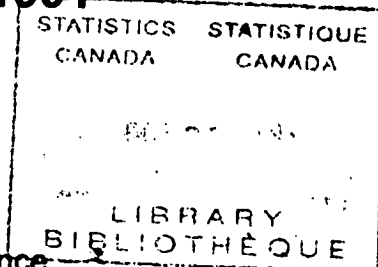


The Aboriginal Population and the Census 120 Years of Information - 1871 to 1991

Gustave Goldmann
Statistics Canada

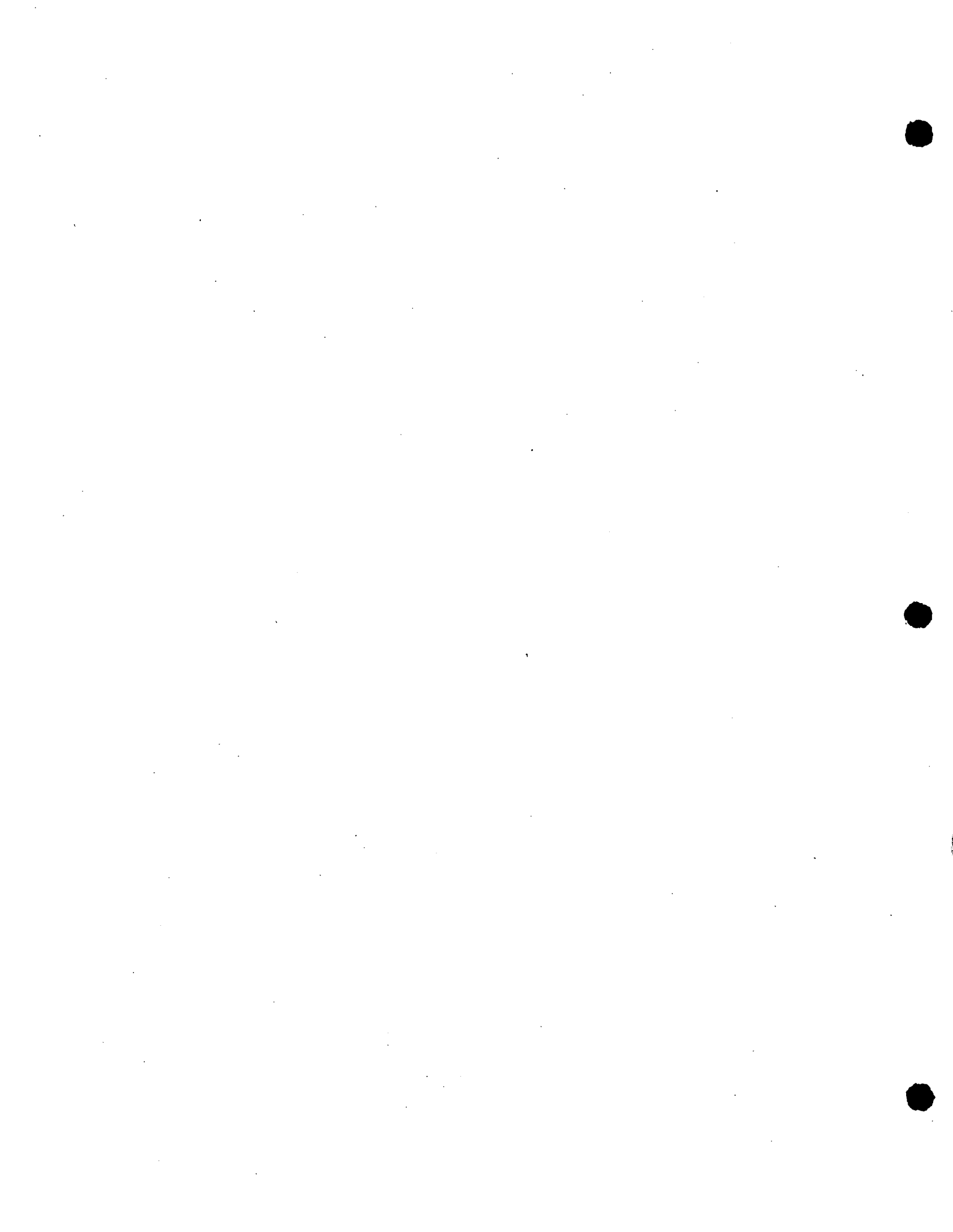


presented at the XXIInd General Population Conference
of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population
Montréal, Canada
August 24 - September 1, 1993

The views expressed here are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of
Statistics Canada.

