince bureaucrats in the Department of Indian Affairs that they met the qualifications of the Indian Act. Many could not prove, to the satisfaction of Indian Affairs officials at any rate, that they were members of recognized Indian bands. At a time when being "Métis" was virtually the only recognized way for an aboriginal person to be disqualified from Indian status, many aboriginal people even in Eastern Canada who were, early on, denied registration as status Indians came to regard themselves as Métis. So pervasive was the Indian Act's effects on structuring the identities of Aboriginal communities, that the term Métis came to be a synonym for any Aboriginal person who could not qualify for Indian status.

Later, the federal government also began removing Indians who had already acquired status from the Indian register. The Indian Act was amended to create more and more ways in which status Indians could be automatically "enfranchised". Enlistment in the armed forces, being kicked off a reserve, and even higher education all became reasons for "enfranchisement". But the most important source of Indian enfranchisement were those provisions of the Indian Act which stipulated that any status Indian women who married a non-Indian automatically lost her status as did all her children. As relationships between Indian communities and the surrounding Euro-Canadian society grew, so did the number of Indians who lost their status. This too shows how the federal government tried to limit the scope of its responsibilities for Aboriginal people, for once their names were removed from the Indian register, these "non-status" Indians were treated no differently than Métis: they were considered fully enfranchised and no longer a federal responsibility. Together with Métis, "non-status" Indians came to constitute an important Aboriginal population off-reserve.

These federal efforts to restrict the scope of its responsibilities towards Aboriginal peoples have been instrumental in structuring the Métis Nation. Although the Indian Act does not, as previously mentioned, define the term Métis, the regime which it put into place nonetheless served to create a population pool to which the term applies. For all intents and purposes, this pool was created in the period when the Indian Act regime was first being imposed and is constituted of three principal elements: (a) the scrip Métis of the Old Northwest, who roughly correspond to the initial or 'historic' Métis population of the territory; (b) "half-breeds" born before 1885 (a date associated with eligibility for scrip) who were removed from reserves on the grounds that they were Métis; and (c) Aboriginal persons who could not qualify for Indian status at the time the Indian Act was being imposed and who therefore came to be regarded as Métis.

The Métis people of today are, by and large, simply the descendants of this original Métis population. A Métis today is no longer defined as a person of "mixed-blood" (except perhaps in the Province of Québec where the term retains its original meaning in the French language). In fact, most persons born today of Indian and Euro-Canadian parents would likely identify and be identified as Indian. Today, the term Métis refers to a distinct ethnic group, a distinct nationality, and since ethnicity is a generic characteristic (one does not chose an ethnic group, one is born into an ethnic group),

determining who is a Métis today reduces itself largely, though not exclusively, to a question of ancestry. Most people who identify as Métis today do so because one parent or both of their parents are themselves Métis.

While ancestry is no doubt today the principal measure of who is and who is not a Métis, other measures can also apply. As we have seen, the term Métis was in the past generally applied to persons of Aboriginal ancestry who, for one reason or another, could not qualify for Indian status. This remains a possibility even today. Aboriginal people who, for whatever reason, fail to qualify as Indians for purposes of the Indian Act could today, as in the past, come to regard themselves as Métis. In this event, a Métis is any person of Aboriginal ancestry who is neither a status Indian nor an Inuit and who identifies as Métis.

Reinstatement - Bill C-31 - has, in many ways, made it easier to identify the Métis and it has reduced the possibility that persons of Indian ancestry would identify as Métis. Bill C-31 is the legislation by which the federal government in 1985 amended the Indian Act, out of concern to avoid conflict with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, by removing its "enfranchisement" provisions. Recognizing the illegitimacy of these provisions in the first place, the Bill also allowed for the reinstatement of all persons who had lost their status on their account, that is, they were allowed, if they so chose, to regain their Indian status. Reinstatement applied not only to these persons but also to their descendants (providing they met the new qualifications for status set out in the Bill). It could, however, only apply to persons or descendants of persons who at one time were legitimately status Indians (i.e., it applied only to the "non-status Indian" population). It could not apply to the descendants of Métis, since the Métis were, from day one, excluded from the Indian Act. As a result of Bill C-31, there is now less confusion about who is and is not a Métis: Métis are Aboriginal people who do not qualify for reinstatement, while Indians are Aboriginal people who have status under the Indian Act.

However, many definitional issues remain to be resolved. In provinces like Ontario where the number of people claiming Indian ancestry far exceeds the number eligible for reinstatement, ineligibility of an Aboriginal person for status under the Indian Act could be viewed as a more important criteria than Métis ancestry. The emphasis placed historically, and once again today with reinstatement, on the notion that a Métis cannot *prima facie* be eligible for status under the Indian Act may be generally valid but conflicts to some extent with the notion that anyone of Métis ancestry is a Métis. What happens if a person is born of status Indian and Métis parents? Such a person would be automatically eligible for Indian status, but does opting for Indian status imply that he or she could no longer be considered Métis? This dilemma is a real possibility in the Northwest Territories, where inter-marriage between Indians and Métis is more common than elsewhere. This question has given rise to major contentions within the Métis Nation.

Unlike Indian Nations, membership in the Métis Nation has never been subject to legal definition, yet there is little doubt it will eventually be if for no other reason than

that the Métis are now explicitly named as one of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada in the Canadian Constitution. There is as yet no consensus on what this legal definition should be. Proposals range from limiting membership exclusively to the descendants of the scrip Métis, to allowing anyone of Aboriginal ancestry who identifies as a Métis to be classed as Métis. And no one has even addressed the issue of how Métis does one have to be to be Métis? The Indian Act provides that after a certain number of generations of mixing with non-Indians, children born of a union between a status Indian and a non-Indian would no longer be considered Indian. Would a similar provision have to be developed for Métis?

These are fundamentally political issues that cannot and will not be resolved in this paper. We have sought rather to explain why and how a Métis Nation has come to exist in Canada. Since this study relies a great deal on data derived from Statistics Canada, we will for all practical purposes use Statistics Canada's definitions of Métis as our operational definitions. Statistics Canada uses two definitions, one more restrictive than the other. For census purposes, a Métis is anyone who reports having Métis *ancestry*. Those who report having only Métis ancestry are listed as single response Métis, while those who report having Métis ancestry as well as that of one or more other ethnic groups are classed as multiple response. All those who report having Métis, Indian or Inuit ancestry together make up Canada's Aboriginal population. The Aboriginal People's Survey (APS) conducted by Statistics Canada in 1991 as a post-censal survey used a different definition. The APS defines a Métis as anyone of Aboriginal ancestry who *self-identifies* as Métis. It used the 1991 Census count of the number of people with Aboriginal ancestry in Canada as its universe, from which a sample was derived; of this sample, data was collected only from persons who identified with one or the other of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada.

These two definitions of Métis - one based on ancestry and the other on self-identification - will be used throughout this paper. In so doing, we do not mean to imply that either definition is acceptable to the Métis people themselves. The Métis National Council holds it to be an incontestable right of all nations to determine their own membership. No definition of Métis is adequate unless it recognizes that right to the Métis Nation.

### **How Many Métis Are There?**

There is no accurate count of the number of Métis people there are in Canada today. For one thing, this would require agreement of just who is and is not a Métis, and, as we have seen, there is no consensus on this issue. But this is not the most fundamental problem. Statistics Canada uses operational definitions of Métis but still cannot be sure it has counted all the people who fit these definitions. For the fundamental problem is that all counts of Métis to date rely on sample data and are therefore nothing more than estimates. A full census of Métis people has never taken place.

Population figures for the Métis published in the Canadian Census are derived from responses to the "ethnic origin" question, which is found only in the "long form" Census questionnaire. This long form questionnaire is delivered only to 20% of Canadian households, except on Indian reserves and in the northern territories where it is sent to all households. However, indications are that a 20% sample is insufficient to capture the true size of Canada's Aboriginal population, including Canada's Métis population. For if we compare Census counts of the Status Indian population with the actual number of Status Indians in the Indian Registry, we find that, for 1991, the Census count of the Status Indian population, adjusted for non-participating reserves, underestimates the Status Indian population by a whopping 18%, which means that the 20% sample misses roughly 1 in every 5 Status Indians in Canada. Interestingly enough, Census figures underestimate the Status Indian count both off and on reserve, and this despite the fact that the long form questionnaire is distributed to all households on reserve. Differences between Census and Indian Register counts on reserve are likely due to extraneous factors (i.e., people having a reserve address for tax purposes but actually living in the City; temporary absences and migrations which would not be reflected in the Indian register, etc....) Differences in the off-reserve count are harder to explain and are probably due above all to inadequate sample size. While small samples are sufficient to measure the incidence of population characteristics that are widely shared (e.g. sex), the less common the characteristic being measured, the larger the sample sizes have to be. Evidently, a 20% sample is inadequate to capture the true distribution of the characteristic "Status Indian" in the Canadian population. The fact that Census forms are not distributed to rooming-houses, that no effort is made to count the homeless, and that the Census omits residents of mental, health and penal institutions also no doubt contribute to Census underestimation. If the Census underestimates the numbers of Status Indians in Canada, it is reasonable to assume that it also underestimates the number of Métis as well.

APS population figures may be even further off, since they are based on a sample of a sample. The APS drew its sample from the people who had filled out the long-form questionnaire and reported having aboriginal origins or Indian status. These were the only people for whom Statistics Canada had addresses. The APS did not therefore draw its sample from the entire population of 1,002,000 Canadians with aboriginal ancestry reported in the 1991 Census. This figure was itself only an extrapolation, yet it was the population universe for the survey. APS population counts were calculated by extrapolating back to this 1991 Census count, and therefore any errors that were made in estimating the Aboriginal population in the 1991 Census were reproduced in the APS.

In addition, the APS has problems of its own which make it likely that it underestimates the Aboriginal population even more than the Canadian Census. Its sample was much smaller: 171,518 people was selected from among the households who had returned the 1991 "long form" questionnaire and reported having aboriginal ancestry or Indian status. Since the Department of Indian Affairs was footing most of the bill, the APS over-sampled the on-reserve population, DIAND's main clients, while under-sampling off-reserve domains. This seriously reduced the chances of obtaining accurate population counts off-reserve. Moreover, APS population figures were not

extrapolated from all the people sampled but only from those who self-identified with one or other of the aboriginal groups, which in many cases off-reserve, further reduced sample size by a factor of 50% or more. It is not possible to estimate how seriously the APS underestimates the size of the self-identifying aboriginal population, but it probably exceeds 20%.

The 1991 Census and the APS are nonetheless the only, and currently the best, source of statistics on Canada's Métis population. The figures they generate must, however, be used with care. Generally speaking, absolute population counts are unreliable, but measurements of the relative distribution of specific characteristics within these populations are statistically accurate, provided they are being made of rather large geographic units. Small sample size severely restrict the extent to which the APS in particular can be used to generate sub-provincial data.

According to the Census, there were 212,650 people with Métis ancestry in Canada in 1991. If, as we have suggested above, Census estimates are as far off for the Métis as they are for the Status Indian population, the true size of the Canada's Métis population is likely to be at least 20% larger, or approximately 255,000. However, in order not to confuse matters, Census figures will be used throughout this paper. Of the 212,650 people that the Census reports have Métis ancestry, 75,150 were of single Métis origin and 137,500 were of multiple origin. This suggests that roughly 35% of Métis today are the product of unions between Métis and Métis (single origin Métis). Of those who reported having multiple ancestry, 99,560 indicated that they were of mixed Métis and Non-Aboriginal ancestry, while another 28,210 reported that they were of multiple Métis, Indian and/or Inuit and Non-Aboriginal ancestry. Thus, 93% of all those who reported having multiple ancestry - roughly 60% of the entire Métis population - reported having Non-Aboriginal ancestry of some kind, and 72% - 47% of the entire population - reported having exclusively Métis and Non-Aboriginal origins. These figures provide an indication of the extent to which Métis have been mixing with the dominant Euro-Canadian society and suggest that if Métis take a partner outside their ethnic group, that partner is likely to be Non-Aboriginal rather than another of Canada's Aboriginal peoples. Only 7% of Métis with multiple origins - less than 5% of the entire population with Métis ancestry - reported having mixed Métis and Indian or Inuit origins.

As previously noted, the APS added the notion of self-identification to the definition of Aboriginal peoples. For the APS, an Aboriginal person is anyone with Aboriginal ancestry who identifies with one or the other of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada or who is a Status Indian. Respondents were asked with which aboriginal group they identified - Indian, Inuit, Métis, or none of the above. It is not clear what people understood by the term "identify", but it clearly was seen as a higher test of "aboriginality" than simple ancestry. Consequently, fewer people identified as Métis than had Métis ancestry according to the 1991 Census: only 135,265 persons of aboriginal ancestry identified as Métis. Once again, this figure is probably low (adjusted for Census underestimation, it may be closer to 165,000), and it could increase over time as more people become conscious of their roots.

If we discount differences in absolute population size that the application of different definitions make inevitable, 1991 Census results and APS results are remarkably similar. For example, both the 1991 Census and the APS place the Métis' share of Canada's Aboriginal population at 21%, which means that roughly one in every five aboriginal persons in Canada today is Métis. Métis are considerably more numerous than Inuit (who represent about 6% of all aboriginal people), and constitute almost as significant a proportion of the total aboriginal population as Indians on reserve (who account for about 27% of Canada's aboriginal people, according to the APS).

TABLE I

<b>MÉTIS POPULATION BY PROVINCE AND TERRITORY, CANADA, 1991</b>				
	1991 CENSUS ANCESTRY		1991 APS SELF-IDENTITY	
	#	%	#	%
NFLD	1,605	0.8%	2,075	1.5%
P.E.I.	185	0.1%	n.a.	n.a.
Nova Scotia	1,590	0.7%	225	0.2%
New Brunswick	975	0.5%	100	0.1%
Québec	19,480	9.2%	8,690	6.4%
Ontario	26,905	12.7%	12,055	8.9%
Manitoba	45,575	21.4%	33,230	24.6%
Saskatchewan	32,840	15.4%	26,995	20.0%
Alberta	56,310	26.5%	38,755	28.7%
B.C.	22,295	10.5%	9,030	6.7%
Yukon	565	0.3%	190	0.1%
N.W.T.	4,310	2.0%	3,895	2.9%
CANADA Total	212,650	100.0%	135,265	100.0%

Source: Statistics Canada catalogue 94-327

From 2/3 to 3/4 (depending on the source being used, the Census or the APS) of Canada's Métis population is found in the three Prairie Provinces. This is consistent with what we know of Métis history. The Métis were most populous and first emerged as a distinct nation on the Prairies, and it stands to reason that they should be concentrated there still. In fact, in the Prairie Provinces, over 30% of the aboriginal population is Métis. APS results show that Métis account for 33.5% of all aboriginal people in Manitoba, 31.1% in Saskatchewan, and 37.4% in Alberta. Alberta has the most Métis of any province, followed closely by Manitoba and then Saskatchewan in that order. However, since Aboriginal people make up nearly 10% of the population of Manitoba



and Saskatchewan, Métis are relatively more important in the population of these provinces than they are in Alberta, where Aboriginal people account for less than 5% of the provincial population.

Significant Métis populations also exist in British Columbia and Ontario, both provinces with some association with the historic Métis. However, compared to the Prairie Provinces, where over 70% of all persons with Métis ancestry according to the Census identified as Métis in the APS, the rate of non-identification in British Columbia and Ontario was relatively high (60% in British Columbia and 56% in Ontario). As a result, the APS generates population figures for these provinces very much lower than the number of people reporting Métis ancestry.

Québec too has a significant population of aboriginal people who identify as "Métis"; but its status remains unclear. In French, *métis* is used to describe anyone of mixed Indian and European ancestry, and does not necessarily have an ethnic connotation. People can describe themselves as *métis*, yet be members of an Indian band or be eligible for reinstatement. More research has to be done to ascertain if the Métis population found in Québec is truly made up of Aboriginal people who are not eligible for Indian status.

There are virtually no self-identifying Métis in the Maritimes - the rate of non-identification was especially high in the Maritimes, averaging close to 90% - while in Newfoundland there is a small but not insignificant community of aboriginal people who identify as Métis. (Newfoundland is the only place where the APS identified more Métis than there were people of Métis ancestry according to the 1991 Census.) This population seems to have emerged in the very recent past, and could be composed of descendants of Indian or Innu who now chose to identify as Métis.

The Northwest Territories do not account for a large part of Canada's Métis population (less than 3% of all Métis live there), but this is not surprising since the Territories are sparsely populated anyway, accounting for only a fraction of Canada's total population overall. The Métis who do live there represent over 11% of all aboriginal people in the Territories, where aboriginal people make up 60% of the total population.

In summary, there are no reliable figures on the number of Métis there are in Canada. Current estimates suggest that there is something in the order of 200,000 to 300,000 Métis in Canada. The bulk of Canada's Métis population is clearly in the three Prairie Provinces. There are incontestably Métis in Ontario, British Columbia and the Northwest Territories as well, but populations are smaller, and in Ontario and British Columbia at any rate, they appear to be relatively more assimilated. Outside of these provinces, only Québec and Newfoundland have significant populations of Aboriginal people who identify as Métis, but it remains impossible to ascertain the origins of these populations.

## **WHERE DO THE MÉTIS LIVE?**

Unlike Indians, who have their reserves, or the Inuit, with their isolated communities in the frozen Arctic, the Métis are not generally regarded as having any territory that they can call their own, nor do they apparently even have an identifiable community structure. This makes Métis rather hard to find and identify, since no one seems to know where they live. As we shall see, any notion that Métis do not have an identifiable territory nor identifiable communities that they can call their own is only partially true. In fact, there are Métis communities in Canada today; some Métis even have a land base akin to Indian reserves; and regional distribution patterns of the Métis population do reveal the territories where the Métis are concentrated. Yet, the fact remains that Métis are dispersed among the general population to a greater extent than are Indians or Inuit. And for this, we have to thank the federal government and its benighted policies towards the Métis people.

We have already had occasion to review, earlier in this paper, how the federal government came to adopt policies designed to exclude the Métis from the benefits of Treaty and the Indian Act, and how, with the last of the scrip issues, the federal government conveniently washed its hands of the Métis, denying any further responsibility for them, choosing to regard them as fully "enfranchised" Canadian citizens instead. These decidedly integrationist policies had a whole range of negative repercussions on the Métis, and particularly on the Métis of the Old Northwest. Like Indians, the Métis too had their lands and traditional hunting grounds taken away from them in order to allow "white" settlement, but unlike the First Nations, the Métis were never given reserves upon which they could establish their communities free from the onslaught of the settlers. Consequently, when settlement came to the West, the Métis were simply swamped and left to manage as best they could. They were an aboriginal people and treated as such - relegated to live on the margins of "white" society - by everybody except the federal government which stubbornly persisted in its view that scrip had suddenly transformed Métis into ordinary Canadians. We should not be surprised, therefore, if Métis are today harder to locate than any of the other Aboriginal peoples of Canada. Federal integrationist and assimilationist policies have had over a hundred years to do their worst.

Only in Alberta was anything done to help the Métis. In 1938, the Aberhart Government, in an effort to alleviate the poverty of the Métis people of that province, set aside parcels of Crown land in north-central Alberta upon which the Métis were invited to settle. These are today the Métis Settlements of Alberta, which are similar in many ways to an Indian reserve, except that they do not fall under federal jurisdiction. These are the only lands the Métis ever receive upon which they could establish communities of their own. A similar experiment was tried in Saskatchewan, at Green Lake in the 1940's, but it was never accorded the status of lands reserved for Métis. As for Manitoba, the Métis are still waiting to this day for the 1.4 million acres they had been promised in the Manitoba Act.

With this historical background in mind, let us now turn to what statistics tell us about where Métis people live today. To begin with, they reveal that Canada's Métis population is today heavily urbanized, although still not quite as urban as the Canadian population generally. According to the APS, 65% of Canada's Métis population lives in urban areas, and 35% in rural. Clearly most Métis today live in urban areas, but they are nonetheless still less urbanized than the Canadian population generally, close to 77% of which lives in urban areas. Statistics Canada defines an urban community as any community with a population of 1000 or more and a population density of at least 400 persons per square kilometre. Everything else is classified as rural. A comparatively large portion of Canada's Métis population lives in rural areas — in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, both provinces with incontestably large Métis populations, close to 40% of them do.

To obtain a better idea of where precisely the Métis live, special runs were commissioned on 1991 Census data to obtain Métis population counts for both CSD (Census Subdivision) and EA (Enumeration Area) levels. Census data had to be used because APS data cannot, except in rare instances, provide reliable information below the provincial level. All figures therefore show the population with Métis ancestry, not the population that self-identifies as Métis.

The largest concentrations of Métis are in **Winnipeg and Edmonton**. In 1991, there were 22,680 persons with Métis ancestry in Winnipeg, where they accounted for close to 4% of the City's total population, and 15,430 in Edmonton, where Métis account for 2.5% of the population. An APS count is available for these two CMA's also. According to the APS, there were 14,990 self-identifying Métis in Winnipeg in 1991 and 13,515 in Edmonton. Both sources clearly identify Winnipeg and then Edmonton as the communities with the largest Métis populations in Canada; they alone account for 8.5% of all people with Métis ancestry in Canada.

	Urban	Rural
CANADA	64.8%	35.2%
NFLD.	9.9%	86.5%
P.E.I.	n.a.	n.a.
N.S.	n.a.	n.a.
N.B.	n.a.	n.a.
QUÉ.	53.2%	46.7%
ONT.	67.5%	32.5%
MAN.	63.9%	36.1%
SASK.	59.6%	40.4%
ALTA.	73.2%	26.9%
B.C.	79.9%	20.1%
Yukon	n.a.	n.a.
N.W.T.	43.6%	56.6%
Source: Special Run on APS, MNC # 4		

While no other urban centres even come close to matching the numbers of Métis found in Winnipeg and Edmonton, many nonetheless have significant Métis populations. Table III shows all major urban centres (total populations exceeding 5,000) which count 1000 persons or more of Métis ancestry. Including Winnipeg and Edmonton, there are 19 such communities. It is important to note that most are in Western Canada. Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal appear in the Table more because their huge populations makes it nearly unavoidable to find at least 1000 Métis in their midst. The same holds for Vancouver which, although a large Western city, is home to only about 2,000 Métis

people according to the 1991 Census. The majority of the urban centres shown in Table III are either major Prairie cities, secondary regional centres or major resource towns in the northern half of the Prairie provinces Other than in a few - notably Prince Albert (Saskatchewan), Thompson and Selkirk (Manitoba), and Yellowknife (NWT) - Métis generally represent only a small fraction of the total population. However, together these 19 urban centres account for 36.5% of Canada's Métis population. If Winnipeg and Edmonton are excluded, the 17 remaining centres alone account for over 25% of Canada's Métis population, which shows that Métis are widely distributed within the major urban and regional centres of Western Canada.

**TABLE III**

<b>MAJOR URBAN CENTRES WITH OVER 1000 MÉTIS, CANADA, 1991</b>					
CSD	Métis Single Response	Métis Multiple Response	Métis Combined	Total CSD Population	Combined Métis as % of Total Pop.
Winnipeg	8,930	13,750	22,680	610,265	3.7%
Edmonton	5,885	9,545	15,430	610,390	2.5%
Calgary	1,930	5,920	7,850	705,185	1.1%
Saskatoon	2,105	3,185	5,290	184,015	2.9%
Regina	1,805	2,745	4,550	177,130	2.6%
Prince Albert	1,255	2,020	3,275	33,720	9.7%
Vancouver	760	1,260	2,020	465,305	0.4%
Montréal	725	1,120	1,845	999,680	0.2%
Fort McMurray	810	1,025	1,835	34,675	5.3%
Ottawa	240	1,320	1,560	309,915	0.5%
Thompson	750	755	1,505	14,960	10.1%
Prince George	375	1,130	1,505	69,310	2.2%
Surrey	305	1,190	1,495	243,425	0.6%
Grande Prairie	675	660	1,335	27,935	4.8%
Red Deer	370	830	1,200	56,680	2.1%
Yellowknife	545	645	1,190	15,115	7.9%
Thunder Bay	135	910	1,045	112,425	0.9%
Toronto	165	870	1,035	627,780	0.2%
Selkirk	425	600	1,025	9,315	11.0%
Source: Database on Aboriginal Population By CSD, 1991 Census					

Thus over half (56%) of Canada's urban Métis population - roughly 1/3 of the entire Métis population - lives in these 19 urban centres counting 1000 or more Métis. Given

the urban/rural distribution of Canada's Métis population, this means that 28.5% reside in urban centres counting less than 1000 Métis, and the remainder (35%) live in rural communities. This 63.5% of the Métis population that is not accounted for by these 19 urban centres is, however, widely dispersed. Canada-wide, there are close to 600 urban communities with from 10 to 1000 Métis, and over 680 rural CSD's with Métis populations. A complete list of these communities is found in appendix to this report. But this dispersal means that most CSD's actually count few Métis - 60% of the CSD's in question have fewer than 50 persons of Métis ancestry - and the proportion of Métis in community populations as a rule remains small.

TABLE IV

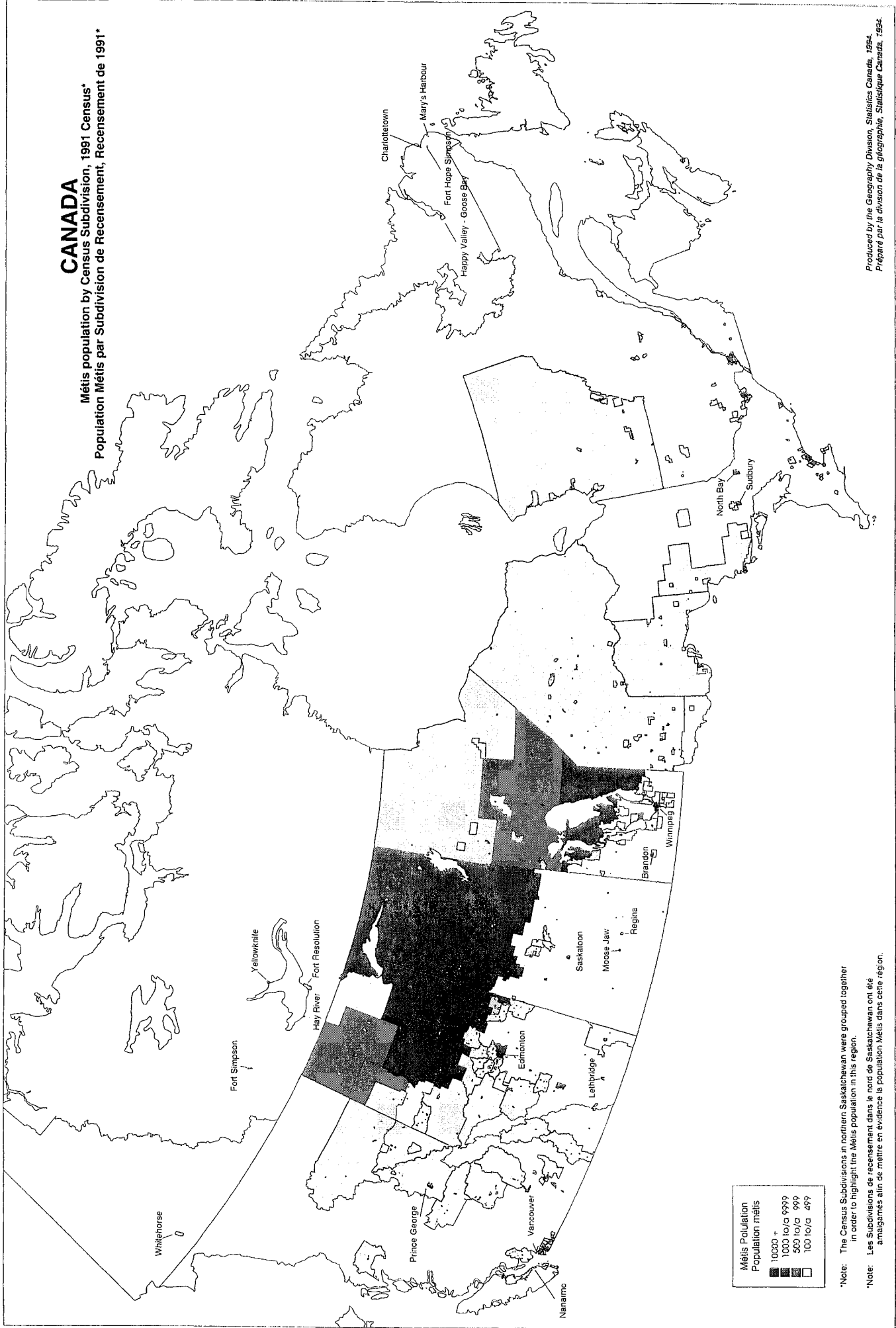
NUMBER OF NON-RESERVE CSD'S WITH MÉTIS BY TYPE AND BY PROVINCE AND TERRITORY, CANADA, 1991						
	Number of Urban CSD's with 1000 Métis or More	Average Proportion of Métis In CSD's with Métis	Number of Urban CSD's with From 10 to 1000 Métis	Average Proportion of Métis In CSD's with Métis	Number of Rural CSD's With 10 Or More Métis	Average Proportion of Métis In CSD's with Métis
NFLD	0	0.0%	14	0.8%	10	13.2%
PEI	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	1	2.4%
NS	0	0.0%	12	0.4%	28	0.3%
NB	0	0.0%	13	0.5%	10	0.9%
QUE	1	0.2%	156	0.6%	118	3.0%
ONT	3	0.5%	153	0.6%	167	1.8%
MAN	3	8.3%	20	5.6%	82	11.1%
SASK	3	5.1%	30	4.2%	101	18.9%
ALTA	5	3.2%	89	3.3%	71	4.8%
BC	3	1.1%	104	1.0%	67	1.6%
YUKON	0	0.0%	2	2.1%	5	3.1%
NWT	1	7.9%	5	16.6%	23	9.4%

Source: Statistics Canada CSD Database

As a general rule, Métis constitute a more important part of the population of rural areas than urban areas. Métis settlement patterns do, however, vary significantly from region to region. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Métis are found virtually everywhere - some 90% of all non-reserve CSD's in these provinces have Métis - but Métis are relatively more numerous in rural areas - where they can make up from 10% to 20% of the population on average - and in the large urban centres - where they can make up from 5% to 8% of the population on average - than they are in the urban towns and villages of these provinces. In Alberta, on the other hand, Métis seem to follow the settlement patterns of the general population more closely - although they are relatively more numerous in rural areas, the difference with urban centres is less acute and the average proportion of the population which Métis represent remains remarkably similar in all CSD's with a Métis population (which is 90% of non-reserve CSD's in Alberta). In provinces like Ontario and British Columbia, the Métis are widely distributed throughout the province - they are present in 64% of all non-reserve CSD's in Ontario and 86% of

# CANADA

Métis population by Census Subdivision, 1991 Census\*  
 Population Métis par Subdivision de Recensement, Recensement de 1991\*



Métis Population	Population Métis
	10000 +
	1000 to 9999
	500 to 999
	100 to 499

\*Note: The Census Subdivisions in northern Saskatchewan were grouped together in order to highlight the Métis population in this region.  
 \*Note: Les Subdivisions de recensement dans le nord de Saskatchewan ont été amalgamées afin de mettre en évidence la population Métis dans cette région.

non-reserve CSD's in British Columbia - but Métis populations are on average relatively small everywhere. In the Northwest Territories, on the other hand, Métis are more regionally concentrated, being present in only 48% of non-reserve CSD's, but they generally form a significant share of the population of the CSD's where they are present. They are relatively more numerous in secondary centres such as Fort Smith than in Yellowknife or in rural areas.

Though Métis populations may be widely distributed, they are by no means evenly distributed throughout the provinces and territories where significant Métis populations exist. The map on the adjoining page shows all CSD's with populations of 100 Métis or more according to the 1991 Census. It seeks to identify where Métis are geographically concentrated, and therefore ignores the many CSD's in each province with small Métis populations (i.e., from 10 to 100 individuals). The map depicts absolute population size, not the relative size of Métis populations in each CSD, but, in the more rural areas, at any rate, there would be a close correspondence between absolute numbers and the relative importance of Métis populations.

The most notable feature of this map is the large concentrations of Métis found in the northern parts of Ontario and the Prairie provinces. The distribution of Métis in the Prairie provinces is particularly revealing. In these provinces, we find relatively large Métis populations in CSD's immediately above what was once known as the "Fertile Belt". This tells us a great deal about what happened to the Prairie Métis after 1885: as the West was settled, they were apparently driven further north, away from the Plains, their historic homeland, but most halted their exodus just on the fringe of the Fertile Belt, the lands initially opened to settlement. As we shall see, it is in this area that we still find Métis communities today, that is, communities made principally, if not entirely, of Métis. Although Métis populations in Ontario are not as important as those of the Prairies, they too are concentrated geographically in Northwestern Ontario, along the shore of Lake Superior and along the Manitoba border.

In time, the Métis in these regions migrated to urban centres. On the Prairies, Winnipeg and Edmonton seem to have been the major poles of attraction. Both are major cities close to the northern limits of the Great Plains, and they remain the only CSD's with Métis populations in excess of 10,000. As we have seen, other Prairie cities, such as Saskatoon, Regina, Calgary also have significant Métis populations. In Ontario, some migration has taken place to the large urban centres of Southern Ontario, but cities in Northern Ontario, like North Bay, Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie and Thunder Bay have Métis populations almost as important, in absolute terms, as those of larger southern cities.

Like Ontario, the Métis in British Columbia are, for the most part, geographically concentrated in regions close to the frontier with the Prairie Provinces. In fact, the Métis population of the province seems to be an extension of Métis settlement patterns West of Edmonton, reaching to Grande Prairie. Métis are less numerous in this area than in the northern Prairie Provinces, but are distributed fairly evenly throughout this most westerly region of Métis settlement. From there, Métis settlement patterns descend into the

interior of British Columbia, north and east of the Okanagan valley. The 1991 Census also reveals pockets of Métis on the coast, particularly in Nishga country, in the Sechelt area, and around Nanaimo on Vancouver Island, but it is doubtful that these have ever had any close association with movements of the "historic" Métis of Western Canada. The Métis of British Columbia are highly urbanized, which is revealed by relatively strong concentrations of Métis in Vancouver and the Fraser Valley. Prince George in northern British Columbia is also clearly an important urban centre for the Métis.

TABLE V

URBAN CENTRES WITH BETWEEN 500 and 1000 MÉTIS, CANADA, 1991			
	Métis Pop.	Total CSD Pop.	Métis as % of Total Pop.
Brandon, Man.	960	37,675	2.5%
Medicine Hat, Alta.	885	42,940	2.1%
The Pas, Man.	850	6,045	14.1%
North Battleford, Sask.	840	14,150	5.9%
Fort Smith, N.W.T.	825	2,455	33.6%
Gatineau, Que.	770	91,920	0.8%
Kamloops, B.C.	760	66,335	1.1%
Sudbury, Ont.	750	91,520	0.8%
Portage la Prairie, Man.	735	12,385	5.9%
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.	720	80,590	0.9%
North Bay, Ont.	715	54,530	1.3%
Hay River, N.W.T.	710	3,175	22.4%
Meadow Lake, Sask.	685	4,250	16.1%
Moose Jaw, Sask.	660	32,455	2.0%
Nanaimo, B.C.	655	59,645	1.1%
Laval, Que.	650	311,170	0.2%
St. Albert, Alta.	630	41,940	1.5%
Lethbridge, Alta.	625	60,190	1.0%
Scarborough, Ont.	625	520,275	0.1%
Slave Lake, Alta.	615	5,590	11.0%
Burnaby, B.C.	600	156,415	0.4%
Gloucester, Ont.	595	100,460	0.6%
Lac la Biche, Alta.	590	2,485	23.7%
Lloydminster (Part), Alta.	590	7,190	8.2%
Hull, Que.	590	59,855	1.0%
Kelowna, B.C.	550	74,905	0.7%
Hamilton, Ont.	540	314,915	0.2%
North York, Ont.	535	557,980	0.1%
Hinton, Alta.	500	9,045	5.5%
Mississauga, Ont.	500	461,410	0.1%

Source: Database on Aboriginal Population By CSD, 1991 Census



Nor can the Métis found east of Ontario have had anything to do with the Métis of the Old Northwest. The 1991 Census indicates that those reporting to be Métis in Quebec are concentrated in regions of Western Quebec, particularly in the territory of the Grand Council of the Crees. The Métis population reported in the Census for Newfoundland is highly concentrated in southern Labrador in places like Happy Valley-Goose Bay and Charlottetown. There are no CSD's with significant Métis populations in the Maritimes.

The Métis in the Northwest Territories are concentrated on the shores of Greater Slave Lake, south to the Alberta border. Yellowknife, Hay River and Fort Smith have the most important Métis populations; Métis constitute 7.9%, 22.4% and 33.6% of the population of these communities respectively.

Given the important concentration of Métis in the northern Prairie Provinces and the fact, as we have already noted, that Métis tend to form a more important part of the population of rural areas than urban centres, it is not surprising that the Métis communities that exist today should be rural communities in the northern Prairie Provinces. For contrary to popular belief, there are a number of communities in Canada today made up principally, if not exclusively, of Métis.

Table VI lists all communities that we have been able to identify with Métis populations of 50% or more. Almost all of these communities are in the Prairie Provinces. The 1991 Census identified only one community in Ontario where Métis made up 50% or more of the population, and that was the small community (population 90) of Dance, Ontario, which is located in the Rainy River area. However, all the persons who identified themselves as Métis in that community also happen to be status Indians and band members, which makes it difficult to label it as a Métis community. (It may be associated with the Métis reserve that was established in this area under Treaty No. 3 before Confederation, but this was impossible to verify.) In any event, Dance, Ontario has been excluded from the list.

Each of the Prairie Provinces has several communities where Métis constitute the majority of the population. Some are made up almost entirely of Métis. Among the most important are Camperville in Manitoba, Île-à-la-Crosse, Turnor Lake, Pinehouse and Buffalo Narrows in Saskatchewan, and the Métis settlements of Alberta (Cadotte Lake, Gift, Kikino, Elizabeth, Paddle Prairie, East Prairie and Spitiow). These communities range in size from 1,270 inhabitants (Île-à-la-Crosse) to less than 50. However, there is reason to believe that Statistics Canada have underestimated the true size of many of these communities. For example, the Métis Settlements Association recently conducted a census of the Métis settlements in Alberta and found major discrepancies with official Census results. In some cases, the Census under-reported the population by over 50%. Moreover, the database obtained from Statistics Canada to calculate Métis population by Enumeration Area does not always provide a placename for E.A.'s with significant Métis populations. The list found in Table VI may, therefore, be incomplete. However, we remain reasonably confident that the bulk of Métis communities have been identified.

TABLE VI

<b>COMMUNITIES WITH OVER 50% MÉTIS, CANADA, 1991</b>		
	EA Pop	% Métis
<b>MANITOBA</b>		
CAMPERVILLE	590	91.5%
RED DEER LAKE	50	90.0%
DUCK BAY	440	88.6%
ROCK RIDGE (COMMUNITY)	50	80.0%
CRANE RIVER	235	78.7%
BARROWS	140	75.0%
THICKET PORTAGE	190	73.7%
PELICAN RAPIDS	150	73.3%
CORMORANT (COMMUNITY)	385	72.7%
BADEN	55	72.7%
MOOSE LAKE (COMMUNITY)	375	72.0%
MALLARD	155	71.0%
MATHESON ISLAND	120	62.5%
SEYMOURVILLE (COMMUNITY)	125	60.0%
MANIGOTAGAN	200	57.5%
ST. LAURENT	690	56.5%
WABOWDEN (COMMUNITY)	545	55.0%
BROCHET (COMMUNITY)	210	54.8%
EDDYSTONE	485	53.6%
POPLARVILLE (COMMUNITY)	40	50.0%
<b>SASKATCHEWAN</b>		
TURNOR LAKE	185	91.9%
PINEHOUSE	820	90.2%
ILE-A-LA-CROSSE	1270	90.2%
GREEN LAKE	520	88.5%
BEAUVAL	715	81.8%
BEAR CREEK	120	79.2%
COLE BAY	160	75.0%
BUFFALO NARROWS	1160	72.8%
JANS BAY	195	69.2%
CANDO	115	65.2%
DORE LAKE	40	62.5%
CUMBERLAND HOUSE	735	60.5%
FAIRHOLME	60	58.3%
STANLEY MISSION	200	55.0%
PATUANAK	100	55.0%
WEEKES	130	53.8%
MICHEL VILLAGE	90	50.0%
<b>ALBERTA</b>		
CADOTTE LAKE	280	96.4%
EAST PRAIRIE	260	94.2%
GIFT LAKE	790	91.8%
PADDLE PRAIRIE	190	89.5%
KIKINO	1180	88.6%
ELIZABETH	465	87.1%
SPUTINOW	285	86.0%
CONKLIN	195	84.6%
NORTH CALLING LAKE	275	70.9%
BONE TOWN	110	68.2%
MARLBORO	135	63.0%
GROUARD	230	56.5%
WABASCA	325	52.3%
<b>BRITISH COLUMBIA</b>		
GREELY	40	75.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, EA Database

Outside of the Prairie Provinces, the only other community where Métis constitute the majority of the population is the small rural community of Greely, British Columbia. Greely is located in the Peace River country. Surprisingly, the Northwest Territories has no community where Métis make up 50% or more of the population.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Métis people of today are, for the most part, the descendants of a mixed-blood population that was excluded from the Indian Act at the time the Indian Act regime was first being imposed. This original population was made up principally of scrip Métis from the Old Northwest, to which were added mixed-bloods born on Indian reserves in Western Canada before circa 1900 and persons of Indian ancestry who were not included in the Indian Register at the time it was first drawn-up. Excluded from the Indian Act and denied the protection of reserves, these people bore the full brunt of the settlers' onslaught. On the Prairies, having lost their lands and way of life, they moved north, to an area just above the Fertile Belt, to escape the settlers' depredations. Significant Métis populations came to exist in the rural areas of the northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and up to the shores of Greater Slave Lake in the Northwest Territories. There was also some expansion westward into the Peace River country and into the interior of British Columbia, while in Ontario, the Métis survived in the sparsely-settled regions above the Great Lakes and in Northwestern Ontario.