91F0045XPE

c.2



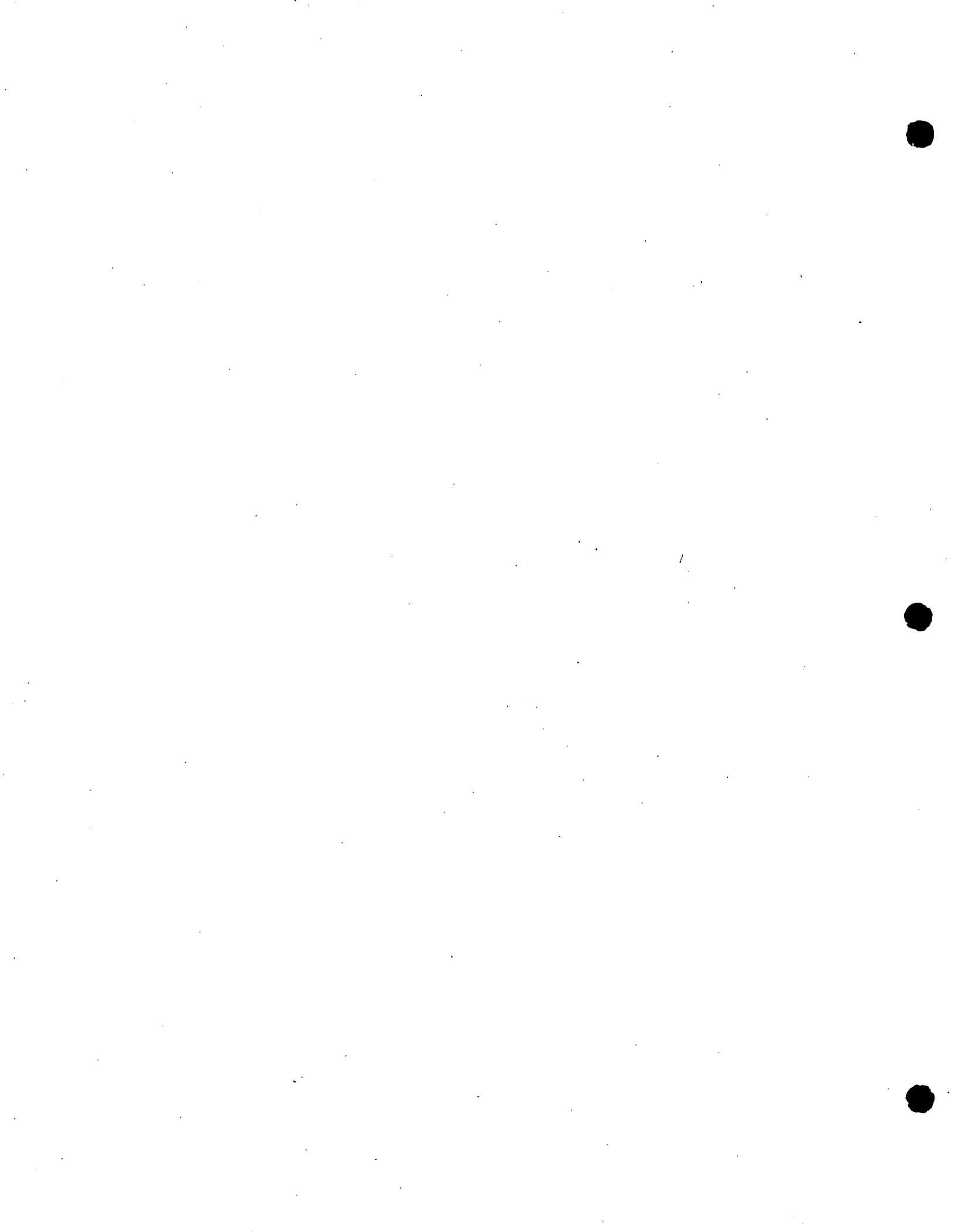
1. Introduction

The history of census-taking in Canada began in 1666 when Jean Talon conducted the first full enumeration of the colony of New France. However, long before Jean Talon's census the indigenous population of the territory we now know of as Canada maintained approximate counts of their communities through oral tradition. The earliest recorded count of the aboriginal population conducted by the Jesuit missionaries in 1611 also pre-dates the first census. The context for classifying aboriginal origins and for counting the aboriginal population in early Canadian censuses was shaped during the period between the first recorded count and the Report to the Special Committee of the House of Commons prepared by Sir George Simpson in 1857. The evolution of the definitions and nomenclature as it pertains to counting the Aboriginal population is described in detail in an earlier paper, The Aboriginal Population and the Census: An Evolving Relationship (Goldmann 1991). That work deals with the pre-confederation attempts at counting Canada's native population and then jumps to the current census. In this paper I attempt to bridge that gap by tracing the collection of data on the aboriginal population from 1871 to 1991.

The primary statistical vehicle for obtaining the counts and characteristics of the subgroups who make up Canadian Society is the census of population. In this context, subgroups includes the Aboriginal population as well as all other ethnic, racial or cultural groups in Canada. It is also true that, with the possible exception of the special Census of the North-West Territories conducted in 18851 and the post-censal survey conducted in 1991, no separate enumeration the Aboriginal population has been produced. Therefore, in order to discuss how the counts of Canada's native communities have evolved since 1871 to the present it is appropriate to focus on the censuses over that period.