Today, most Métis live in urban areas, though, as a group, they remain less urbanized than the general Canadian population. Winnipeg and Edmonton, both major cities situated close to edge of the Fertile Belt, were clearly the two principal urban centres to which Métis migrated. They each have Métis populations in excess of 10,000, and alone account for almost 10% of Canada's total Métis population. However, Métis are fairly spread-out in all major urban centres of Western Canada, from Surrey, British Columbia to Brandon, Manitoba. About 1/3 of Canada's Métis population lives in 19 urban centres counting 1000 or more Métis, most of which are found in Western Canada, while about 29% lives in urban centres counting less than 1000 Métis. Generally speaking, Métis formed only a small fraction of the urban population of these centres, but in some - notably, Prince Albert (Sask.), North Battleford (Sask.), Meadow Lake (Sask.), Thompson (Man.), The Pas (Man.), Portage La Prairie (Man.), Selkirk (Man.), Fort McMurray (Alta.), Slave Lake (Alta.), Lac La Biche (Alta.), Lloydminster (Alta.), Hinton (Alta.), Yellowknife (N.W.T.), Hay River (N.W.T.) and Fort Smith (N.W.T.) - their proportion of the population is much larger, ranging from 5% to 33% of the urban population.

In neither Ontario nor British Columbia do Métis anywhere come close to representing 5% of the population of any urban centre. However, in Ontario, there are just as many Métis in northern centres such as North Bay, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury and Thunder Bay as there are in the larger southern cities, while in British Columbia, the trend is just the reverse in that most of the urban Métis population of that province is

congregated in the Lower Mainland, even though Prince George in the Peace River area of British Columbia also has a relatively important Métis population.

If there exist any communities where Métis predominate, they should, given historical settlement patterns, be found in the rural northern sections of the Prairie Provinces, and this is in fact where we find them. Each of the three Prairie Provinces has at least a dozen rural communities where the Métis represent 50% or more of the population, and throughout the West, there would be from 30 to 50 rural communities which could be called "Métis communities", depending on the benchmark used to define Métis community. Despite everything, Métis communities have evidently managed to survive. Together with the several urban centres where Métis constitute an important share of the population, these rural communities are prime candidates for Métis-specific community development initiatives.



## PART II

### SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

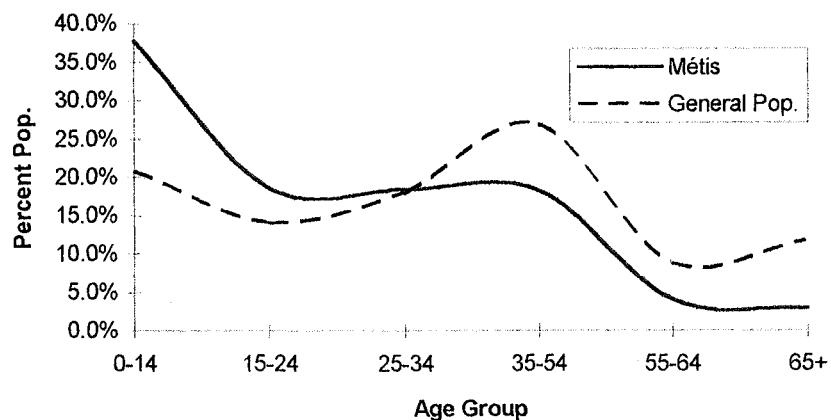
Housing problems are difficult to divorce from the larger social issues of which they are usually but a manifestation. In this section, we examine the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the Métis people of Canada that are the most salient to understanding the housing conditions of the Métis people. We begin with a brief overview of the main demographic characteristics of the Métis people, and then examine the household and income characteristics of Canada's Métis population.

#### Main Demographic Characteristics

The Métis have the same demographic profile as other Aboriginal people in Canada, a profile that is very different than that of the general population. The demographic profile of Aboriginal peoples is distinguishable:

CHART 1

Percent Distribution of Métis and General Canadian Populations By Age Group, Canada, 1991



- a) By the fact that it is extremely youthful: children (persons below the age of 15) constitute 37.8% of the Aboriginal population, compared to 20.9% of the general Canadian population. The proportion of Métis below the age of 15 is precisely 37.8% according to the APS; for Indians on reserve it is 38.5%,

and off-reserve 36.8%; while fully 42.6% of Canada's Inuit population is below the age of 15.

- b) By the absence of a post-war "baby boom" generation: none of the Aboriginal peoples exhibit the "bump" in their age profiles characteristic of the baby boom generation, which in the Canadian profile is currently in the middle age groups.
- c) By the fact that the elderly form a relatively small proportion of the population: unlike the general Canadian population, where people 65 and over now make up 12% of the population, the elderly are relatively insignificant in Aboriginal populations, accounting for only 3.1% of the Aboriginal population overall (and for only 2.8 % of Canada's Métis population specifically).
- d) By the more even distribution of gender in older age groups: with the exception of off-reserve Indians, where females out-number males in virtually all but the youngest age categories, genders are generally more or less evenly distributed in all age groups of Aboriginal populations, including the age group 65+. This is in marked contrast with the general Canadian population where women significantly out-number men in older age groups, owing to their propensity to live longer.

**TABLE VII**

<b>PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF MÉTIS AND CANADIAN POPULATIONS BY GENDER, CANADA, 1991</b>				
Age Group	MÉTIS		GENERAL POP.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-14	52.00%	48.00%	51.24%	48.76%
15-24	46.38%	53.62%	50.74%	49.26%
25-34	44.71%	55.29%	49.73%	50.27%
35-54	51.88%	48.10%	49.93%	50.07%
55-64	46.57%	53.43%	49.18%	50.82%
65+	51.89%	48.11%	41.97%	58.03%
Total	49.37%	50.63%	49.29%	50.71%

Source: Statistics Canada catalogues 93-327 and 93-310

The demographic profile of the Aboriginal peoples appears to show a population having relatively high fertility rates coupled with low life expectancy. This is the reverse of the demographic pattern of the general Canadian population, which is characterized by low fertility rates but high life expectancy. But care must be exercised in interpreting this data. While there is little doubt that the fertility rates of Métis and other Aboriginal people are higher than the Canadian average, it is not necessarily the case that their life

expectancy is today very much lower than the Canadian average, although it likely was in the past.

This study was not able to determine exactly the fertility rate of the Métis or other Aboriginal peoples, but rough computations indicate that it is close to twice the Canadian average.<sup>1</sup> Nor is there any information on the life expectancy of Métis people. But for registered Indians, current life expectancy is 69.1 years for men, and 76.2 years for women, which is only marginally lower than the Canadian average of 75 years for men and 81 years for women.<sup>2</sup> However, these are figures for the current generation and do not reveal the conditions which prevail for older generations. We know, for example, that mortality rates of registered Indians have declined very dramatically over the last few decades. Mortality rates which stood at 10.5/1000 in 1955 had declined to 5.6/1000 by 1992, and infant mortality rates which stood at 82 deaths per 1000 live births in 1960 had declined to 12.6 infant deaths per 1000 live births in 1992.<sup>3</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that there has been a corresponding improvement in the life expectancy of Métis people over the last several decades. The fact that there is a more nearly equal gender distribution in older age groups suggest that for the generation 65+ at any rate, Métis women did not necessarily live longer on average than men. And the relatively small size of elderly cohorts is likely the result of a combination of lower life expectancy for older generations and reductions in infant mortality rates for younger age groups.

If life expectancy has improved dramatically over the last several decades, Aboriginal peoples still seem to be plagued by high rates of disease and disability. In 1991, 31.3% of all Aboriginal people 15 years and older suffered from a disability of one kind or other - the disability rate among Métis was 31.9%, among off-reserve Indians, 30.5%, among Indians on reserve, 33%, and among the Inuit, 29% - compared to a Canadian average of only 16.4%.<sup>4</sup> The high disability rates among Aboriginal people is surprising given the relatively small proportion of the population in older age groups, who, within the Canadian population at any rate, account for the bulk of the disabled population. Disability is from 2.5 to 3 times more common for aboriginal people in the prime of life than it is for the general population. There is no way to tell how much poor shelter conditions may be contributing to these high rates of disability, but they no doubt count for something.

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<sup>1</sup>A rough gross fertility rate was calculated by dividing the total number of children (persons aged 0 to 14) by the number of women in the population between the age of 15 and 49. Based on this calculation, the gross fertility rate of the Canadian population generally in 1991 was 0.8, while that of Métis was 1.4, that of off-reserve Indians was 1.2, that of reserve Indians was 1.9, that of Inuit was 1.7, and the gross fertility rate of Aboriginal peoples overall was 1.4.

<sup>2</sup>Department of Indian Affairs, 1994 Basic Departmental Data and **Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1994**, Statistics Canada catalogue 93-209E, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup>Data obtained in discussions with officials from Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

<sup>4</sup>APS (Statistics Canada catalogue 89-535) and HALS (Statistics Canada catalogue 82-555). Properly adjusted for differences in survey populations between the APS and the Health and Activity Limitations Survey (HALS) upon which these figures are based, the differences between the Canadian and Aboriginal populations is even more acute: "...adjusted HALS results indicate that among Canada's total adult population, excluding the population in institutions and on Indian reserves and settlements, 15% had some level of disability." (Statistics Canada catalogue 89-535, p.vii).



TABLE VIII

<b>DISABILITY RATES BY AGE GROUP, MÉTIS AND GENERAL CANADIAN POPULATION, CANADA, 1991</b>			
	Aboriginal	Métis	General Pop.
Total 15 and older	31.3%	31.9%	16.4%
15-34	22.6%	22.5%	8.0%
35-54	35.5%	37.2%	14.0%
55+	66.5%	68.1%	35.7%
Source: Adjusted from APS catalogue 89-535 and Statistics Canada catalogue 82-555			

In summary, the Métis people of Canada have all the demographic characteristics of an Aboriginal people. Unlike the Canadian population generally, the Aboriginal population is not an "ageing" population, but a youthful and rapidly expanding one. More than 1/3 of the population is under the age of 15. This is a population cohort that will be "hitting" the housing market within the next 10 to 20 years. Demand for housing on the part of Métis and other Aboriginal peoples is therefore likely to increase, not decrease, over the near future to accommodate their rapidly growing populations.

The demographic profile of Canada's Métis population shows a population with a relatively small seniors cohort, a rather large cohort of adults in the prime of life (but who are plagued by high rates of disability) and, as we have noted, an exceedingly large child cohort. This suggests that the housing needs of the Métis will focus more on family housing than on seniors housing, and that housing for the disabled should also emerge as a significant priority.

Poor shelter conditions may be contributing to the high incidence of disability and disease among the Métis, but this has not been possible to verify. The link between housing conditions and the health of Métis and other Aboriginal peoples is one area where further research could be productively undertaken.

### **Profile of Métis Households**

An examination of data of Métis by household type reinforces these conclusions while at the same time adding more detail to the picture. It reveals that the Métis are a very family-oriented people, and that Métis families are more likely to have children than the Canadian norm, but it also suggests that family "break-downs" are a more common occurrence among Métis than for the general population. The evidence for this is the very high proportion of single parent families among Métis. On a national basis, 20.4% of Métis households are single parent families, which means that about one in every five

Métis households is a single parent household. By way of comparison, in 1991, only 9.0% of Canadian households were single parent households.

Statistics Canada defines a Métis household as any household with at least one Métis resident. As we shall see later, not all Métis households are exclusively Métis - many are constituted of unions between Métis and non-Aboriginals - but, for purposes of analysis, any household with at least one Métis resident is considered a Métis household. Given that we are using APS data, a Métis is, for the purpose of this analysis, any person of Aboriginal ancestry who self-identifies as Métis.

According to the APS, in 1991, there were 65,000 Métis households in Canada, of which 70% were located in the three Prairie Provinces, where 73% of the self-identifying Métis population resides. Ontario accounts for 10% of Métis households, British Columbia for 8% and the Northwest Territories for 2.2%. These figures are probably low for the same reasons that figures on overall population are low. Any discrepancies between the regional distribution of Métis households and the regional distribution of the Métis population are likely due to the fact that, on the Prairies and in the N.W.T., Métis have a greater propensity to form unions with other Métis than elsewhere in Canada, thereby reducing the household count relative to the population count. The differences are, however, rather minor.

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF MÉTIS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE							
	MÉTIS						General Pop. CANADA
	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALTA.	B.C.	N.W.T.	
ALL HOUSEHOLDS	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ONE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	83.8%	81.2%	85.1%	84.1%	71.6%	78.5%	71.1%
Married Couples	47.6%	46.1%	41.1%	43.9%	38.9%	38.2%	54.9%
<i>With Never Married Sons/Daughters</i>	83.2%	77.0%	81.4%	76.9%	67.4%	83.6%	62.4%
Common-Law Couples	16.4%	13.5%	18.3%	19.5%	16.7%	24.7%	7.1%
<i>With Never Married Sons/Daughters</i>	54.9%	54.2%	65.0%	57.4%	62.0%	70.4%	41.7%
Lone Parent Families	19.8%	21.6%	25.7%	20.6%	16.1%	15.6%	9.0%
Total One Family Households With Never Married Sons/Daughters	68.3%	64.4%	71.0%	65.6%	52.7%	64.9%	46.3%
MULTIPLE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	1.8%	1.2%	0.8%	1.0%	3.6%	3.5%	1.2%
NON-FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	14.5%	17.6%	14.1%	14.9%	24.6%	17.7%	27.8%
<i>Single Persons</i>	59.5%	71.9%	78.1%	53.2%	56.8%	68.6%	82.5%
<i>Two or More</i>	40.0%	28.3%	21.9%	47.0%	43.2%	31.4%	17.5%

Source: Special Run on APS, MNC # 21

Despite these regional variations, Métis household types show a remarkably consistent pattern throughout the country. With the exception of British Columbia, Métis everywhere have a higher than normal propensity to form *one family households*. On a national basis, 82% of Métis households are one family households, compared to 71% of Canadian households generally. Single family households are by far the predominant type of households among the Métis, which, if nothing else, shows a strong preference for family life. By and large, *multiple family households* are just as rare among the Métis as

they are in the general population, although they are about twice as common in British Columbia and the Northwest Territories than elsewhere. Among Aboriginal people, multiple family households usually represent more than two generations living under the same roof (i.e., mother, father, daughter, granddaughter), and the fact that there are so few households of this type indicates that this is not a very common occurrence. The preference clearly is for each family to form its own household unit.

*Non-family households* - that is, single persons living either alone or with other unattached individuals - are less common among the Métis than in the general population everywhere except, once again, British Columbia. On a national basis, only 16.5% of Métis households are non-family households, compared to a Canadian average of 27.8%. This suggests that Métis are generally less likely than other Canadians to remain unattached for very long, and may indicate that they form family unions at an earlier age. There is also an inordinately high proportion of two-or-more-person non-family households, which would suggest that most Métis non-family households are made up of young people - youth who have left the parental home and who have yet to form their own family - since young people are more likely to share accommodations with other unattached individuals than are older adults. Given that most of the large number of single parent households are undoubtedly headed by a woman, it would not be surprising to find a large number of single divorced males in non-family household group as well. However, it would be dangerous to arrive at such a conclusion on the basis exclusively of data on Métis single parent families, for not all Métis single mothers would necessarily have had a partner of Métis origins, and therefore many of the "single dads" that the high incidence of single parent households suggest must be around would not be Métis or even Aboriginal at all.

Generally speaking, however, Métis do not appear to have contributed to any great extent to the recent trend favoring the formation of single-person households. British Columbia stands out as an exception to this rule. On a provincial basis, Métis in British Columbia are still more likely to form one family households (71.6% vs. 68.1%) and less likely to form non-family households (24.6% vs. 30.3%) than the general population of the province, but differences are less pronounced here than elsewhere. It is in British Columbia that the Métis come closest to mirroring the Canadian norm in respect of household composition. British Columbia is the province where the Métis are the most highly urbanized and dispersed within the general population. The nearly identical proportion of family vs. non-family households as between the Métis and general provincial population suggests that cultural and social integration into the dominant culture may be more advanced there than elsewhere.

This argument must not, however, be pushed too far, for even in British Columbia, Métis one-family households show marked differences with Canadian one-family households. Relative to the Canadian norm, Métis family households everywhere are less likely to be constituted of married as opposed to common-law couples, and more likely to be headed by a single parent. Less than 50% of Métis households (only 44.3% on a national basis) are made up of *now married couples*. This is true everywhere, even in

British Columbia. Within the general Canadian population, in no province except Québec do married couples constitute less than 50% of all households. In part, the lower proportion of married couples among Métis households is simply due to the fact that *common-law relationships* are more common among the Métis than in the general population. On a national basis, 17.3% of all Métis households are composed of common-law couples, compared to only 7.1% of Canadian households. This difference holds in all provinces, including British Columbia.

However, the major reason for the relatively low proportion of married couples in the composition of Métis households is the exceedingly high proportion of family households that are headed by only one parent, normally the female. As previously noted, *single parent households* make up 20% of all Métis households, which is over twice the Canadian average. The situation is particularly glaring in Saskatchewan where 1 in every 4 Métis households is a single parent household, and this in a province where single parents make up only 8% of all households. This is strong evidence for a very high rate of family break-down (and, secondarily, of unwed motherhood as well). Though Métis may be more prone to form families than Canadians generally, the families they do form seem to be more prone to break-down. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that now married couples should be less significant in the composition of Métis family households than the Canadian norm.

The data points to one last peculiarity of Métis households relative to the general population, and that is the very high proportion of households with *unmarried sons and daughters* (i.e., children or young people still living at home). On a national basis, some 65% of Métis households include unmarried sons and daughters, compared to only 46% of Canadian households. Among married couples, 83% of Métis have children or young people still living at home, but this is the case for only 62% of Canadian married couples. Similarly, almost 60% of Métis common-law couples have unmarried sons and daughters, compared to 42% of common-law households generally.

Clearly relatively more Métis households have children than the Canadian norm. This does not however necessarily mean that Métis families are more incline to have children than Canadian families generally. It must be recalled that many more Canadian families are made up of elderly couples - who would already have raised their children - than is the case for the Métis. In fact, 19.2% of Canadian households are headed by persons 65 years of age or older.<sup>5</sup> Although a comparable figure for Métis households was unavailable to this study, we have already seen that, in the demographic profile of the Métis, the elderly form less than 3% of the total population, which suggests that they would constitute well under 10% of all households (and probably no more than 5% or 6%). This means that a great many Canadian family households would already have raised their children than is the case for the Métis and that differences with the Canadian average would consequently become much less acute if age of household head were taken into consideration.

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<sup>5</sup>Calculated from Statistics Canada catalogue 93-311, Table 12.

In fact, differences in the proportion of households with children can be imputed almost entirely to the fact that Métis households tend to be made up of younger couples on average than Canadian households. If proportionately more Métis families have children than the Canadian norm, it is primarily because more Métis families are composed of young couples of prime child-bearing age than the Canadian norm. If we examine the number of women, for instance, in the prime child-bearing ages of 15 to 49, we find that in 1991 roughly 74% of all Métis women were within this age group, compared to 67% of Canadian women generally. More important still, some 42% of all Métis women of child-bearing age were in the age group 15 to 24, compared to only 26% of Canadian women of child-bearing age, and another 42% were between 25 and 34 years of age, compared to only 33% of Canadian women of child-bearing age.<sup>6</sup> In other words, more than 80% of all Métis women of child-bearing age were under 35 years old, whereas over 40% of Canadian women of child-bearing age were already over 35. This is strong indication that Métis family households should be made of relatively young couples and single mothers. These are precisely the type of households most likely to have children.

It must be emphasized, however, that the most that the data allows us to say at this point is that Métis family households are predominantly made up of *young families with children or young adults*. This is in itself an extremely important observation, since it suggests that the housing needs of the Métis people will focus on providing housing for young families with children. We should not, however, jump to the conclusion that these Métis families are unusually large by Canadian standards; to repeat, all the data shows is that there are a large proportion of young family households among the Métis, not that young Métis households have large families. In fact, the young Métis families of today do not appear to have more children on average than their counterparts in Canadian society generally.

Unfortunately, this study did not have access to data specifically on family size, but we were able to develop proxies which allowed us to compare Métis and Canadian households on this important parameter. We divided the total number of children in each population by the number of families with never married sons and daughters in each population. Although the category "never married sons and daughters" certainly includes more than children (i.e., persons 0 to 14 years of age), it was reasonable to assume that it at a minimum included all children, and that the results could consequently give us an approximate idea of the number of children per household which, because it was computed in the same way for both populations, would enable us to compare fairly accurately the relative size of Canadian and Métis households with "never married sons and daughters". This procedure produced identical results for both Canadian and Métis households: 1.2 children per household with never married sons and daughters. To ensure that this result was not an aberration, we repeated the procedure using the assumption that "never married sons and daughters" included all persons under 18 years of age, and

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<sup>6</sup>Calculated from Special Run on APS database, MNC # 16(a) and Statistics Canada catalogues 94-237 (APS) and 93-324, Table 1.

again the results were the same in both cases (1.5 per household with never married sons and daughters). This is strong indication that there are no major differences as between Métis and the general population in the average *size* of families with children. Métis families that have children do not on average have more children per family than a comparable Canadian family with children. Whatever the factors that are contributing to smaller family size in the general population, they are having an impact on the size of Métis families just as much as on Canadian families generally.

What this means is that the very much larger proportion of children in the demographic profile of the Métis relative to the general Canadian population is due not so much to the Métis having larger families than average but simply to the fact that more Métis families have children at all. In other words, the higher fertility rates of the Métis cannot be imputed to Métis women having more children on average than Canadian women generally, but rather to there being relatively more Métis women of child-bearing age than is the case for the general population.

In summary, analysis of Métis households by type reveals that by far the majority of Métis households are family households and that by far the majority of these family households have children. Indications are that young families with children predominate. The fact that there are proportionately more Métis family households and that proportionately more have children than the general Canadian average is the source of major demographic differences with the Canadian population. The size of Métis families is, on the whole, however, no larger than the normal Canadian family. But if Métis are more inclined to form families, their families are also more subject to break-down than the Canadian average. Approximately 1 in every 5 Métis households is a single parent household. Métis housing policy must focus on family households with children, with special attention to single parent households.

## **Income Profile**

In 1990, the total income of a Métis person in Canada was on average 33% lower than that of the average Canadian. That made the Métis among the poorest people in Canada. A little less than half (49.4%) of the adult population was employed, which means that over half the Métis population survived on sources of unearned income, mainly government transfer payments, such as unemployment insurance and welfare.<sup>7</sup> Those who were employed earned on average 33% less than their counterparts in the general population, yet accounted for over 75% of all the income reported by Métis people in Canada.<sup>8</sup> Those who had a job therefore made considerably less than the

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<sup>7</sup>Employment to population ratio calculated from Special Run on APS, MNC # 8. Somewhere in the order of 18% to 20% of Métis total income derives from government transfer payments, compared to only 11.4% for the general Canadian population (Source: Statistics Canada catalogues 94-325 and 93-338).

<sup>8</sup>Calculated from Special Run on APS, MNC # 9 and Statistics Canada catalogue 94-325.

average Canadian, but more than Métis who had no work or who were not in the labour force.<sup>9</sup>

**TABLE X**

<b>AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT, AVERAGE TOTAL AND AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME, MÉTIS AND GENERAL POPULATION, CANADA and SELECT PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, 1990</b>			
	<b>AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT INCOME</b>	<b>AVERAGE TOTAL INCOME</b>	<b>AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME</b>
<b>CANADA</b>			
Métis	\$16,415	\$16,164	\$35,668
General Pop.	\$24,329	\$24,001	\$46,137
<b>ONTARIO</b>			
Métis	\$18,105	\$17,657	\$43,304
General Pop.	\$26,454	\$26,216	\$52,225
<b>MANITOBA</b>			
Métis	\$15,674	\$14,992	\$32,181
General Pop.	\$21,257	\$21,129	\$40,179
<b>SASKATCHEWAN</b>			
Métis	\$15,591	\$14,801	\$31,456
General Pop.	\$19,859	\$20,638	\$38,696
<b>ALBERTA</b>			
Métis	\$15,273	\$15,729	\$35,982
General Pop.	\$24,037	\$24,430	\$47,249
<b>BRITISH COLUMBIA</b>			
Métis	\$18,292	\$18,701	\$39,587
General Pop.	\$24,801	\$24,750	\$46,909
<b>NORTHWEST TERRITORIES</b>			
Métis	\$23,390	\$22,822	\$55,223
General Pop.	\$27,234	\$26,467	\$55,412
Source: Special Runs on APS MNC # 9, 23 and 21, and Statistics Canada catalogues 93-331 and 93-330			

Differentials in individual income between Métis and the general Canadian population can be traced largely to differences in occupational structure.<sup>10</sup> Métis are disproportionately represented in occupations where wages tend to be low and where the incidence of part-time and seasonal work tends to be high - males in primary industry and the trades, particularly the construction trades, and females in service and clerical

<sup>9</sup>According to our calculations, the average income of Métis who were not employed in 1990 was a mere \$5,201

<sup>10</sup>See: David A Boisvert, **A Human Resources Development Plan for the Métis Nation** (Draft 1), Métis National Council, Ottawa, 1995

occupations.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, they are grossly under-represented in management and professional occupations.<sup>12</sup> Largely because of this particular occupational structure, Métis suffer unemployment rates two to three times those of the general population, and this regardless of region, sex or age group being examined.<sup>13</sup> High unemployment rates discourage labour force participation and are the prime reason for the low employment-to-population ratios registered for native people everywhere. This in turn results in a high level of dependency on government transfer payments.

There is little question that in terms of **individual** income, Métis earn less on average and have lower total incomes than Canadians generally. As shown in Table X above, in 1990, Métis with jobs earned on average only \$16,415 for the year, while the average annual income from all sources of Métis generally was \$16,164. As is the case with the general population, women have significantly lower incomes than men. The average employment income of Métis women was only \$12,569 in 1990, compared to \$19,739 for men; and their total individual income was on average only \$12,598, compared to \$19,763 for Métis men.<sup>14</sup> Income levels in the Prairie Provinces, where most Métis live, are especially low, with total income averaging only \$15,231 for Métis in the region (\$12,027 for women and \$18,579 for men). This compares to a Canadian average income that year of \$24,001 per adult - \$29,847 for males and \$17,751 for females.<sup>15</sup> Only in the Northwest Territories do Métis even come close to matching the average individual income of the general population.

However, for housing purposes, it is not individual income that counts so much as gross *household income*. Mortgage payments and rents apply to housing units whose occupants constitute a household. Household members, assuming there is more than one occupant, may or may not share in the housing costs, but the ability of the household to pay those costs is nonetheless considered to be a function of the individual income of all household members. Gross household income is therefore the yardstick used to measure the relative wealth of households. It is simply the total (pre-tax) income of all household members.

Once again, if we refer to Table X, we find that the gross household income of Métis households is, in most regions, lower than the Canadian average. For instance, on a national basis, in 1990, the gross income of a Métis household was on average \$35,668, compared to a Canadian average of \$46,137. Average household income was lower for Métis than the general population in all regions considered, except the Northwest Territories, where average household income of Métis and of the general population was virtually identical.

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<sup>11</sup>About 51.5% of Métis men are employed in the Trades or Primary Industry, while 43.3% of Métis women are employed in Sales and Service Occupations. (Source: Special Run on APS, MNC # 10, using 1991 SOC classifications.)

<sup>12</sup>Calculated from Special Run on APS, MNC # 10 and Statistics Canada publication "Occupations (According to the 1991 SOC)".

<sup>13</sup>See discussion of Métis labour force activity patterns in Boisvert, *ibid*, pp.17-23.

<sup>14</sup>Derived from Special Run on APS, MNC # 23.

<sup>15</sup>Statistics Canada catalogue 93-331.



There is no doubt therefore that - with the exception of the Northwest Territories - Métis households on average tend to be poorer than the Canadian norm. This result is, however, not unexpected. Since household income is nothing more than the aggregation of the total individual income of all household members, and since we already know that the average individual income of Métis is lower than the Canadian norm, it is only natural that their average household income should be lower as well.

The interesting thing is not that it is lower than the Canadian average, but that it is not as low as we might expect. Differences with the general population are less acute in the case of household income than they are for employment and total individual income. On a national basis, the average income of all Métis households in 1990 was only 23% lower than the Canadian average, which - though significant - is nonetheless a considerable improvement over the 33% gap in incomes registered at the individual level.

The most likely explanation for this improvement in income levels is that many Métis households are constituted of unions between Métis and non-Aboriginal Canadians. It will be recalled that, for Census purposes, Statistics Canada defines a Métis household as any household with at least one Métis person, which means that not all members of Métis households are necessarily Métis. Given the particular configuration of household types that we find among the Métis, the relative improvement in income that we have noted as we pass from individual to household income could not come about if all Métis households were composed exclusively of Métis. Only if the incomes of non-Aboriginal Canadians are also included in the calculation of the household income of a significant number of Métis households can we account for this reduction in income differentials.

Without more special runs on Statistics Canada's databases, it is impossible to tell exactly how many Métis households are formed of unions with non-Aboriginals. As we noted earlier in this report, responses to the Census question on ethnic ancestry indicate that some 64% of all persons who reported having Métis ancestry also reported having multiple ethnic ancestry of some kind, and, of these, 93% reported having non-Aboriginal ancestry.<sup>16</sup> This suggests that something in the order of 60% of the Métis alive today are descendants of unions between Métis and non-Aboriginals. Assuming this trend has been maintained, it would be reasonable to assume that about 60% of Métis couples today are also made up of a Métis and a non-Aboriginal partner. This would be sufficient to explain the higher incomes of Métis households relative to individual income differentials. In any event, unions with non-Aboriginals are clearly not insignificant and should therefore be expected to have an impact on household income data.

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<sup>16</sup>Derived from Statistics Canada catalogue 94-327 (Census). Non-Aboriginal parentage includes: Métis and non-Aboriginal; Métis, North American Indian and non-Aboriginal; Métis, Inuit and non-Aboriginal; and Métis, North American Indian, Inuit and non-Aboriginal. The Census does not therefore deal with the founding races that originally constituted the Métis (i.e., Indian and European) but with the mixing that is taking place between Métis and other ethnic groups.

Since non-Aboriginals usually have higher individual incomes than Métis, it follows that the Métis households in greatest need should, generally speaking, be those made up exclusively of Métis or of unions between Métis and another Aboriginal person. Once again, we do not have the hard data to prove this point, but there is some secondary evidence to support it. For example, the Census shows that single response Métis tend to have lower incomes than Métis with multiple ethnic origins, indicating that Métis-only households are at the bottom of the income totem pole.<sup>17</sup>

We can get a clearer picture of the incidence of need among Métis households if we examine their income distribution patterns relative to Canadian households generally. This is done in Chart 2 (Métis) and Chart 3 (General Population) for the main household types - all households, all couples, lone parent families and non-family households. The income distribution pattern of Métis households is clearly very different from that of the general Canadian population. On the graph, Métis households appear bunched at the lower end of the income scale - and the higher the income category, the fewer Métis households does it contain. The graph for the Canadian population displays a more even distribution across income ranges - each of the four income groups shown seem to contain about a quarter of the population. The major difference between the two distribution patterns occurs on the ends of the income scale. In fact, about the same proportion of households on both graphs - 51.6% of Métis households and 50.6% of Canadian households - fall within the two middle range income groups. But about 1 in every 3 Métis households had an income of less than \$20,000 in 1990, compared to only 23.6% of Canadian households, a difference of about ten percentage points. While on the top end of the scale, over 25% of Canadian households but only 15% of Métis households had incomes of \$60,000 or more, again a difference of about ten percentage points. More Métis households are very poor, and fewer are very rich than in the general population, but, in between, both groups have about the same proportion of their respective populations in "middle" income brackets.

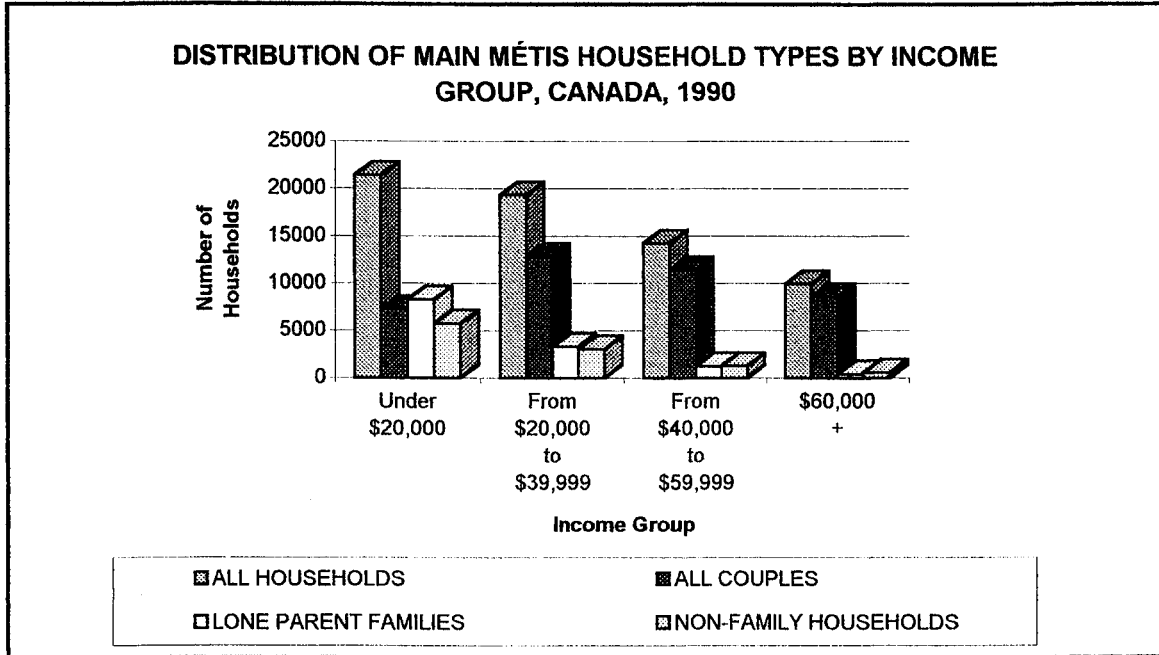
The higher incidence of poverty among Métis holds for all household types. For example, more than 18% of Métis couples, whether married or common-law, had a household income of less than \$20,000 per year in 1990, compared to only 12% of Canadian couples overall; about 62% of Métis single-parent families had incomes of less than \$20,000 in 1990, compared to only 43% of Canadian single-parent families generally; and 54% of Métis non-family households, compared to 48% of Canadian non-family households, lived on less than \$20,000 in 1990. Conversely, there were proportionately fewer Métis households, whatever the household type, in upper income categories. Whereas 1 in every 3 Canadian couples had household incomes of \$60,000 or more, fewer than 1 in every 4 Métis couples found themselves in this income range. Similarly, only 2.9% of Métis single parents had a household income of \$60,000 or more, compared to 8.4% of Canadian lone parent families generally. And while 7.6% of

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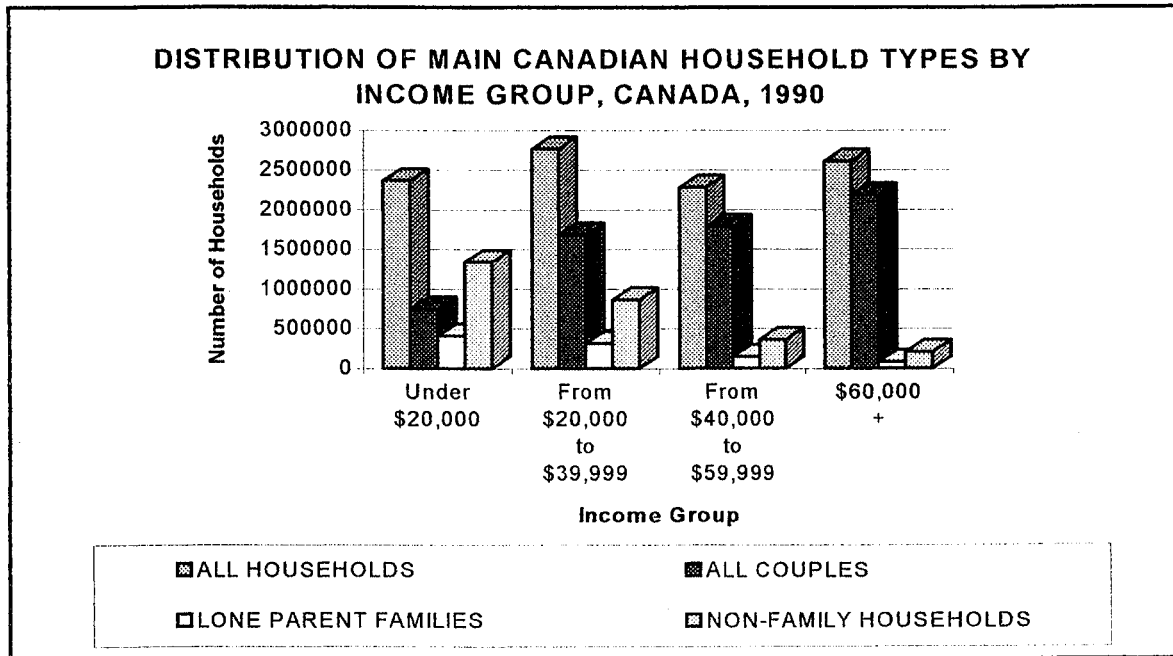
<sup>17</sup>See Statistics Canada catalogue 94-325, Table 1, pp. 26-27

Canadian non-family households were in this income bracket, only 5.6% of Métis non-family households were.

**CHART 2**



**CHART 3**



Within the general population, households made up of couples are considerably better-off than households composed of single parents or single people living either alone or with other unattached individuals (i.e., non-family households). They constitute only 32% of households with incomes of less than \$20,000, but over 80% of households earning \$60,000 or more. These households are more likely to have two or more incomes, and more likely therefore to have higher household incomes than households made up of single persons. This holds true for the Métis as well. Métis households made up of couples living together, either in married or common-law relationships, are, generally speaking, better-off than lone parent households or non-family households. They account for only 34% of Métis households with incomes of under \$20,000 per year, but for 86% of Métis households with incomes of \$60,000 or more.

However, this is where similarities end. For, though Métis couples are, as is the case with the general population, generally better-off than other Métis household types, they are worse-off than their Canadian counterparts and more likely therefore to be "low-income" households. Some 50.2% of all Métis couples have household incomes of less than \$40,000 per year, compared to only 38% of Canadian couples, and while it is difficult to estimate precisely how many of these Métis households could be considered low-income, we can produce rough estimates. The incidence of poverty can be roughly measured by calculating the number of households that have incomes less than half the median income of Canadian households.<sup>18</sup> In 1990, this low income threshold was \$20,125 for a two adult and one child or a one adult and two children household. Since roughly 75% of all Métis couples have at least one child, it is reasonable to assume that at least 75% of all Métis couples earning less than \$20,000 a year would be classed as low income. This would mean that roughly 15% of Métis couples would be classed as low-income households, which is almost twice the Canadian average for married couples of 8.8%.<sup>19</sup>

The high incidence of lone parent families aggravates the incidence of poverty among the Métis. While in the general population, 57% of households with incomes below \$20,000 per year are non-family households (mainly single person households), among the Métis, single parent families account for the bulk (close to 40%) of all households with incomes of less than \$20,000, and non-family households for only 27%. The income thresholds upon which poverty lines are based are much lower for unattached individuals than they are for families - including single parent families - so relatively fewer Canadian households with incomes of under \$20,000 would be considered "low-income", given the large proportion of non-family households in this income category, than is the case for the Métis, where family households account for over 70% of all households in this income class. This alone would lead to a higher incidence of poverty among the Métis, but the implications are particularly disastrous for single parent households. In 1990, 60.6% of all Canadian female-headed lone parent

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<sup>18</sup>This is one of the measures used by Statistics Canada. See Statistics Canada catalogue 13-207, Appendix 1, pp. 188-189

<sup>19</sup>*ibid*, p. 204.

families fell below Statistics Canada's low income cut-offs, yet, as we have seen, there are relatively far more Métis single parent families in the under \$20,000 income class than is the case in the general population. By taking into account differences in the income distribution pattern of Canadian and Métis lone-parent families, we estimate that as many as 88% of all Métis female-headed lone parent families could fall below Statistics Canada's low-income cut-offs. This is consistent with what we know about the income levels and labour force activity of Métis women, and indicates that there is an extremely high incidence of poverty among Métis lone parent families.

**TABLE XI**

<b>AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE, MÉTIS AND GENERAL POPULATION, CANADA, 1990</b>		
	<b>CANADA</b>	
	<b>MÉTIS</b>	<b>GEN. POP.</b>
<b>ALL HOUSEHOLDS</b>	\$35 668	\$46 137
<b>ONE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS</b>	\$37 800	\$53 024
All Couples	\$43 637	\$53 338
With Never Married Sons/Daughters	\$45 685	\$60 420
Lone Parent Families	\$20 185	\$23 892
<b>MULTIPLE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS</b>	\$57 172	\$78 733
<b>NON-FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS</b>	\$23 071	\$27 154
Single Persons	\$16 458	\$23 716
Two or More	\$35 270	\$43 067
Source: Special Run on APS, MNC # 21 and Statistics Canada catalogues 93-330 (for household income of all households, one family households, multiple and non-family households) and 13-207 (for family income of couples and lone parents)		

Although non-family households are generally less important for the Métis than in the general population, indications are that the incidence of poverty in Métis non-family households is also higher than the Canadian average. Not only are there proportionately more Métis non-family households in the lowest income category, their average income - and particularly that of single persons living alone - is considerably below the Canadian norm. If in 1990, 34.1% of all non-family households fell below Statistics Canada low-income cut-offs, then we estimate, based on simple extrapolations, that at least 38% of Métis non-family households did so.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup>The extrapolations are based on the assumption that the proportion of Métis non-family households below the low income cut-offs would bear the same relationship to the proportion of Canadian non-family households below the low income cut-offs as that between the proportion of Métis non-family households with annual incomes below \$20,000 and the proportion of Canadian non-family households with incomes below \$20,000. In other words, the Canadian standard has simply been adjusted to reflect the more skewed income distribution pattern that we find for Métis. Canadian figures taken from Statistics Canada catalogue 13-207, pp. 34-35.

Altogether, we estimate that roughly 23% of all Métis households can be considered to be living in poverty, using Statistics Canada guidelines, which is about twice the Canadian average. The bulk - about 48% - of these needy households are single parent families; about 37% are married or common-law couples; and the remaining 15% are non-family households, principally single individuals living alone. We must bear in mind that these are very rough calculations, but they nonetheless point towards some very important conclusions:

- First, they suggest that *single parent families* are the constituency presently in greatest need from a purely income point of view.
- Second, they point to the importance of *child poverty* among the Métis. As we saw earlier in this paper, most Métis households are made up of young families with children. By far the greatest majority of Métis households in poverty are young couples or single mothers, and the incidence of "child poverty" must therefore be extremely high.
- Third, they indicate that there are an inordinately large number of Métis married and common-law *couples* that are living in poverty. It must be made clear that most Métis couples, just as most Canadian couples, do not live in poverty, but the incidence of poverty nonetheless remains nearly twice as high for Métis couples as for Canadian couples generally. It would not be surprising if most Métis couples living below the poverty line were Métis-only households, though we have no way to prove this at the present time.
- Finally, they show that Métis *non-family households* are more likely to be poor than their Canadian counterparts, but since there are much fewer of them, they account for a smaller proportion of all households in need.