The application of concepts of descendance and racial/ethnic classification of Canadian society has evolved over the period between 1871 to 1991 according to the legislative and social imperatives of the day. Furthermore, the classification of sub-groups and the application of descent rules were not uniform for all groups in society. For instance, although the ethnic origin of the European population was determined along patrilineal lines for most censuses between 1871 and 1971 the rules for descent for the Aboriginal population varied from tribal to matrilineal to patrilineal. The impact of these differences on the reported counts has been the source of debate and discussion among Aboriginal communities, Federal departments and agencies and social scientists. This paper will attempt to shed some light on the debate.

The paper begins with a brief description of a census, including how it is conducted, how the content is determined and how the results are presented. Although many documents exist which describe the census in detail (see any of the administrative reports which accompany each census), I assume that few readers of this paper will be entirely familiar with all the terms and concepts that are used. Therefore, specific terminology as it is used to describe the counts and how they are taken, is defined



in the next section. The definitions are followed by a presentation of the counts of aboriginal people in Canada from 1871 to 1991. The variances, anomalies and discontinuities are highlighted and some explanation is provided of the factors which may have influenced the counts. This is followed by a brief outline of the significant features of each Census, including, where appropriate, the major methodological and definitional changes from the immediately preceding census which were introduced. I conclude with an assessment of some of the factors which may have had an influence on the concepts and definitions and with some questions which may form a future research agenda.