### **Some Further Considerations**

The portrait that has been drawn of the structure and income level of Métis households is rather like an abstract painting and lacks the definitional detail that could be provided had we access to better data and the time and resources to complete regional and sub-provincial analyses. Though we cannot at this stage fill-in the picture as completely as we would like, there are three areas where the canvass requires further elaboration. The first relates to the regional variations to which we have already had occasion to refer. Why do they exist? The second relates to urban-rural differences in family structure and income levels. Are there any major differences in household structure and household income as between urban and rural areas? And the last concerns the importance of adding a dynamic dimension to our understanding of the evolution of Métis social structure. What are the housing needs of the future likely to be given Métis population and income trends? While none of these questions can be answered definitely, this section reviews what light available socio-demographic data can shed on these matters.

## Regional Variations

We have already had occasion to mention the three most important regional variations that exist in the structural configuration of Métis households:

- income levels and the gap between Métis and the general population is generally always worst on the Prairies than anywhere else;
- Métis in British Columbia come closest to mirroring the Canadian norm in terms of household structure than anywhere else; and
- Métis in the Northwest Territories come closest to matching the income levels of the general population than anywhere else.

The relatively greater impoverishment of Métis - indeed of all off-reserve Aboriginal peoples - on the Prairies is a well attested fact but one that remains difficult to explain. Outside of the Northwest Territories, the Prairie Provinces boast the largest concentration of Aboriginal peoples anywhere in Canada. Aboriginal people represent close to 10% of the provincial population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and nearly 5% of Alberta's population, yet their numbers, far from stimulating greater integration into the dominant economy and society, appears instead to have helped preserve Aboriginal communities and their distinctiveness relative to Euro-Canadian society. This may prevent their integration into the labour market and may unfortunately create obstacles to the economic development of Aboriginal peoples. In any event, labour force activity measures deteriorate on the Prairies for Aboriginal peoples off-reserve relative to those of Central Canada, which is remarkable since those of the general population actually improve as one moves further West, hitting a peak in Alberta.<sup>21</sup> This translates in lower average incomes and a widening of the income gap with the general population. The high concentration of Aboriginal people in the Prairie Provinces may also mean that Métis-only or Aboriginal-only households would be formed more frequently than elsewhere, which would further dampen aggregate household income. Certainly, this is one of the most striking regional variations and one which merits further study.

Unlike Métis in Ontario, the Prairies or the Northwest Territories, the Métis in British Columbia share in the general Canadian trend favoring the formation of non-family households to the detriment of family households. In the absence of any other distinguishing characteristics in the socio-demographic profile of B.C. Métis relative to Métis elsewhere in the country, we are forced to conclude that the explanation must be sought in the greater cultural integration of B.C. Métis into the

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<sup>21</sup>From unpublished papers prepared by David A. Boisvert: "General Demographic Characteristics of Aboriginal Peoples" and "Labour Force Activity of Aboriginal Peoples".

dominant society, brought about by their relatively small numbers, high level of urbanisation and consequent dispersal within the larger provincial community.

Métis in the Northwest Territories have basically the same household structure as Métis elsewhere in Canada, but appear much better-off from an income point of view. This is due in part to the generally higher incomes received by Northern residents, in part to a better labour force activity pattern, and in part to the fact that Métis incomes are being compared mainly to those of other Aboriginal people - the N.W.T. is 60% Aboriginal - which tends to dampen regional averages for the general population.

### Urban/Rural Differences

There are no acute differences in the household composition as between Métis who live in urban and rural areas. By and large, the pattern traced earlier in this report - predominance of one family households, inordinately large number of lone parent families, and the relatively few non-family households - holds for both urban and rural areas. Lone parent families are slightly less common in rural areas, but still far above the Canadian average. Non-family households are also less common and one family households accordingly more common in rural areas, but differences with urban areas are not tremendous.

TABLE XII

MÉTIS HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE BY URBAN AND RURAL, CANADA, 1991		
	Urban	Rural
All Households	100.0%	100.0%
One Family Households	80.9%	84.4%
Now Married Couples	41.6%	50.6%
<i>with Children</i>	78.9%	75.1%
Common Law Couples	17.1%	17.0%
<i>with Children</i>	54.3%	69.6%
Lone-Parent Families	22.2%	16.8%
Non-Family Households	17.9%	13.7%
Source: Special Run on APS, MNC # 21		

Differences in average household income are more significant. On a national basis, the income of Métis households in rural areas was, in 1990, about 20% lower than that of Métis households in urban areas. Urban/rural income differentials were most acute in the Northwest Territories. There a Métis household in an urban area could expect to have an average income of over \$65,000 per year, while Métis living in rural areas had an average household income of only about \$47,000.



However, in the West, where the majority of Métis live, income differentials between urban and rural areas are much less acute. In British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, the differences are negligible, indicating that the move to urban centres has had little effect on the income of Métis households.

**TABLE XIII**

<b>AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY URBAN AND RURAL, MÉTIS, CANADA and SELECT PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, 1990</b>		
	Urban	Rural
CANADA	\$36 918	\$29 149
ONT.	\$44 896	\$39 637
MAN.	\$33 115	\$30 493
SASK.	\$32 822	\$29 269
ALTA.	\$37 217	\$32 164
B.C.	\$40 169	\$37 313
N.W.T.	\$65 247	\$47 408
Source: Special Run on APS, MNC # 21		

Outside the Northwest Territories, only in Ontario and Alberta do Métis households in urban areas make substantially more on average than rural households.

### **Future Prospects**

Without time series data, it is difficult to establish demographic trends or to forecast what changes are likely to take place in the composition of Métis households and in Métis income patterns.

However, one thing is for certain: the youthful Métis population of today will inevitably age. As it does so, the proportion of the Métis population 65 years and over will grow, as will the proportion of women beyond child-bearing age. As these trends manifest themselves, the demographic profile and household composition of Métis households will become more similar to the Canadian norm, although it is very unlikely that it will ever be identical. The proportion of families with children will likely decline, as will gross fertility rates. As important as family housing is today, in the future, it is seniors housing that will likely become the pressing concern.

It is likely to become the more pressing concern not only because of the growing size of elderly cohorts but because there are no indications that any major changes are likely to take place in Métis income distribution patterns over the foreseeable future. Since this study did not have information on household income by age of

household head, it was impossible to compute the average household income of elderly Métis households. But an analysis of total income data by age group would suggest that it is probably very low. About 40% of Métis 65 years and over made under \$10,000 in 1990, compared to only 28% of the Canadian population in this age group. Fully 80% made less than \$20,000 a year.<sup>22</sup> Given low-income cut-offs of roughly \$16,000 for a two person household and approximately \$11,000 for a single person, it would not be surprising to find that a very high proportion of elderly Métis live under the poverty line. However, as was the case with non-family households, elderly Métis households may be poorer than the Canadian norm, but because there are so much fewer elderly persons among the Métis than in the Canadian population generally, they are a less significant factor in the make-up of the population in need.

**TABLE XIV**

<b>MAJOR AGE AND SEX CATEGORIES BY INCOME CLASS, MÉTIS, CANADA, 1990</b>			
	<b>Percent Below \$20,000</b>	<b>Percent Between \$20,000 and \$50,000</b>	<b>Percent \$50,000+</b>
<b>Youth 15-24</b>	94.6%	4.8%	0.4%
<b>Male 25-54</b>	44.9%	49.2%	5.8%
<b>Female 25-54</b>	76.2%	22.8%	0.7%
<b>Elderly</b>	81.1%	16.6%	2.2%
<b>Source: Special Run on APS Database MNC # 11</b>			

The most interesting thing about age-specific data is, however, not what it says about current needs of the elderly but about the future needs of Canada's Métis population. For inter-generational analysis of total income data suggests that Métis income levels vary over their life-cycle. In short, most Métis seem to start their adult life in relative poverty. Income increases as they mature, but with mark differences for men and women. The majority of men of prime working age (25 to 54 years of age) end up making annual incomes of over \$20,000, but the majority of women never escape the poverty of their youth, at least not in terms of individual incomes at any rate. But given low incomes and the implications this has on their ability to save, old age represents a return to the poverty of their youth for both men and women. If this pattern holds for the current generation as it has for past generations, there is a very high likelihood that the proportion of Métis in need will only increase as the current generation of Métis ages. If this were to happen,

<sup>22</sup>Special run on APS MNC # 11

the elderly promise to become a much more important element of the Métis poverty structure as time goes on.

## **PART III**

### **MÉTIS HOUSING NEEDS**

In the last section, we saw that the vast majority of Métis households are family households with children, and that the income of many of these households, and particularly those composed of Métis only, is well below the Canadian average. From this alone, we can deduce a great deal about Métis housing conditions. We should expect for instance to find that most Métis live in housing units with two or more bedrooms, if for no other reason than to accommodate their children. But their low average household income suggests that they also probably tend to live in the "cheaper" or most affordable units available in any given market. In this section, we examine more specifically the housing conditions of the Métis people of Canada and, building on the analysis to date, we review what the available data reveals about the type, state and cost of the housing Métis occupy. Based on this overview, we develop a number of conclusions, some more tentative than others, about the major housing problems and major housing needs of the Métis people of Canada.

#### **Data Sources**

But before we proceed, we have to say a word about the data sources used in this analysis. There is not a great deal of information available specifically on the housing conditions of the Métis. Most of housing data collected by CMHC and Statistics Canada does not even differentiate between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal households, let alone between Indian, Inuit and Métis households. And while a number of studies have examined housing conditions on reserve, there have been very few studies of housing conditions off-reserve. The few that have been produced either lump all Aboriginal people together, making it impossible to identify Métis separately, or report on conditions in a specific Aboriginal community whose findings do not necessarily apply to the whole.

This is why the data collected by the APS is so important, for the APS was the first national survey of Aboriginal housing conditions which could allow consistent and reasonably confident comparisons to be made as between Aboriginal peoples as well as between regions etc.... Moreover, the APS can be cross-tabulated with Census data on income, household type and the like to make it a particularly valuable tool of analysis. Unfortunately, Statistics Canada published very little of the housing data gathered in the APS. Researchers are therefore required to resort to costly and time-consuming special runs if they want more information. This study did not have the resources to commission special runs on the APS database. However, CMHC did commission some special runs to determine the extent of "core need" among Aboriginal households and to examine housing adequacy, suitability and affordability issues in more depth. These were used by

Ark Consultants to prepare a report for CMHC on "The Housing Conditions of Aboriginal People in Canada, 1991" due to be released in the Winter of 1996.<sup>1</sup>

This is a valuable report. It includes a wealth of information and provides interesting insights into the housing problems of Aboriginal people. Along with published data from Statistics Canada, it is the principal source of data for the analysis made in this section. However, it fails to present information by Aboriginal people, choosing instead to disaggregate information by on and off-reserve, by urban and rural and occasionally by region, but rarely by Aboriginal people. This obviously limits its usefulness for the purpose of describing Métis housing conditions. Since the conditions of Métis do not, on many other parameters we can measure, differ appreciably from off-reserve Indians - in southern Canada at any rate - we can nonetheless use the data presented in this report to fill-in blanks we would otherwise have to leave vacant. This is, however, an unsatisfactory way to proceed, and we do it sparingly.

This leaves published APS data as the only reliable source of information on Métis housing conditions available to this study. The data is very limited in scope, and without cross tabulations, it is nearly impossible to use it to establish correlations between variables that we would need to produce a more thorough analysis. It does, however, provide information by Aboriginal people, and by region and for a few select CMA's. The principal CMA's in the Western provinces, where the bulk of Métis live, were particularly well canvassed. For these provinces therefore it was possible to distinguish between Métis housing conditions in these CMA's and, by subtracting from provincial aggregates, outside these CMA's, thereby providing a rough surrogate for the urban/rural split that is commonly used in analyses of this kind. Unfortunately, published data does not allow for similar disaggregations of housing conditions along social parameters, such as income class or household type, and we will have to wait for another study to refine the analysis further.

### **Profile of Métis Housing Conditions**

Table XV summarizes some of the principal information that can be obtained on Métis housing conditions from published APS sources. It presents information on tenure type, housing costs, age of dwelling, household and dwelling size, and need for repair of dwellings occupied by Métis in Métis homeland areas. Generally speaking, it shows that there are mark differences in housing conditions of Métis in major urban centres as compared to more rural areas. Métis in larger urban centres tend to occupy older but larger housing units than Métis in more rural areas, and, despite being older on average, their dwellings tend to be in a better state of repair than those occupied by Métis outside urban centres. However, housing costs are significantly higher for Métis in large urban centres and far fewer Métis own their own home there than in smaller centres and more rural areas. This would indicate that in urban centres Métis face acute affordability

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<sup>1</sup>See: CMHC Research Division, **The Housing Conditions of Aboriginal People in Canada, 1991**, prepared by Ark Consultants, Winter, 1996.

**TABLE XV  
SELECT CHARACTERISTICS OF METIS HOUSING, 1991**

	TENURE TYPE			COST				AGE OF DWELLING				NEED FOR REPAIRS				
	Owner	Tenant	Band Housing	Average Monthly Rent	Average Owner Costs Per Month	Pre-1960		1960-1980		Post-1980	Average # of Persons Per Dwelling	Average # of Rooms Per Dwelling	Average # of Bedrooms Per Dwelling	% Major Repairs	% Minor Repairs	% Regular Maintenance Only
						Pre-1960	1960-1980	1960-1980	Post-1980							
<b>ONTARIO</b>	52.0%	48.2%	0.0%	\$598	\$740	38.1%	43.4%	19.2%	19.2%	3.2	6.1	2.8	16.8%	27.6%	56.1%	
<b>MANITOBA</b>	46.7%	52.0%	1.2%	\$429	\$598	35.1%	45.4%	19.5%	19.5%	3.2	5.6	2.6	17.4%	31.4%	51.1%	
Winnipeg	33.3%	66.8%	0.0%	\$454	\$803	42.2%	46.5%	11.4%	11.4%	3.1	5.6	2.5	16.3%	27.2%	56.6%	
Outside Winnipeg	59.8%	37.6%	2.5%	\$386	\$487	28.2%	44.4%	27.3%	27.3%	3.3	5.6	2.7	18.6%	35.5%	45.7%	
<b>SASKATCHEWAN</b>	46.6%	51.8%	1.5%	\$442	\$593	29.8%	52.4%	17.8%	17.8%	3.5	5.9	2.8	18.8%	30.9%	50.3%	
Regina	43.0%	57.0%	0.0%	\$550	\$764	33.2%	56.2%	10.7%	10.7%	3.4	6.3	2.9	9.6%	27.7%	62.7%	
Saskatoon	36.3%	63.7%	0.0%	\$469	\$801	37.4%	47.2%	15.5%	15.5%	3.3	6.2	2.8	9.1%	35.6%	55.2%	
Outside R&S	51.6%	45.8%	2.5%	\$393	\$499	25.9%	53.5%	20.6%	20.6%	3.6	5.7	2.8	24.9%	29.8%	45.2%	
<b>ALBERTA</b>	45.3%	54.1%	0.6%	\$547	\$588	21.6%	55.8%	22.6%	22.6%	3.4	5.9	2.8	15.5%	32.0%	52.6%	
Calgary	40.0%	60.2%	0.0%	\$582	\$874	29.7%	51.9%	18.4%	18.4%	3.0	6.2	2.7	8.5%	31.1%	60.4%	
Edmonton	32.4%	67.4%	0.0%	\$583	\$698	26.1%	59.0%	14.9%	14.9%	3.3	6.1	2.8	11.7%	31.7%	56.6%	
Outside C&E	56.9%	41.9%	1.3%	\$488	\$482	15.8%	54.4%	29.8%	29.8%	3.6	5.7	2.8	20.5%	32.4%	47.2%	
<b>BRITISH COLUMBIA</b>	42.6%	57.1%	0.0%	\$632	\$691	28.7%	44.4%	27.0%	27.0%	3.0	6.1	2.6	13.3%	26.4%	60.3%	
Vancouver	32.5%	67.5%	0.0%	\$706	\$924	27.7%	38.5%	34.0%	34.0%	2.9	6.4	2.6	0.0%	22.1%	73.1%	
Outside Vancouver	52.0%	47.5%	0.0%	\$534	\$555	29.6%	49.8%	20.4%	20.4%	3.1	5.8	2.6	25.6%	30.5%	48.4%	
<b>N.W.T.</b>	47.2%	52.4%	0.0%	\$600	\$754	7.3%	58.7%	33.7%	33.7%	3.6	5.7	2.6	20.5%	28.5%	51.0%	

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada catalogue 89-535 (AFS) Tables 2.5 and 2.6

problems which drives them to rent and to rent primarily older housing stock, which, though it is often older, is relatively well maintained by landlords and more suitable often than the housing available outside large urban areas. Outside large urban centres, housing costs are lower and the likelihood that Métis own their own home is higher, but the stock they occupy tends to suffer from adequacy and suitability problems not found in larger urban areas. The poorer quality of the stock may indeed be associated with higher homeownership levels since, with their low average household income, Métis homeowners may find it more difficult to maintain their homes than those who occupy rental units. Thus low incomes are likely at the source of Métis housing problems in both larger urban centres and in smaller communities: in large urban centres it leads to problems of affordability, forcing Métis to occupy older and cheaper housing units and preventing them from accessing homeownership, while in smaller communities, it manifests itself primarily as problems of adequacy and suitability, as Métis households find it within their means to purchase newer but smaller housing units and then have problems keeping them in reasonable shape. Let us now look at the situation in more detail.

### *1. Tenure Type*

By any stretch of the imagination, Métis are significantly under-represented as homeowners wherever they live in Canada. On a Canada wide basis, only 47.5% of Métis households are homeowner households, 51.6% are renter households and 0.9% live in Band housing. By way of comparison, 62.6% of all Canadian households are homeowners, only 37.1% rent and 0.3% live in Band housing.<sup>2</sup>

The under-representation of Métis in terms of home ownership holds for both urban and rural areas. For example, 62% of all Winnipeg households are homeowners, as are 72% of Manitoban households living outside Winnipeg, but only 33.3% of Métis households in Winnipeg and 59.8% of Métis households outside Winnipeg own their own home. Similarly, though 66.1% of all households in Regina, 61.0% of all households in Saskatoon and 74.4% of all Saskatchewan households outside Regina and Saskatoon are homeowners, only 43.0% of Métis households in Regina, 36.3% of Métis households in Saskatoon and 51.6% of Métis households outside Regina and Saskatoon were classified as homeowners in 1991. And while 60.6% of Calgary households, 59.2% of Edmonton households and some 71.0% of Alberta households outside Calgary and Edmonton are homeowners, only 40.0% of Métis households in Calgary, 32.4% in Edmonton and 56.9% outside these major Alberta centres owned their own home.<sup>3</sup>

As with the general population, the incidence of home ownership is, for the Métis, nonetheless much higher in rural areas than in large urban centres. As we saw earlier in this paper, the urban/rural distribution of the Métis and general Canadian populations are, however, different. There are proportionally more Métis in rural

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<sup>2</sup>Calculated from data published in Statistics Canada catalogue 93-330.

<sup>3</sup>ibid

areas than is the case for the general population. While national homeownership figures are fairly representative of what is going on with the 77% of the Canadian population that lives in urban areas, they tend to camouflage what is happening to the 65% of Métis who live in urban areas. For instance, in the two urban centres that account for the bulk of the urban Métis - Winnipeg and Edmonton - only about a 1/3 of Métis households are homeowners, compared to about 60% of households generally. This is a huge difference in the home ownership situation of Métis relative to the general population. Similar conditions prevail in Saskatoon and Vancouver. Only in Regina and Calgary do home ownership levels rise appreciably - to 43% of Métis households in Regina and 40% in Calgary - but even here, they lag behind those of the general population.

Rental is consequently by far the prevalent form of housing tenure for Métis in urban areas, even though, outside large urban centres, the majority of Métis own their own home. Evidently, the ability of Métis to access homeownership declines as we move from country to city. As we shall argue later, this seems to be due above all to the fact that, though housing costs rise appreciably in urban areas, Métis incomes do not. Despite these important differences in tenure types as between urban and more rural areas, we should not lose sight of the fact that Métis are under-represented in terms of homeownership virtually everywhere, relative to conditions prevailing within the general population. Just because home ownership levels are higher in rural areas does not mean that they are adequate by Canadian standards.

The Northwest Territories stand out as exception to the general rule that Métis home ownership levels are always inferior to those of the general population. Owing to the exceedingly high propensity of Inuit to rent, only 31% of all households in the N.W.T. are homeowner households. Among the Métis of the N.W.T., however, 47% own their own home, which is significantly above the territorial average, although still far below the Canadian norm generally. The incidence of home ownership among the Métis of the N.W.T. is comparable to that of Métis who live outside large urban centres everywhere, and is in itself not surprising, given that there are no large urban centres in the N.W.T. However, housing costs are also, as we shall see, much higher in the N.W.T. than in southern Canada, approaching conditions that elsewhere are found only in large urban centres, and to this extent Métis home ownership levels do call for some explanation. That explanation is likely to be found in the much higher average income of Métis of the N.W.T. than elsewhere in Canada.

## **2. *Housing Costs***

Métis housing costs tend to be somewhat lower, on a national basis, than the Canadian average. In 1991, the average rent paid by Métis households was \$505,



compared to an average rent of \$546 for the general population.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the average payments of Métis homeowner households was \$607 compared to \$662 for Canadian homeowners generally.<sup>5</sup> This tendency is not, however, a strong one. In some markets, Métis renters pay less on average than the general population and in others they pay more; the same holds for homeowners. For example, in Winnipeg the average rental payment of a Métis household in 1991 was \$454, compared to \$478 for the general population, but in Edmonton, Métis renters paid on average \$583, compared to \$521 for the general population. And while the 33% of Métis who were homeowners in Winnipeg paid significantly more - \$803 per month - than the average payment of \$641 for Winnipeg homeowners generally, Métis homeowners in Edmonton do not pay anymore on average - at \$698 per month - than the average homeowner payment in that CMA, which was \$700 per month in 1991.

The one constant is for home ownership costs in large urban areas to be significantly higher than home ownership costs in smaller centres and more rural areas, and significantly higher as well than rental costs. As Table XV demonstrates, the costs of owning a home nearly doubles for Métis in the larger urban centres of Western Canada relative to home ownership costs outside these centres. Average rents are also higher in these larger urban centres than elsewhere, but increases are not as steep. As a result, differences in the cost of renting versus home ownership tend to be much more acute in large urban centres than in more rural areas.

As we saw in Part II, average household income of Métis, in the Prairie Provinces at least, does not improve significantly as one moves from rural to urban settings (see Table XIII). Given the much higher costs of home ownership in large urban centres, the ability of Métis households to assume the costs associated with home ownership must therefore decline as one moves from country to city. This likely explains the low home ownership levels registered by Métis in urban centres. They are left with only one alternative: renting. Rental costs in most Prairie CMAs are on average about \$100 per month higher than outside these CMAs, but they are about equivalent to and often lower than the average mortgage payment on more rural properties. The marginal increase in average household income of urban Métis households is often able to offset the higher rental costs associated with the move from country to city living. At any rate, rental accommodation is the only accommodation most Métis households in urban areas can afford.

By the same token, the fact that differences between average home ownership costs and average rental costs are less acute outside large CMAs probably accounts for the much higher incidence of home ownership among Métis in these areas. However, a note of caution must be introduced before we interpret the data in this way. Unlike rental costs, home ownership costs tend to decline over time as mortgages are paid-off. And a very significant proportion of Canadian homeowners

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<sup>4</sup>ibid

<sup>5</sup>Statistics Canada catalogue 89-535, p. 130

(48.5%) are mortgage free. The proportion of mortgage free households is likely higher in smaller communities and rural areas than in large urban centres. Consequently, lower average home ownership costs do not necessarily mean that housing prices are lower in rural areas than in large urban centres. In fact, construction costs are often higher in rural and remote areas, offsetting any benefits to be derived from lower land costs relative to urban centres. Low average home ownership costs may therefore be just as much a reflection of a high number of mortgage free households as low housing prices. Moreover, self-built housing is more common in smaller communities and rural communities, and this too would tend to lower home ownership costs relative to large urban centres.

It is interesting to note in this regard that, except for Alberta and the unique situation of the Métis in the N.W.T., average monthly payments of Métis homeowners outside the major Western CMAs are generally higher than for the general population. Though the differences are not major - averaging about \$20 per month for the most part - they do suggest that Métis homeowners outside the large CMAs may either face higher housing prices or have accessed home ownership more recently than the general population of these areas. In Alberta, Métis homeowners in non-CMA areas have much lower costs (\$482 per month) than the general population (\$573 per month), which suggests either that the reverse has taken place in that province - i.e., that more Métis have paid off their mortgages or that they generally purchase less expensive homes than the general population. The same applies to the N.W.T. where Métis home ownership costs are, at \$754 per month, considerably lower than the territorial average of \$900 per month.

### 3. *Age of Dwelling*

Census data on the age of dwellings is highly unreliable owing to the fact that it relies on subjective evaluations by tenants and homeowners of the age of the premises they occupy. On the surface, it would appear that the age of dwellings occupied by Métis is not that different than the Canadian average. Fewer Métis occupy dwellings built before 1960 - 29.2% compared to a Canadian average of 35.5% - but this likely merely reflects the fact that most Métis live in Western Canada, where the housing stock is generally newer. Some 49.0% of Métis occupy housing units that were built between 1960 and 1980, which is somewhat more than the Canadian average of 43.0%. Once again, differences in population distributions probably account for this variation, which tends to counterbalance differences in occupation of pre-1960 housing stock. The proportion of Métis and general Canadian households in post-1980 housing units is consequently virtually identical at 21.6% and 21.7% respectively.

National aggregates however hid important regional differences, the most important of which are, once again, differences between urban and rural areas. Two points are worth noting in this regard:

- First, as a general rule, housing occupied by Métis in non-CMA areas is of more recent vintage than the dwellings occupied by Métis in the larger urban centres; and
- Second, Métis in the larger urban centres have higher propensity to occupy older (pre-1960) housing stock and a low propensity to occupy new (post-1980) units.

With the exception of British Columbia, Métis in non-CMA areas tend to occupy newer dwelling units than Métis in the cities. In Manitoba, for instance, over a quarter (27.3%) of Métis households outside Winnipeg occupy units built since 1980, compared to slightly over 1 in every 10 (11.4%) Métis households in Winnipeg itself. Similarly, in Saskatchewan and Alberta, Métis outside the major CMAs have about twice as much chance to occupy a new housing unit than Métis living in the CMAs. At the same time, they are much less likely to reside in units built before 1960. In British Columbia, differences between Vancouver and other parts of the province are minimal, reflecting perhaps recent rapid population growth in that province, while in the Northwest Territories, over a third of Métis occupy new post-1980 housing units and only about 7% live in units built before 1960.

It is not clear why Métis housing in smaller communities and rural areas should be so much newer. The answer does not lie in rapid population increases, since rural areas have long been losing population. Nor does it lie in the age configuration of the more rural stock. In fact, non-CMA housing stock tends in general to be at least as old, if not older, than the housing stock within CMAs. For example, 38.2% of the housing stock in Manitoba outside Winnipeg was built before 1960, as was 40.9% of the housing in Saskatchewan outside of Regina and Saskatoon, and 27.4% of Alberta dwellings outside Edmonton and Calgary.<sup>6</sup> A more promising explanation is that since 1960, considerable progress has been made in assisting Métis access better and newer housing through such programs as RNH. If so, this helps answer another question. Given that newer housing is generally more expensive than older housing, why is that Métis housing outside CMAs is so much less expensive than housing in the larger urban centres? If a high proportion of newer Métis housing in non-CMA areas is assisted housing, then it would be natural for costs to be lower.

The situation is more clear cut in urban areas. Although the majority of Métis occupy housing built since 1960, a large number are nonetheless housed in older, pre-1960 housing stock. In Winnipeg, 42.2% of all Métis households occupy pre-1960 dwellings, in Regina and Saskatoon, over 33% of Métis households occupy pre-1960 stock, while in Alberta CMAs and in British Columbia, about 1/4 of Métis households occupy such older units. While these figures seem high, they can

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<sup>6</sup>Calculated from Statistics Canada catalogue 93-314, Table 7.

be explained for the most part by the greater age of the housing stock in large cities. For example, 41.6% of all the housing stock in Winnipeg was built prior to 1960, as was 28.4% of the housing stock in Regina, 30.1% in Saskatoon, 21.7% in Calgary, 23.2% in Edmonton and 29.4% in Vancouver.<sup>7</sup> Seen in this light, Métis do not occupy older units to such a disproportionate extent. They do tend to be over-represented in such units in Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Calgary, but not to any significant degree in Winnipeg or Vancouver.

Métis are, however, in virtually all major western CMAs, under-represented in new, post-1980 housing stock. Although 17.8% of all housing stock in Winnipeg was built since 1980, only 11.4% of Métis households occupy such dwellings. In Regina, post-1980 stock accounts for 24.8% of all housing units, but for only 10.7% of units Métis occupy. Similarly in Saskatoon, where the post-1980 stock accounts for 26.2% of all dwellings, only 15.5% of Métis households live in new housing. In Calgary 25% of the stock is new, but only 18.4% of Métis households occupy post-1980 dwellings, while in Edmonton, 22.2% of the housing stock was built since 1980, but it houses only 14.9% of the City's Métis population. Only in Vancouver are Métis over-represented in post-1980 stock. There 26.2% of all housing units were built since 1980, but it is home to 34% of Vancouver's Métis households.

This is strong indication that newer housing is beyond the reach of most Métis households in the larger CMAs. Since older stock is generally less expensive than newer construction, Métis tend to seek the cheaper, more affordable units available in the urban market. The bulk - roughly 50% of Métis households in most CMAs - end up in accommodations which are neither old nor new, having been built between 1960 and 1980. In some Prairie cities, they are disproportionately represented in old pre-1960 stock. Except for the suburbs, Métis do, in general, appear to be fairly evenly distributed throughout the CMA area. Doubtlessly, in their efforts to cope with the higher housing costs of large urban centres, some Métis are forced to occupy very old dwellings, with less expensive rents or which cost less to buy. And since this older housing stock tends to be concentrated in certain areas of the city, we should expect urban economics to dictate that poorer Métis households at any rate will congregate in the same neighbourhoods.

#### **4. *Housing Size***

Although the average size of Métis households is considerably above the Canadian average - for Canada as a whole, Métis households on average contain 3.3 persons, while the Canadian average is 2.7 - it would be a mistake to make too much of this difference. It can largely be explained by differences in the demographic profile of the two populations. As we tried to show elsewhere, Métis do not as a rule have larger families than other Canadians families with children; among Métis, simply

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<sup>7</sup>ibid.

higher proportion of Métis women who are of child-bearing age than is the case for the general population.

Given the preponderance of family households, the figure of 3.3 persons per household can be taken as a fairly accurate representation of the average size of Métis family households. In Saskatchewan and Alberta, households in non-CMA areas tend to be larger than those in the large urban centres - averaging 3.6 persons per household - while in Manitoba and British Columbia, differences between urban and rural areas are, on the whole, rather negligible.

The important question is whether Métis households occupy dwellings large enough to accommodate the size of the household. One of the most common ways to determine this is to compare the number of persons in the household to the number of bedrooms in the dwelling. National Occupancy Standards specify there should be one bedroom for each member of the household, except for the husband and wife, who can share a bedroom, and for children under 5, who can be doubled-bunked. Based on this criteria, Métis appear to be suitably housed on average. Nationally, Métis households have an average of 2.7 bedrooms per housing unit, which is more than enough for the typical 3.3 person family. Since we are dealing with averages, there are undoubtedly some households that fall below this standard, just as there others that would be above. Data limitations do not allow us to explore the matter in more detail. However, on the whole, it is probably safe to say that most Métis households have an adequate number of bedrooms for their size, although there are likely exceptions to this rule, particularly in the case of larger families.

We should not be surprised at this result. As we have seen, Métis households are constituted primarily of families with children, and Métis parents would naturally make it a priority to find accommodations that contain enough bedrooms for themselves and their children. A more meaningful measure of housing size is the number of rooms a dwelling contains. Here we find some interesting variations.

To begin with, Métis households tend to have fewer rooms than the Canadian norm. With an average of 2.7 persons per household, Canadian households have, on average, 6.1 rooms per dwelling, while Métis households have, despite their larger household size, only 5.9 rooms per dwelling. Once we subtract the number of bedrooms the average dwelling contains, a Métis family has less than one additional room per person, including bathroom, kitchen and living room. By way of comparison, the average Canadian household has 1.3 additional rooms per person. This is strong indication that Métis occupy smaller housing units on average than the general population.

This appears to be the case particularly in rural areas and north of 60. The average number of rooms per dwelling drops in these areas - to roughly 5.6 or 5.7 rooms - even though average household size increases. This suggests that housing occupied

even though average household size increases. This suggests that housing occupied by Métis outside CMAs tends to be smaller in size than that in larger urban centres. Though Métis housing in non-CMA areas may be relatively newer than that in CMAs, it is also therefore generally smaller, which would tend to reduce its costs. This suggests that much of the newer housing that Métis occupy outside the larger CMAs is modest housing, which tends to confirm our earlier hypothesis that newer units are made up largely of social housing, since social housing is also generally modest housing. Only further research can prove the validity of this hypothesis, but this is certainly one of the more fruitful directions in which to explore.

The drop in room count also indicates that housing suitability problems are likely more acute in rural areas than in the larger urban centres. Though bedroom counts remain about the same as in urban areas, the smaller size of housing units combined with larger average household size means that over-crowding is likely more common in non-CMA areas. In some cases, adequate bedroom counts may be maintained only by transforming other rooms into bedrooms. More frequently, over-crowding may take the form of inadequate space to live, work and store things.

In the larger urban centres, on the other hand, the average number of rooms of Métis dwellings remains very close to that of the general population, as do bedroom counts. Housing suitability problems should accordingly be less of a factor in larger CMAs than elsewhere.

### **5. *Need for Repairs***

The long form Canadian Census questionnaire asks respondents to evaluate the repair needs of the dwelling they occupy, and this provides useful information by which to evaluate the physical condition of the Canadian housing stock. On a national basis, the Canadian private housing stock is in pretty good shape. Fully 68.2% of housing units need no repairs at all but only require regular maintenance; some 23.6% of Canadian homes need minor repairs on some kind; and only 8.2% of the stock is evaluated by respondents as needing major repairs.<sup>8</sup>

The physical condition of Métis-occupied dwellings is, in contrast, extremely poor. Close to half (47.2%) are judged to be in need of repair. On a national basis, 30.3% of Métis-occupied dwellings are in need of minor repairs, and a whopping 16.9% need major repairs. This is twice the Canadian average, and is rather surprising given that most Métis live in Western Canada, where the condition of housing is considered better than average even by Canadian standards.

Generally speaking, the physical condition of Métis housing is worse outside the major CMAs than within. Roughly 20% to 25% of Métis homes outside the major

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<sup>8</sup>ibid

major repair, and approximately 30% to 35% need minor repairs of some kind. This indicates that well over 50% of the rural and small town housing stock occupied by Métis in Western Canada is in some measure inadequate. This result is even more alarming when we consider that, depending on the region, from 20% to 30% of Métis-occupied dwellings outside the major CMAs are new, post-1980 units. Repair needs tend to increase with age of the housing stock. This suggests that the 70% to 80% of the units that are not new are in very poor shape indeed, and that close to half may be in need of major repairs. The proportion of Métis-occupied units outside CMAs in need of repair is above average even for these less urbanized areas - typically, only about 10% of the private stock is in need of major repair, and 30% in need of minor repairs.

Conditions seem to be better in the cities. The proportion of Métis-occupied units in need of major repair drops to a low of 0 in Vancouver and 8.5% in Calgary and reaches a high of 16.3% in Winnipeg. The proportion in need of minor repairs ranges from 22% (Vancouver) to 36% (Saskatoon), and averages about 30%. The majority of units are not in need of repair. Thus, despite the greater age of the housing stock, these city units appear to be better maintained than Métis-occupied housing outside urban centres.

It is difficult to explain the discrepancy in the physical condition of Métis housing as between CMA and non-CMA areas. Age of the housing stock seems to have very little to do with the matter. Possibly, in rural areas, Métis housing, regardless of when it was built, is generally of inferior quality and workmanship to housing built in the cities. It may consequently be more inclined to rapid deterioration. Another possible explanation lies in the differences in predominant tenure types as between urban and more rural areas. As we have seen, in cities, Métis tend to be renters, which means that landlords are responsible for the physical upkeep of the dwellings Métis occupy. Outside the larger urban centres, the majority of Métis own their own home, and they are responsible for home maintenance and repair. But we have also seen that the average household income of Métis in rural areas is very low; many may therefore find it financially difficult to undertake major repairs to their dwellings. In any event, it would be important to examine this question in greater detail.

Notwithstanding the relative improvement in the conditions of the housing stock, Métis-occupied housing in most large urban centres is significantly more likely to be in need of major repairs than is the case for the general population. For instance, in Winnipeg, 8.4% of the private housing stock was in 1991 considered to be in need of major repair; the comparable figure for Métis-occupied housing was 16.3%. And in Calgary, where 5.7% of the stock was in need of major repair, 8.5% of Métis-occupied homes were judged to be in need of major repair; while in Edmonton, where 7.2% of the stock needed major repairs, 11.7% of Métis units required such repairs. In most Western cities, the proportion of Métis dwellings

requiring minor repairs is also higher than average.<sup>9</sup> The greater propensity of Métis-occupied dwellings to be in need of repairs may, in the cities at any rate, simply be due to the fact that proportionately fewer Métis occupy newer post-1980 units, which are less likely to need repairs, than is the case for the general population. Nonetheless, it suggests that even in the larger cities Métis households are more likely to face adequacy problems than is the case for the general population.

### **Métis Population in Core Need**

The profile of Métis housing conditions that we have been able to reconstruct from published APS data suggests that there are major differences in housing conditions between urban and rural areas. Generally speaking, the 35% of the Métis population that lives in rural areas is confronted with relatively low housing costs and has a greater propensity to home ownership. However, the housing they occupy is generally smaller and more modest than urban housing units, and, despite being newer, a very large proportion is in need of repair. For the 65% of Métis who live in urban areas, on the other hand, the major problem seems to be the high cost of housing. In particular, the cost of owning a home in urban areas is prohibitively high for Métis. Accordingly, few are homeowners, and the majority by far are renters. This tends to exclude Métis from the suburbs, where most new construction is taking place, and leads to their being over-represented in the older urban housing stock. However, despite its age, the units they occupy tend to be larger and in better physical condition than the housing Métis have in rural areas.

What does this tell us of Métis housing needs? Presumably, it suggests that the major problem for Métis in rural areas should be related to the type and quality of housing that is available there, while, in urban areas, the biggest problem is access to affordable housing. Can we go further than this? How can we measure the type and extent of housing problems that Métis face?

### ***CMHC's Core Need Definition***

Theoretically, there are many possible ways to measure housing need. However, CMHC has developed a definition of housing need which, while it is not without its problems, is widely used and applied in Canada, and which for this reason enables comparisons to be made with the general population. It is commonly referred to as CMHC's "core need" definition.

It is important to understand that CMHC's definition of housing need was developed in order to measure the population that is, at least in theory, eligible for social

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<sup>9</sup>For example, in Winnipeg, 23.2% of all private dwellings needed minor repairs, compared to 27.2% of Métis-occupied dwellings. In Regina, 22.5% of all dwellings needed minor repairs, compared to 27.7% of Métis-occupied dwellings. The comparable figures for Saskatoon are 23.8% and 35.6%; for Calgary 24.1% and 35.5%; for Edmonton, 25.7% and 31.7%; and for Vancouver, 20.6% and 22.1%.



housing. Social housing seeks to provide needy households with shelter that is large enough for their family and that is in good physical condition at a cost that the household can afford. CMHC's core need definition accordingly seeks to measure the number of Canadian households who could qualify for social housing on the grounds that their current habitations are unsuitable (i.e., too small) for their family size, or physically inadequate or too expensive relative to their income. Owning a home, for instance, is not considered a necessary to meet these objectives, and no attempt is therefore made to include the incidence of home ownership within the measure of housing need. The definition has developed measures for only three things: suitability of housing, adequacy of housing, and the affordability of housing.

A household is considered to be in "housing need" if one or more of the following conditions apply:

- there are an insufficient number of bedrooms for the number of occupants in the household (allowing one bedroom for husband and wife, double bunking of children under five, and a separate bedroom for everyone else) - this is a measure of the **suitability** of the housing unit for the household;
- accommodations do not meet basic building standards (e.g. no electricity, no indoor toilette, no heat, leaking roof, faulty wiring etc...) - these are measures of housing **adequacy**;
- more than 30% of gross household income is spent on shelter (technically, rent or mortgage plus heat, but usually just rent or mortgage costs are considered owing to data limitations) - this is the measure of housing **affordability** used by CMHC.

Households facing suitability, adequacy and/or affordability problems are not, however, automatically eligible for social housing. A means test is applied to ensure that eligibility is restricted only to "needy" households. To be in "core need", households must not only have a housing problem, but their gross household income must also fall below the Core Need Income Threshold (CNIT). CNITs are set by taking the average monthly market rent prevailing in any given locality for units of certain size (bedroom count), and then calculating what the gross annual income of a household would have to be in order for it to pay that average rent for 12 months, assuming that housing costs account for exactly 30% of gross household income. Since rents vary enormously from market to market, CNITs are calculated separately for each major city and sub-region within a province and vary a great deal from place to place. Only households that have housing problems and whose income is below CNIT are considered in "core housing need" and eligible for social housing.

This "core need" definition tends to privilege households who have affordability problems at the expense of households who have only suitability or adequacy problems. The reasoning behind CNITs is that households with income above CNITs could afford

to solve their own housing problems by renting accommodations on the private market, the assumption being that the units to which average rents apply meet basic adequacy standards. Households with affordability problems - i.e., households that devote 30% or more of gross household income on shelter - are more likely to be unable to afford average rents; on a national basis, almost 60% of households with affordability problems meet core need requirements. The same cannot be said of households having just an adequacy or suitability problem. Over 75% of these households have incomes above CNIT levels and are therefore disqualified from "core need". This does not however mean that households with just adequacy or suitability problems and with incomes above CNIT - sometimes only marginally above CNIT - do not have serious housing problems.