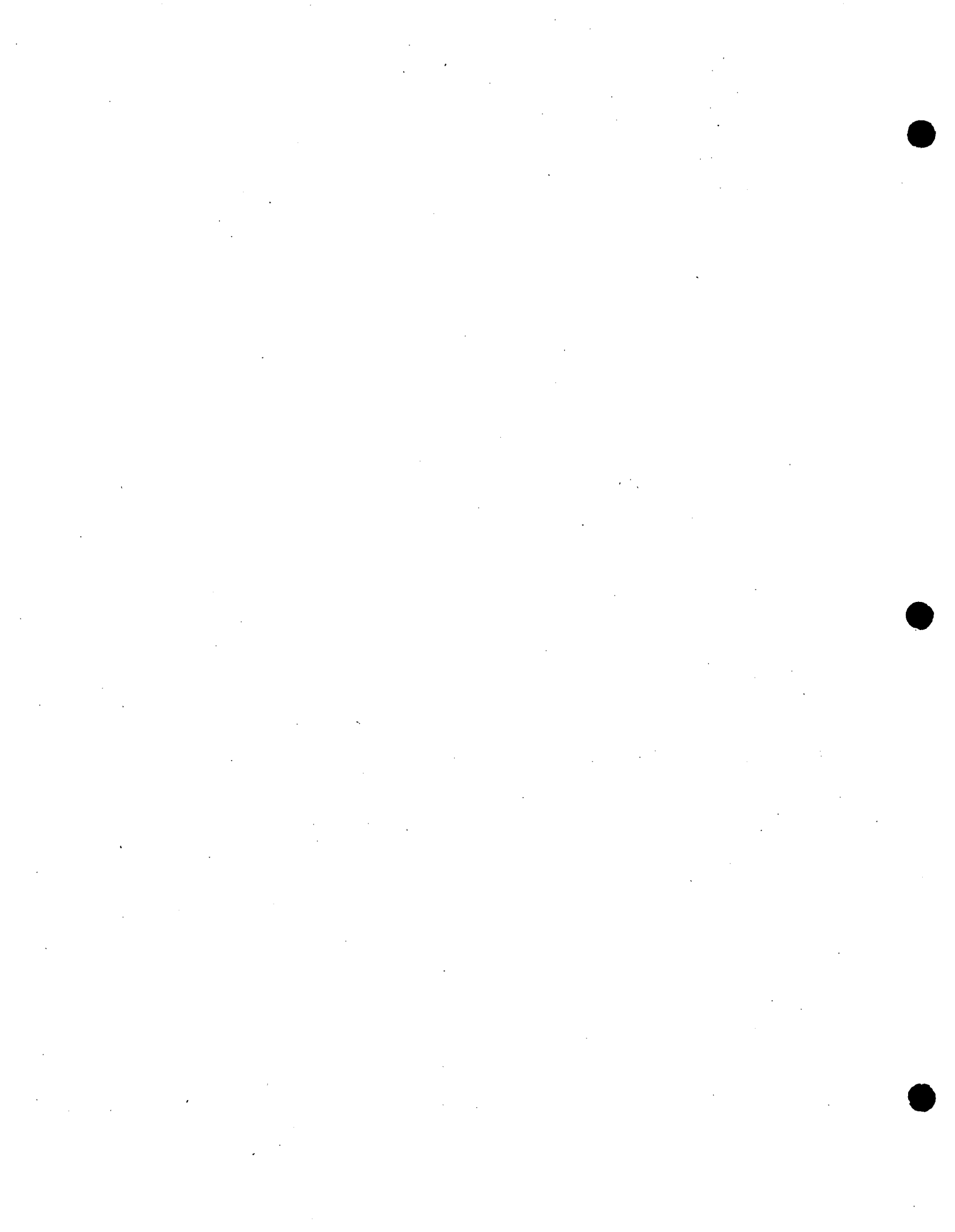
2. Definitions

At present, in Canada, the decennial Census is conducted during the first full year of every decade (i.e. the year 1951, 1961, 1971, etc.). Prior to the repatriation of the Constitution the decennial Census was conducted under that authority of the British North America Act, 1867. More recently it has been conducted under the authority of the Constitution Act, 1982. National quinquennial censuses² began in 1956 and have been collected every 10 years from that time (i.e. 1966, 1976 and 1986) under the authority of the Statistics Act.

Until 1971, census data were collected by a trained enumerator who directly interviewed at least one person in every household and soliciting proxy information for the others. This is referred to as *cavasser* collection methodology. Beginning in 1971 *self-enumeration* was introduced in the Census for most of the population in Canada. This collection methodology relies on the respondent completing the questionnaires. Since consistency, completeness and accuracy are important in a census, the introduction of self-enumeration brought with it a requirement for thorough testing of the collection vehicles as well as the methods for distributing and retrieving the census forms.

Early censuses covered a full range of social, demographic, agricultural and economic themes. They generally included a range of questionnaires (referred to as schedules before 1951) which contained hundreds of questions in total. In fact, the 1941 Census had 8 schedules with a total of 1,128 questions (DBS 1941, 13). With advances in statistical methods, *sampling* was introduced in an effort to minimize respondent burden and to reduce costs. This entails administering questions to a sample of the population and using statistical techniques known as weighting to attribute the results to the entire population. Ironically, the first application of sampling methodology was in 1941, the largest census.

The collection and processing of census data are extremely complex operations which are very well documented in the administrative reports produced for each census. Therefore, they will not be described here. However, reference will be made to the *instructions to the enumerators* and, where applicable, to the respondents and coders as well. This is particularly relevant in the discussion of the rules that govern how descent is to be applied in specific instances since they appeared either as



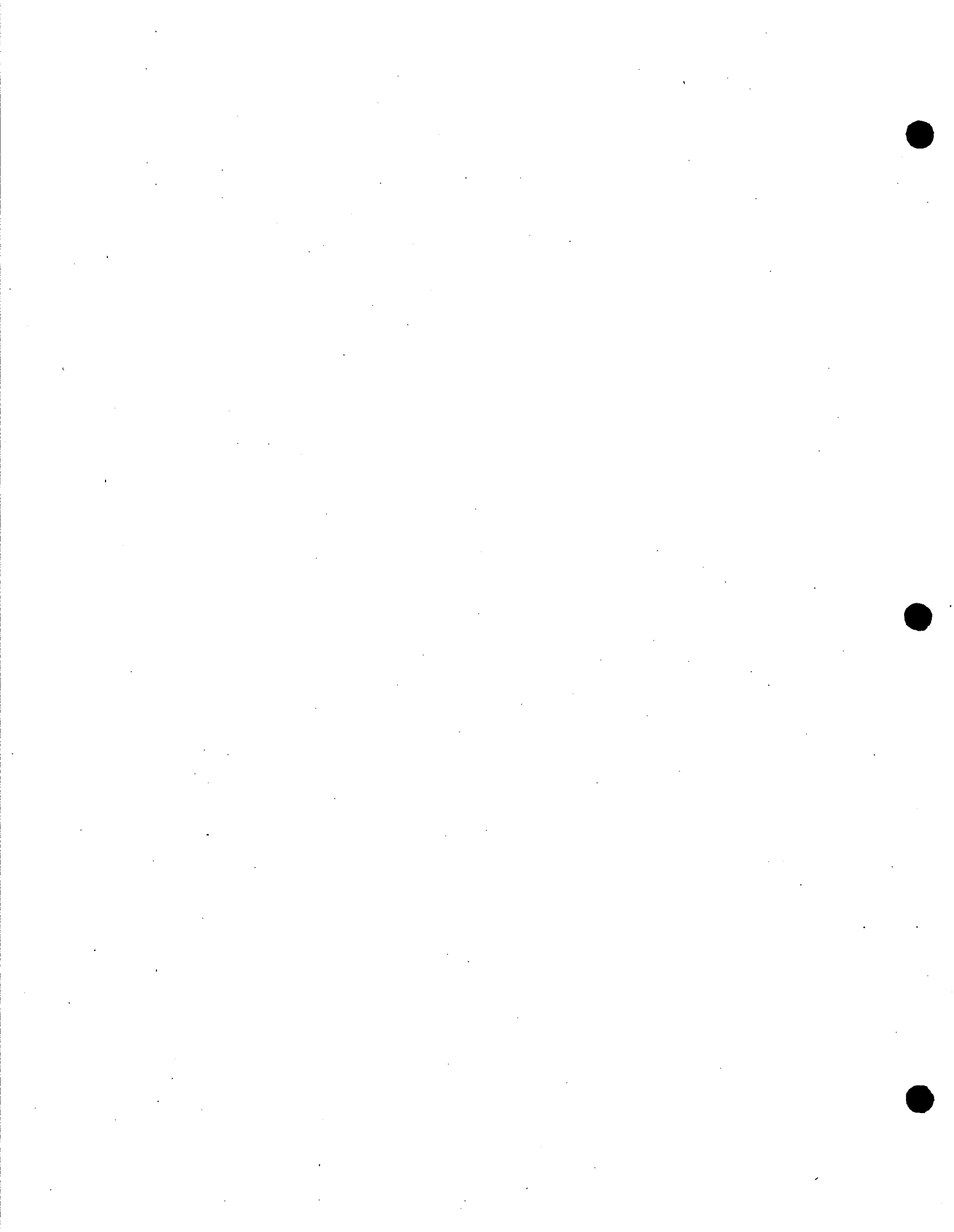
part of the instructions to the enumerators or explanatory notes to the respondents. Hence they are very significant in describing the evolution of concepts and definitions as they apply to data on the aboriginal population.