### *Core Need Estimates*

Very few estimates have been made of the Métis population in "core need". CMHC does regularly compute the number and proportion of Aboriginal households in core need off reserve, but it has yet to make a habit of providing core need data by Aboriginal people. In fact, the only estimates it has ever produced specifically on the Métis population in core need were published in December, 1995, and were derived from a special run on the APS database. Only national results were released, making it impossible to examine regional variations. However, the proportion of Métis in core need is very close to that of other Aboriginal people off-reserve, south of 60 at any rate. Consequently, national data on Métis in core need can be supplemented by regional data on Aboriginal people in core need to give a more complete picture of Métis housing needs.

**TABLE XVI**

<b>MÉTIS HOUSEHOLDS IN CORE NEED, CANADA, 1991 (APS)</b>			
	Total	Owner	Renter
	Number in Need		
Total	19,920	5,185	14,735
Urban	13,875	1,680	12,195
Rural	6,045	3,505	2,540
	Percent of Households in Need		
Total	31.1%	16.8%	43.9%
Urban	31.2%	9.6%	44.0%
Rural	31.0%	26.0%	43.4%
Source: CMHC, Research Division			

As measured by the APS, on a national basis, 31.1% of Métis households were in "core housing need" in 1991. This is significantly greater than the Canadian average - in 1991, 12.2% of Canadian households were considered in core need<sup>10</sup> - but is very close to

<sup>10</sup>CMHC, Canadian Housing Statistics (1992), p. 66

the proportion of Aboriginal households off-reserve in core need, which, again using the APS, is 32%.<sup>11</sup>As is the case with the general population, the vast proportion of Métis core need households - 74% - are renter households, and close to 70% are urban households. The incidence of core need is virtually identical, however, for urban and rural areas. Only, in rural areas, 58% of Métis households in core need are homeowners, whereas, in urban areas, homeowners account for 12% of core need households. In total, 26% of rural homeowners were in core need, compared to less than 10% of Métis homeowners in urban areas. The incidence of core need among renters is, on the other hand, basically the same for both rural and urban areas - in each case, about 44% of Métis tenant households are in core need. This is significantly above the Canadian average, where 24.9% of tenant households and 5.1% of homeowner households are in core need,<sup>12</sup> but is very close to Aboriginal averages off-reserve, where 45% of tenant households are in core need and 16% of homeowner households.<sup>13</sup>

This means that roughly one in every three Métis households in Canada has a housing problem - a suitability problem, an adequacy problem and/or an affordability problem - and cannot afford to pay the average rent for a suitable housing unit in the local market without exceeding the 30% of Gross Household Income guideline. By far the greatest problem facing Métis households in core need is affordability. Some 78% of Métis households in core need have an affordability problem, which means that they are currently paying 30% or more of Gross Household Income on shelter. This is a very high percentage, but it is nonetheless smaller than the percentage of Canadian core need households with affordability problems - on a national basis, 87% of all core need households in Canada had an affordability problem. In fact, what is striking about Métis core need households is the large proportion that have suitability and/or adequacy problems, either in addition to affordability problems or without affordability problems per se. Approximately 22% of Métis core need households had only a suitability and/or an adequacy problem and another 26% had a suitability or adequacy problem in combination with an affordability problem. Therefore, if about three in every four Métis households in core need faced affordability problems, almost half too had suitability and/or adequacy problems.

This is considerably above average for households in core need. In 1991, only 12.8% of all core need households had only a suitability and/or adequacy problem, and only 14.3% had one or the other of these problems in combination with an affordability problem.<sup>14</sup> Among Métis, housing adequacy problems are more common than normal, affecting 27% of households in core need, compared to only 18.5% of Canadian core need households. But suitability or crowding problems are also surprisingly frequent, and affect 19.1% of Métis core need households but only 8.6% of core need households generally.

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<sup>11</sup>CMHC Research Division, *The Housing Conditions of Aboriginal People in Canada*, 1991, p. 54

<sup>12</sup>CMHC, *Canadian Housing Statistics* (1992), p. 66.

<sup>13</sup>CMHC Research Division *Housing Conditions of Aboriginal People in Canada*, 1991, p. 66.

<sup>14</sup>Figures obtained from CMHC officials.

It would be important at some point to understand better the occurrence of housing problems among the Métis. The literature suggests that affordability problems are mainly associated with urban renter households, and our review of average housing costs of Métis households would tend to support this conclusion. CMHC's study of Aboriginal housing conditions indicates that housing adequacy and suitability problems are relatively more important in rural areas.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, some research suggests that the occurrence of adequacy and suitability problems is especially high for rural Métis in the northern Prairies, where, as we saw previously, the rural Métis population is concentrated.<sup>16</sup> However, affordability problems, though they certainly are more prevalent in urban areas, clearly exist in rural areas as well, while adequacy and suitability problems afflict a disproportionate number of Aboriginal households in urban areas as well as rural. Just how prevalent are housing problems among the Métis? Is the nature of affordability problems the same for Métis in rural areas as in urban areas? Given that the housing stock Métis occupy in rural areas is not that old, what accounts for the high incidence of adequacy problems that we find there? To what extent do lower CNITs in rural areas serve to underestimate the number of Métis households with housing problems? How prevalent are adequacy and suitability problems in urban centres, and can they be explained by the greater age of the housing stock Métis occupy? Unfortunately, the answer to these and many other questions must wait until we have better Métis-specific data to work with.

### *Regional Variations*

Although the APS and Census have gathered the information, no one has ever retrieved the data that would allow us to calculate regional variations in the incidence of core need among the Métis. The information that is available groups all off-reserve Aboriginal people together. Although Métis and off-reserve Indians face similar circumstances, and although their respective profiles are as a consequence very similar on a range of social indicators, it would be a mistake to assume that their circumstances are identical, or that any differences in their respective social profiles, whether it be in the area of housing or any other field, are negligible and of no real importance. The Métis in the N.W.T. have a very different socio-economic profile than the Inuit or even the Dene. In British Columbia, Métis are more urbanized than off-reserve Indians, but on the Prairies and in Ontario, they are more rural. The geographic distribution of Métis is different than Indians, and their communities are not the same.

No attempt will therefore be made to force conclusions about the Métis from the data on the regional distribution of core need for Aboriginal peoples off-reserve that we present in this section. The data is merely intended to be suggestive of the regions where we might expect the incidence of core need among the Métis to be particularly high.

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<sup>15</sup>CMHC Research Division, *The Housing Conditions of Aboriginal People in Canada*, 1991, p. 57.

<sup>16</sup>See: Chislett, K.L., *Housing Rural Métis in Northern Saskatchewan: An Examination of the Northern Housing Program*, M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1985.

TABLE XVII

REGIONAL INCIDENCE OF CORE NEED					
	Total Aboriginal Households Off-Reserve	Total Metis Households Off-Reserve	Metis Households As % of Total Households	# of Aboriginal Households in Core Need	Core Need Households As % of Total Households
<b>Canada</b>	199045	64060	32.2%	63075	31.7%
<b>Ontario</b>	48325	6515	13.5%	12315	25.5%
<b>Manitoba</b>	26265	15330	58.4%	9360	35.6%
Winnipeg	15165	7715	50.9%	6155	40.6%
Outside Winnipeg	11100	7615	68.6%	3205	28.9%
<b>Saskatchewan</b>	20915	11550	55.2%	9380	44.8%
Regina	4330	1825	42.1%	1955	45.2%
Saskatoon	4735	2810	59.3%	2340	49.4%
Outside R&S	11850	6915	58.4%	5085	42.9%
<b>Alberta</b>	35240	17910	50.8%	10655	30.2%
Calgary	7160	2475	34.6%	1965	27.4%
Edmonton	12740	6830	53.6%	4210	33.0%
Outside C&E	15340	8605	56.1%	4480	29.2%
<b>British Columbia/Yukon</b>	36410	5270	14.5%	11980	32.9%
Vancouver	13175	2585	19.6%	5745	43.6%
Outside Vancouver	23235	2685	11.6%	6235	26.8%
<b>N.W.T.</b>	8760	1435	16.4%	4075	46.5%

Source: The Housing Conditions of Aboriginal People in Canada, 1991, Appendix A, Special Run on APS MNC # 21 and Statistics Canada catalogue 89-535

The Métis constitute the majority of the off-reserve Aboriginal population in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. In two of these provinces - Manitoba and Saskatchewan - the incidence of core need among Aboriginal households is particularly high. In Saskatchewan, where Métis account for 55% of the off-reserve Aboriginal population and for close to 60% of the population outside Regina and Saskatoon, 45% of Aboriginal households off-reserve are in core need. Moreover, unlike other provinces, the incidence of core need is, in Saskatchewan, virtually as high in rural areas as it is in the major urban centres. Saskatchewan therefore stands out as one province where the incidence of core need among Métis can be expected to be very high and widespread.

In Manitoba and Alberta, the incidence of core need is considerably lower in rural areas, where Métis are in a large majority among off-reserve Aboriginal people, and higher in metropolitan centres. In British Columbia, the concentration of Métis in Vancouver would suggest that core need levels will be relatively high there since CNIT levels in Vancouver are high.

It is difficult to tell whether the high incidence of core need among Aboriginal households in the N.W.T. extends to the Métis. The Inuit have the highest core need

levels of any Aboriginal people - averaging 40% on a national basis - and they are the largest Aboriginal group in the territories. On other social and economic indicators, such as income, Métis in the N.W.T. fare much better than other Aboriginal groups. This likely applies to the incidence of core need as well.

### **Métis and Social Housing**

Core need estimates give us an idea of the size of the population that has housing problems and is "needy" enough to warrant social housing assistance. They give the impression that part of the population needs assistance, and the remainder can do very well without it, thank you. However, this is misleading for it fails to recognize that a significant segment of the population is already in social housing. It is not included in the core need population, since the object of social housing is to take households out of core need. Most social housing units are therefore rented on a rent-geared-to-income (RGI) basis, which is set generally at 25% of Gross Household Income and sometimes at 30%, but always at a level to eliminate what CMHC defines as an affordability problem. Moreover, most units are reasonably well maintained, many are new, and clients are, as a matter of policy, always given units corresponding to the size of their household. Adequacy and suitability problems are thereby also eliminated. Therefore, part of the population not in core need is there only because of social housing assistance. The ranks of those in core need would certainly swell were that assistance eliminated.

In Canada, the federal government and the provinces operated social housing programs of one form or another from 1949 to 1993, and, in that time, they managed to build a rather impressive stock of social housing units. Though the programs under which this social housing portfolio was built are no longer operative - since 1993, no new commitments have been made under any off-reserve housing programs - the units are still there, and they are still being administered as social housing. Altogether, the federal government provides subsidies to a portfolio of some 620,000 social housing units - only about 400,000 of which, however, are actually available to core need clients on an Rent-Geared-To-Income basis. These 620,000 units represent roughly 6% of the entire Canadian housing stock. In addition, certain provinces - notably Ontario and Alberta - have important social housing portfolios that they subsidize entirely on their own, which are no longer growing, but which also continue to be administered as social housing units.

Unfortunately, no one keeps count of the number of the social housing units that are occupied by Métis. Some programs - notably, the Rural and Native Housing Program (RNH) and the Urban Native housing program - were designed primarily to assist native people, and we can therefore expect a fairly large share of the units built under these programs to be occupied by Aboriginal people, Métis included. But these are not the only social housing programs that can shelter Métis households. Aboriginal people were not excluded from the large Public Housing and Non-Profit Housing programs under which most RGI units were built. Indeed, CMHC's 1990 Public Housing Evaluation revealed that 5.9% of all Public Housing units in Canada are occupied by people who identify with

one or the other of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. A similar evaluation is now being conducted of the Non-Profit Housing Program and, although results are not yet available, it is reasonable to assume that the proportion of units occupied by native households will be similar. There are no doubt Métis households in many other programs - ranging from the Coop Program to the Limited Dividend program - but no one knows for sure how many.

In the absence of accurate statistics, the best that can be done is to make certain assumptions about the distribution of social housing units to Aboriginal people and Métis and to derive calculations of the number of units occupied by Métis based on these assumptions. Calculations were made as follows:

- From recent program evaluations, it was possible to obtain data on the proportion of Public Housing and Coop units that are occupied by native people. Since these are mainly urban programs, it was assumed that Métis households would have the same share of native units as their share of all urban Aboriginal households off-reserve (30.1% according to the APS).<sup>17</sup>
- Since no comparable information exists on the native occupancy levels in the Non-Profit and Rent Supplement programs, it was assumed that the native share of units under these programs is the same as for the Public Housing program, and native units were then allocated to the Métis in the same as this program.
- The RNH evaluation provided reasonably accurate data on the distribution of RNH units by Aboriginal group and these were used to allocate RNH units to the Métis.
- Although evaluation of the Urban Native housing program is in progress, we were unable to obtain data on unit distribution by Aboriginal people. This program is known to cater primarily to Indians and it was considered inadvisable to assume that units would be distributed to Métis households in the same proportion as their share of the off-reserve population. We reduced the distribution factor by half.
- We assumed that the on reserve social housing stock would be distributed to Métis households in the same proportion as Métis households are represented in the total Aboriginal population on reserve. Nationally, 2.3% of Aboriginal households on reserve are Métis according to the ASP.

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<sup>17</sup>Calculated from Special Run on the APS, MNC # 21.

TABLE XVIII

<b>BEST EFFORT ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF METIS HOUSEHOLDS IN SOCIAL HOUSING</b>					
	Total Units (1993)	Percent of Total That Are Native	Percent of Native That Are Metis	Estimated # of Metis Units	Percent of Total Units That Are Metis
RNH	24,536	29.8%	39.5%	<b>2,893</b>	11.8%
Public Housing	205,770	5.9%	30.1%	<b>3,669</b>	1.8%
N.P. and Rent Supp.	171,965	5.9%	30.1%	<b>3,066</b>	1.8%
Urban Native	10,001	100.0%	15.0%	<b>1,500</b>	15.0%
Section 61 Coop	6,923	2.9%	30.1%	<b>59</b>	0.9%
Section 95 Coop	39,584	3.4%	30.1%	<b>405</b>	1.0%
ILM Coop	14,710	3.6%	30.1%	<b>159</b>	1.1%
Total Off-Reserve	473,489	8.8%	28.1%	<b>11,752</b>	2.5%
On Reserve N.P.	14,630	100.0%	2.3%	<b>342</b>	2.3%
Sub-Total	488,119	9.8%	25.9%	<b>12,094</b>	2.5%
Other	131,765	0.0%	0.0%	<b>0</b>	0.0%
Total	619,884	7.5%	29.0%	<b>12,094</b>	2.0%

Source: Total units taken from Canadian Housing Statistics (1993):

- Native and Metis percentages for RNH derived from RNH Evaluation (1992);
- Native percentages for Public Housing derived from Public Housing Evaluation (1990) and distributed by Metis share of urban Aboriginal households off-reserve (1991);
- Assumed that Non-Profit and Rent Supplement units distribute in the same way as Public Housing
- Metis portion of Urban Native simply educated guess (1/2 of Metis share of urban Abo. pop.);
- Native Percentages for Coop programs derived from Coop Evaluation (1991) and distributed by Metis household share of urban Aboriginal households off-reserve (1991);
- Metis share of on reserve N.P. units assumed to be the same as Metis households share of of total Aboriginal households on reserve (1991).

**Note: Italics denote best effort estimates only.**

Based on these assumptions, we estimate that as many as 12,000 units of the federally subsidized social housing portfolio could already be occupied by Métis. About 11,700 of these units are off-reserve. Assuming that all Métis in these units self-identified as Métis, they would account for 18% of all self-identifying Métis households in Canada. This would mean that the number of Métis already in social housing is probably close to half as large as the number of Métis who are still in core need. Were it not for social housing, the proportion of Métis in core need would not therefore be 31% but closer to 45%, and might perhaps be as high as 50%.

While these figures are preliminary, they point to the important contribution that over 40 years of social housing activity has made to reducing the incidence of core need among Métis people, and to the importance of preserving this portfolio in the face of



threats to dismantle the Canadian social safety net and to privatize the existing social housing stock.

Now that no new commitments are being made in regard to social housing programs, the existing stock is all that we have to deal with core housing problems. As matters currently stand, about 7.5% of the social housing portfolio is occupied by Aboriginal people, of which Métis account for no more than 2.0%. Given that the incidence of core need is more than twice as high among Métis than for the general population and given the more rapid growth of the Aboriginal population, attention must be given to increasing the percentage of existing units that are made available to Aboriginal households. As governments move in coming years to "privatize" the social housing stock, they should not forget about Aboriginal people off-reserve and should consider turning over a substantial portion of the stock to Aboriginal organisations which can see to it that it continues to be used to deal with Aboriginal housing needs.

### **Conclusions**

The analysis made in this and the previous section suggests that Métis are confronted with basically two basic challenges in terms of housing needs:

#### ***1. Responding to Growing Demand***

All indications are that Métis, like other Aboriginal people, have a rapidly growing population, which is currently characterized by a large child cohort that will come of age and bear children itself over the next ten to twenty years. This will feed a strong demand for housing among Métis into the foreseeable future. The demand will be principally for family housing, but, as life expectancy improves, demand for seniors housing will gradually also grow. Where will this housing be found?

#### ***2. Alleviating Housing Problems***

If present trends continue, it is not too difficult to predict how future housing demand will be met. Unable to afford the price of new construction, Métis will be forced to occupy the ageing and less expensive units vacated by more affluent households. But this is in itself a source of problems. As we have seen, an inordinate number of Métis households today have housing problems, and to rely on markets alone to satisfy future Métis housing demand is likely to condemn future generations to poor housing conditions and to perpetuate high levels of core need. Therefore, the issue is not only to meet housing demand but to ensure that Métis can access housing that is affordable, suitable and adequate.

In summary, the major housing problems confronting Métis are:

- the high cost of housing in urban areas accentuates housing affordability problems and prevents Métis from accessing home ownership;
- in rural areas, the major problem seems to be the physical condition and suitability of housing occupied by Métis.

The need is for measures to assist Métis in the larger urban centres access adequate and suitable housing that they can afford and to assist those in rural areas up-grade the quality of the housing stock.

In urban areas, this calls for a strategy:

- that would make use of the existing social housing stock to provide more Métis with affordable housing, with the priority, in the immediate term being given:
  - a) to lone parent families; and
  - b) to family households made up exclusively of Métis or of Métis and an Aboriginal partner.
- that would encourage and enable a greater number of Métis households to access home ownership; and
- that would lead to the construction of affordable new housing units accessible to Métis.

In rural areas, the emphasis should be on continuation of programs to replace the existing stock with newer, more adequate units and on the provision of renovation assistance, particularly to Métis who own their own home to enable them to bring them up to standard.

Finally, in the current climate of cut-backs and the shedding of State interventions, it becomes tremendously important for Métis that the existing social housing stock not be privatized but that it rather be maintained and used as a tool to alleviate the housing problems of those most in need.



## **APPENDIX A**



<b>COMMUNITIES WITH SIGNIFICANT MÉTIS POPULATIONS, ONTARIO, 1991</b>				
<b>PLACE NAME</b>	<b>TOTAL POP.</b>	<b>MÉTIS POP.</b>	<b>PERCENT MÉTIS</b>	<b>E.A.</b>
DANCE	90	80	88.9%	35035003
BATCHAWANA BAY/SANDY POINT	255	80	31.4%	35001272
MACDIARMID/ORIENT BAY	80	25	31.3%	35011206
MATTAWAN/SMITH'S LANDING	125	35	28.0%	35053017
PANCAKE BAY/MONTREAL RIVER HARBOUR	155	40	25.8%	35001271
HARRIS LAKE/BYNG INLET	130	30	23.1%	35064355
LINKO/GRAHAM/ENGLISH RIVER/RAITH	45	10	22.2%	35083268
SLEEMAN/WORTHINGTON	55	10	18.2%	35035112
MEDONTE/FAIR VALLEY	280	50	17.9%	35080166
DILKE	175	30	17.1%	35035111
EAGLE RIVER/LITTLENECK BAY/MACHIN/TEMPLE BAY/WALDORF BAY	60	10	16.7%	35035226
WABIGOON	570	95	16.7%	35035255 35035254 35035252
TOVELL/MCCROSSON/BERGLAND	245	40	16.3%	35035117
WABOS/SEARCHMOUNT LSB	65	10	15.4%	35001267
CARAMAT	170	25	14.7%	35011254
ARMSTRONG	255	30	11.8%	35084265
Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada				

<b>UNIDENTIFIED ENUMERATION AREAS WITH SIGNIFICANT MÉTIS POPULATIONS, ONTARIO, 1991</b>				
<b>PLACE NAME</b>	<b>TOTAL POP.</b>	<b>MÉTIS POP.</b>	<b>PERCENT MÉTIS</b>	<b>E.A.</b>
ROLPH, BUCHANAN, WYLIE AND MCKAY	65	15	23.1%	35068358
KENORA, UNORANIZED	70	10	14.3%	35035234

**Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada**

<b>COMMUNITIES WITH SIGNIFICANT MÉTIS POPULATIONS, MANITOBA, 1991</b>				
<b>PLACE NAME</b>	<b>TOTAL POP.</b>	<b>MÉTIS POP.</b>	<b>PERCENT MÉTIS</b>	<b>E.A.</b>
CAMPERVILLE	590	540	91.5%	46003414
RED DEER LAKE	50	45	90.0%	46003520
DUCK BAY	440	390	88.6%	46003508
ROCK RIDGE	50	40	80.0%	46003409
CRANE RIVER	235	185	78.7%	46003165
BARROWS	140	105	75.0%	46003517
THICKET PORTAGE	190	140	73.7%	46002122
PELICAN RAPIDS	150	110	73.3%	46003512
BADEN	55	40	72.7%	46003514
CORMORANT	385	280	72.7%	46002210
MOOSE LAKE	375	270	72.0%	46002209
MALLARD	155	110	71.0%	46003410
MATHESON ISLAND	120	75	62.5%	46005407
SEYMOURVILLE	125	75	60.0%	46002006
MANIGOTOGAN	200	115	57.5%	46002005
WABOWDEN	545	300	55.0%	46002159
BROCHET	210	115	54.8%	46002435
EDDYSTONE/COMEAU/ BACON RIDGE	485	260	53.6%	46003110
POPLARVILLE	40	20	50.0%	46002025
EASTERVILLE	145	70	48.3%	46002208
PINE DOCK	115	55	47.8%	46005405
GODS LAKE NARROWS	105	50	47.6%	46002066
ST. LAURENT	1115	525	47.1%	46005210 46005211
GRAND RAPIDS	505	235	46.5%	46002207
SAN CLARA/PARK (NORTH)	395	180	45.6%	46003362
FISHER BAY	55	25	45.5%	46005413
SHERRIDON	140	60	42.9%	46002302
CROSS LAKE	380	160	42.1%	46002157
BERENS RIVER	140	55	39.3%	46002019
NORWAY HOUSE	500	195	39.0%	46002154
DAWSON BAY	55	20	36.4%	46003513
GRANVILLE LAKE	45	15	33.3%	46002438
WATERHEN	185	60	32.4%	46003168
PIKWITONEI	125	40	32.0%	46002119
SPENCE LAKE	50	15	30.0%	46003170
GREAT FALLS/LEISURE FALLS	420	110	26.2%	46006067
CRANBERRY PORTAGE	805	210	26.1%	46002308
MEADOW PORTAGE	100	25	25.0%	46003167
MOUNTAIN (SOUTH)	185	45	24.3%	46003412
YOUNG POINT/POIRIER SUBDIVISION/BACHELAR SUBDIVISION	600	140	23.3%	46002251
WINNIPEGOSIS	775	175	22.6%	46003419 46003418
ISLAND LAKE	90	20	22.2%	46002083
WESTVIEW/AMARANTH	340	70	20.6%	46003101
MAFEKING	425	85	20.0%	46003506
PINE RIVER	300	60	20.0%	46003415
VOGAR	225	45	20.0%	46005356
LITTLE GRAND RAPIDS	50	10	20.0%	46002010
ST. LAZARE	315	60	19.0%	46003058
ELLICE	480	90	18.8%	46003056 46003057
NELSON HOUSE	80	15	18.8%	46002124



Identified

LAURIER	590	110	18.6%	46003111
CHURCHILL	1135	210	18.5%	46002421 46002422 46002420
WANLESS/ROCKY LAKE	325	60	18.5%	46002273
POWerview	735	135	18.4%	46006070
BINSCARTH	450	80	17.8%	46003070
SOUTH INDIAN LAKE	735	125	17.0%	46002439
WAMPUM/PINEY/VASSAR	305	50	16.4%	46006004
RIVERTON	580	95	16.4%	46005316
VICTORIA BEACH	195	30	15.4%	46008366
LEAF RAPIDS	1600	245	15.3%	46002430 46002431
GRACE LAKE/PROFITS SUBDIVISION	530	80	15.1%	46002253
DEERHORN	480	70	14.6%	46005268
BIRCH RIVER	385	55	14.3%	46003504
THE PAS	6035	850	14.1%	46002258 46002259 46002260 46002261 46002263 46002264 46002257
RICHER	870	120	13.8%	46006109
JACKFISH LAKE/TRVERSE BAY/BELAIR/BELAIR PROPERTIES/PINE GROVE ESTATES/LESTER BEACH/HILLSIDE BEACH/ALBERT BEACH/BEARPAW ESTATES	520	70	13.5%	46008363
DALLAS/RED ROSE	75	10	13.3%	46005412
HADASHVILLE	340	45	13.2%	46006010
SNOW LAKE	1595	205	12.9%	46002307 46002306 46002305 46002304
INWOOD	340	40	11.8%	46005208
MOUNTAIN (NORTH)	300	35	11.7%	46003505
RAPID CITY	390	45	11.5%	46003004
COWAN	305	35	11.5%	46003416
ILFORD	135	15	11.1%	46002135
SELKIRK	9301	1020	11.0%	46008314 46008260 46008258 46008264 46008311 46008310 46008309 46008265 46008266 43008267 46008268 46008263
MULVIHILL	140	15	10.7%	46005355

Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada

<b>ENUMERATION AREAS WHOSE COMMUNITIES REMAIN UNIDENTIFIED, MANITOBA, 1991</b>				
<b>PLACE NAME</b>	<b>TOTAL POP.</b>	<b>MÉTIS POP.</b>	<b>PERCENT MÉTIS</b>	<b>E.A.</b>
CONSOL (CARROT VALLEY)	185	100	54.1%	46002254
EDDYSTONE/COMEAU/BACON RIDGE	485	260	53.6%	46003110
ALONSA (LDG)	235	65	27.7%	46003113
GREAT FALLS/LEISURE FALLS	420	110	26.2%	46006067
MOUNTAIN (SOUTH)	185	45	24.3%	46003412
YOUNG POINT/POIRIER SUBDIVISION/BACHELAR SUBDIVISION	600	140	23.3%	46002251
ALEXANDER (LDG)	530	120	22.6%	46006068
WESTVIEW/AMARANTH	340	70	20.6%	46003101
WANLESS/ROCKY LAKE	325	60	18.5%	46002273
ALONSA (LDG)	195	35	17.9%	46003108
WAMPUM/PINEY/VASSAR	305	50	16.4%	46006004
GRACE LAKE/PROFITS SUBDIVISION	530	80	15.1%	46002253
JACKFISH LAKE/TRVERSE BAY/BELAIR/BELAIR PROPERTIES/PINE GROVE ESTATES/LESTER BEACH/HILLSIDE BEACH/ALBERT BEACH/BEARPAW ESTATES	520	70	13.5%	46008363
SUNSET BEACH/GRAND MARAIS/ MOUNTAIN (NORTH)	335	45	13.4%	46008364
	300	35	11.7%	46003505
<b>Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada</b>				

COMMUNITIES WITH SIGNIFICANT METIS POPULATIONS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1991				
PLACE NAME	TOTAL POP.	MÉTIS POP.	PERCENT MÉTIS	E.A.
TURNOR LAKE	185	170	91.9%	47004471
PINEHOUSE	820	740	90.2%	47004601 47004487
ILE-A-LA CROSSE	1270	1145	90.2%	47004489 47004603 47004602
GREEN LAKE	520	460	88.5%	47013534 47013535 47013504
BEAR CREEK	65	55	84.6%	47004453
BEAUVAL	715	585	81.8%	47013527 47013536
COLE BAY	160	120	75.0%	47013526
BUFFALO NARROWS	1055	775	73.5%	47004501 47004502 47004503 47004500 47004468
JANS BAY	195	135	69.2%	47013525
CANDO	115	75	65.2%	47001324
DORE LAKE	40	25	62.5%	47013530
CUMBERLAND HOUSE	735	445	60.5%	47002475 47002476
FAIRHOLME HAMLET	60	35	58.3%	47013227
PATUANAK	100	55	55.0%	47004491
STANLEY MISSION	200	110	55.0%	47004413
WEEKES	130	70	53.8%	47002256
MICHEL VILLAGE	90	45	50.0%	47004470
MÉTIS FARM	105	50	47.6%	47006254
GUISES BEACH/CARWIN PARK	65	30	46.2%	47004380
ST. LOUIS	435	200	46.0%	47010372
ST. GEORGE'S HILL	125	55	44.0%	47004469
LEBRET	200	85	42.5%	47006270
TIMBER BAY	120	50	41.7%	47004387
DESCHARME LAKE	40	15	37.5%	47004455
LADY LAKE HAMLET	95	35	36.8%	47014462
TOGO	165	55	33.3%	47014362
BIG BEAVER HAMLET	45	15	33.3%	47012002
DORINTOSH HAMLET	140	45	32.1%	47013374
SANDY BAY	765	240	31.4%	47004369 47004397
STONY RAPIDS	195	60	30.8%	47004462
LA LOCHE	1695	520	30.7%	47004506 47004505 47004504 47004507 47004508 47004472
HAGEN HAMLET	50	15	30.0%	47010319
CHRISTOPHER LAKE	200	60	30.0%	47004279
WEYAKWIN	200	55	27.5%	47004410
ABERNETHY	245	65	26.5%	47006267
DUCK LAKE	620	160	25.8%	47010360
COCHIN	140	35	25.0%	47013209 47013236
DISLEY	40	10	25.0%	47005014
KATEPWA BEACH	60	15	25.0%	47006276
BIRSAY	40	10	25.0%	47001019
MACDOWALL HAMLET	120	30	25.0%	47004016
HITCHCOCK HAMLET	105	25	23.8%	47011108
CHITEK LAKE	195	45	23.1%	47013355
PRIMATE	70	15	21.4%	47001362
HOLBEIN HAMLET	70	15	21.4%	47004181
BERTWELL	70	15	21.4%	47002265

Identified

TURTLE LAKE LODGE/LOBE'S BEACH	245	50	20.4%	47013401
RICETON HAMLET	50	10	20.0%	47007015
BRANCEPATH HAMLET	55	10	18.2%	47010318
SAND POINT BEACH	55	10	18.2%	47003230
PASQUA LAKE HAMLET	55	10	18.2%	47006277
GOODWATER	55	10	18.2%	47011176
BEAVER CREEK HAMLET	85	15	17.6%	47009009
DELMAS	115	20	17.4%	47013103
WAITVILLE	145	25	17.2%	47010305
CRYSTAL SPRINGS HAMLET	60	10	16.7%	47010309
AIR RONGE	785	130	16.6%	47004411
				47004432
				47004433
LA RONGE	2590	425	16.4%	47004431
				47004430
				47004429
				47004427
				47004407
				47004437
				47004408
				47004409
				47004408
				47004428
DELARONDE LAKE INDIAN VILLAGE	275	45	16.4%	47013351
MEADOW LAKE	4230	685	16.2%	47013367
				47013364
				47013365
				47013366
				47013363
CARON HAMLET	95	15	15.8%	47003215
ESK	265	40	15.1%	47002062
MEOTA	265	40	15.1%	47013207
FOSSTON	70	10	14.3%	47002176
AYLSHAM	140	20	14.3%	47002425
BRODERICK	70	10	14.3%	47003423
SHELL LAKE	180	25	13.9%	47013261
PLEASANTDALE	110	15	13.6%	47002326
MARCHWELL	220	30	13.6%	47014006
MARCELIN	190	25	13.2%	47013005
ORMEAUX/VICTOIRE	350	45	12.9%	47013315
WELWYN	160	20	12.5%	47011368
COLEVILLE	370	45	12.2%	47001115
NEUHORST HAMLET	165	20	12.1%	47008309
KIMBALL LAKE	220	25	11.4%	47013372
BIENFAIT	800	90	11.3%	47011067
BALCARRES	625	70	11.2%	47006263
MEATH PARK	230	25	10.9%	47004262
WILCOX	240	25	10.4%	47007022

Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census, purchased from Statistics Canada

COMMUNITIES WITH SIGNIFICANT METIS POPULATIONS, ALBERTA, 1991				
PLACE NAME	TOTAL POP.	METIS POP.	PERCENT METIS	E.A.
CADOTTE	280	270	96.4%	48020628
EAST PRAIRIE	260	245	94.2%	48001317
GIFT LAKE	420	390	92.9%	48001353
PADDLE PRAIRIE	190	170	89.5%	48020619
ELIZABETH	465	405	87.1%	48002006
KIKINO	185	160	86.5%	48002168
SPUTINOW	285	245	86.0%	48002004
CONKLIN	195	165	84.6%	48001370
BIG PRAIRIE	95	80	84.2%	48001362
BONE TOWN	110	75	68.2%	48002367
NORTH CALLING LAKE	320	205	64.1%	48001169
MARLBORO	135	85	63.0%	48026206
GROUARD	280	140	50.0%	48001312
IMPERIAL MILLS	360	160	44.4%	48001316
JOUSSARD	260	115	44.2%	48002358
CENTRE CALLING LAKE	175	75	42.9%	48001309
CALAHOO	145	60	41.4%	48001168
FORT VERMILION	800	320	40.0%	48022304
ANZAC	270	105	38.9%	48020661
FORK LAKE	500	150	30.0%	48001407
NORTH STAR	270	80	29.6%	48002359
DESMARAIS	220	65	29.5%	48020612
BLUE RIDGE	230	65	28.3%	48001369
				48026262
				48001387
				48001361
				48001386
				48001377
				48001379
				48001376
WABASCA	1705	465	27.3%	48001378
FORT VERMILION SETTLEMENT	370	100	27.0%	48020654
LAC LA NONNE	130	35	26.9%	48026334
SUNSET BAY	445	115	25.8%	48002355
ENILDA	155	40	25.8%	48001310
				48001374
UTIKOOMAK LAKE	495	125	25.3%	48001373
				48020531
MCLENNAN	915	230	25.1%	48020532
SOUTH BAPTISTE	40	10	25.0%	48001175
GRANDE CACHE LAKE	145	35	24.1%	48026458
DEBOLT	105	25	23.8%	48020016
FORT KENT	105	25	23.8%	48002462
				48002360
				48002361
				48002363
LAC LA BICHE	2480	590	23.8%	48002362
SEXSMITH	235	55	23.4%	48020265
HIGH LEVEL	1070	250	23.4%	48020708
MANNING	860	200	23.3%	48020617
FAUST	370	85	23.0%	48001308
KINUSO	245	55	22.4%	48001259
TULLIBY LAKE	295	65	22.0%	48002001
TROUT LAKE	275	60	21.8%	48001366
JANVIER	185	40	21.6%	48001412
FORT MCKAY	255	55	21.6%	48001408
ROSEMARY	265	55	20.8%	48019367
ASPEN GROVE	390	80	20.5%	48020052
ASPEN HILLS	420	85	20.2%	48022311
PELICAN MOUNTAIN	100	20	20.0%	48001368
HORSE LAKES	225	45	20.0%	48020366
DEWBERRY	205	40	19.5%	48023316
KEG RIVER	155	30	19.4%	48020609
LITTLE BUFFALO	185	35	18.9%	48020629
CANYON CREEK	280	50	17.9%	48001261
				48001443
FORT CHIPEWYAN	540	95	17.6%	48001445
VIMY	210	35	16.7%	48001013
BEAVER LAKE	300	50	16.7%	48002366
DIXONVILLE	90	15	16.7%	48020627
BOYER	90	15	16.7%	48020715
KEEPHILLS	185	30	16.2%	48026002

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				48001414
GREGOIRE LAKE	125	20	16.0%	48001413
HALF MOON ESTATES	250	40	16.0%	48016082
WHITEMAN BEACH	95	15	15.8%	48002153
STURGEON LAKE SETTLEMENT	380	60	15.8%	48020009
				48001304
				48001305
HIGH PRAIRIE	2755	420	15.2%	48001306
SMITH	265	40	15.1%	48001262
PEERLESS LAKE	300	45	15.0%	48001367
				48002153
SUNRISE BEACH	170	25	14.7%	48022319
COLINTON	185	25	13.5%	48001190
PICKARDVILLE	185	25	13.5%	48001014
RAINIER	260	35	13.5%	48019352
WHITELAW	155	20	12.9%	48020425
NICHOLSON SUBDIVISION	280	35	12.5%	48002406
MTSUE	330	40	12.1%	48001251
ZAMA CITY	125	15	12.0%	48020710
NINE MILE POINT	590	70	11.9%	48001258
TURIN	90	10	11.1%	48017121
				48001256
				48001252
				48001253
				48001254
SLAVE LAKE	5590	605	10.8%	48001255
HYLO	530	55	10.4%	48002354
STROME	290	30	10.3%	48023106
GUNN	345	35	10.1%	48026356

Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada

<b>UNIDENTIFIED ENUMERATION AREAS WITH SIGNIFICANT METIS POPULATIONS, ALBERTA, 1991</b>				
<b>PLACE NAME</b>	<b>TOTAL POP.</b>	<b>METIS POP.</b>	<b>PERCENT METIS</b>	<b>E.A.</b>
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 22	240	230	95.8%	48020608
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 17	275	255	92.7%	48001352
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	535	480	89.7%	48002166
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	45	40	88.9%	48002020
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	460	405	88.0%	48002167
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 14	40	30	75.0%	48026114
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	75	50	66.7%	48001388
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	400	140	35.0%	48001444
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	185	60	32.4%	48001402
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	685	155	22.6%	48002356
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 19	120	25	20.8%	48020525
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	65	10	15.4%	48001410
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 23	405	60	14.8%	48020701
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 16	185	25	13.5%	48020008
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 16	225	30	13.3%	48020011
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 17	590	70	11.9%	48001258
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 14	295	35	11.9%	48026073
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 17	135	15	11.1%	48001319
IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NO. 18	195	20	10.3%	48002414

Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada

<b>COMMUNITIES WITH SIGNIFICANT MÉTIS POPULATIONS, BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1991</b>				
<b>PLACE NAME</b>	<b>TOTAL POP.</b>	<b>MÉTIS POP.</b>	<b>PERCENT MÉTIS</b>	<b>E.A.</b>
GREELY	40	30	75.0%	59011352
KELLY LAKE/ CUTBANK LAKE/ UPPER CUTBANK/FELLERS HEIGHTS	290	135	46.6%	59022151
ST. MARY LAKE/GISCOME/ FERNDALE/WILLOW RIVER	230	45	19.6%	59021015
LONE PRAIRIE	155	25	16.1%	59022154
POUCE COUPE	690	100	14.5%	59022162
QUICK/WALCOTT/TELKWA	75	10	13.3%	59025260
APPLEDALE/WINLAW/LEMON CREEK/LEBAHDO/PASSMORE/ PERRY SIDING	640	80	12.5%	59011305
LYNX CREEK	125	15	12.0%	59022454
WOLF	465	55	11.8%	59003367
BOWEN ISLAND TRUST	460	50	10.9%	59002103
HORNBY ISLAND TRUST	390	40	10.3%	59004509
<b>Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada</b>				



<b>ENUMERATION AREAS WITH UNIDENTIFIED COMMUNITIES, BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1991</b>				
<b>PLACE NAME</b>	<b>TOTAL POP.</b>	<b>METIS POP.</b>	<b>PERCENT METIS</b>	<b>E.A.</b>
KELLY LAKE/ CUTBANK LAKE/ UPPER CUTBANK/FELLERS HEIGHTS	290	135	46.6%	59022151
PEACE RIVER, SUBD. C	55	20	36.4%	59022257
NORTH OKANAGAN, SUBD. A	120	35	29.2%	59018252
PEACE RIVER, SUBD. B	45	10	22.2%	59022353
ST. MARY LAKE/GISCOME/ FERNDAL/LEMON RIVER	230	45	19.6%	59021015
STIKINE, SUBD. A	175	25	14.3%	59025413
COLUMBIA-SHUSWAP, SUBD. B	300	40	13.3%	59010409
QUICK/WALCOTT/TELKWA	75	10	13.3%	59025260
APPLEDALE/WINLAW/LEMON CREEK/LEBAHDO/PASSMORE/ PERRY SIDING	640	80	12.5%	59011305
PEACE RIVER, SUBD. B	825	85	10.3%	59022354
<b>Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada</b>				

COMMUNITIES WITH SIGNIFICANT MÉTIS POPULATIONS, NWT, 1991				
PLACE NAME	TOTAL POP.	MÉTIS POP.	PERCENT MÉTIS	E.A.
FORT RESOLUTION	515	235	45.6%	61002106
FORT SMITH	2410	810	33.6%	61002104 61002102 61002103
HAY RIVER	3175	715	22.5%	61002121 61002125 61002113 61002126 61002112
BELL ROCK	45	10	22.2%	61002105
PARADISE GARDENS	45	10	22.2%	61002111
ENTERPRISE	50	10	20.0%	61002110
ARTIC RED RIVER	145	25	17.2%	61002207
FORT GOOD HOPE	600	100	16.7%	61002206
FORT SIMPSON	1130	175	15.5%	61002156 61002155
TROUT LAKE	65	10	15.4%	61002152
FRANK CHANNEL	295	45	15.3%	61002009
FORT NORMAN	375	50	13.3%	61002203
NAHANNI BUTTE	85	10	11.8%	61002153
INUVIK	3155	345	10.9%	61002216 61002211 61002215 61002212
NORMAN WELLS	625	65	10.4%	61002204

Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada

<b>ENUMERATION AREAS WITH UNIDENTIFIED COMMUNITIES, NWT, 1991</b>				
<b>PLACE NAME</b>	<b>TOTAL POP.</b>	<b>MÉTIS POP.</b>	<b>PERCENT MÉTIS</b>	<b>E.A.</b>
FORT SMITH, UNORGANIZED	45	10	22.2%	61002151
FORT SMITH, UNORGANIZED	85	15	17.6%	61002124

Source: Enumeration Area Data from 1991 Census purchased from Statistics Canada