Clients for information from the census come from every sector of activity. "Their needs are as varied as their interests." (Goldmann 1993) What they have in common is a requirement for information which is geographically detailed or which identifies small population groups that might be missed in a sample survey (i.e. small area data) and which cross-classifies a number of key characteristics, such as age, sex, marital status and ethnic origin. Census data are used in a variety of applications including determining trends in the socio-demographic, economic and social development of the population, assessing the effect of government policies, planning for the needs of communities and locating potential markets for goods and services. To some extent the requirements for the information influence how the data are presented and, in some instances, which data are collected. This is particularly true for data on the Aboriginal population. The requirements of the original Indian Act, 1876 and all its subsequent revisions and The Constitution Act have had considerable impact of the classifications of Aboriginal people in the census. More recently, in addition to assessing the legal and policy requirements, consultations with Aboriginal leaders were conducted prior to the 1986 and 1991 Censuses to determine which categories should be included in the questionnaire.

In counting the Aboriginal population, officials used a variety of terms which reflect the legislation and common understanding at the time of the particular census. Indians have been referred to as North American Indian and Native Indian (North American). They have been further classified by band membership (or lack thereof), tribal affiliation, treaty status, whether they lived on and off reserve and, in more recent censuses, by their status with respect to the Indian Act. The Métis population was referred to as Half-breeds, Breeds and Indian. The Inuit people were referred to either as Inuit or Eskimo.

In all censuses, except 18913, the Aboriginal population was counted through the question on ethnic origin/ancestry/race. The ambiguities of the concept of ethnicity have been addressed by a number of scholars in sociology and anthropology (for some examples, see Ryder 1956; Cohen 1993; Goldscheider 1993; Isajiw 1993; Pryor et al 1992). This issue is further complicated by the tension which exists between the concepts of ancestry and identity. Evidence during the testing of the questions for the 1991 Census suggests that respondents do not necessarily distinguish between the two concepts. In fact, the results of the 1991 Census show that some may have been drawn to respond based on their identity, in spite of the caveats and explanatory notes included with the question. (Pryor et al 1992)

Another factor which complicates how the ethnicity of an individual is determined is the rate of intermarriage between ethnic and racial groups in Canadian society. In the case of marriages



between members of the Aboriginal population and non-Aboriginal the situation is somewhat more complex since "the distinction between Indian and non-Indian is strictly a legal one". (Frideres 1988, 11) Before the passage of Bill C-31 (An Act to Amend the Indian Act) in 1985 any Indian woman who married a non-Indian man lost status with respect to the Indian Act for herself and for her off-spring. Conversely, if a non-Indian woman married an Indian man she gained Indian status as did their off-spring. (Frideres 1988, 4) With the passage of Bill C-31 many of these Indian women and their children are eligible to apply to regain their status.

3. The Counts

It is difficult, if not impossible, to present the data on the aboriginal population as a continuous time series from 1871 to the present day. In addition to the methodological and administrative changes discussed in this paper, the capturing of responses to the question on ethnic origin underwent a fundamental transformation in the 1981 Census. From that point in time the question and the data began to reflect more precisely the multi-cultural nature of Canadian society by including multiple responses for ethnic origin. Therefore, the counts of the Aboriginal population are presented in two tables. Table 1 presents counts for each decennial census from 1871 to 1971. Table 2 shows the counts for single and multiple Aboriginal origins for 1981, 1986 and 1991. Both include a more detailed classification of the aboriginal population where those exist. However, these numbers require extensive explanatory notes. For instance, major geographic changes occurred in Canada between 1871 and 1881, 1891 and 1901, 1901 and 1911 and in 1947 when Newfoundland joined confederation. Therefore, the average rates of growth for both the aboriginal and total populations represent both normal population increases⁴ and increases due to the changes in Canada's geo-political boundaries. In examining the tables it also becomes evident that the definition and application of descent rules had an impact on the specific category by which people were classified.

Table 1: Census Counts of Aboriginal Origins (single origins only) - 1871 to 1971

CENSUS YEAR	INDIAN	HALF-BREED MÉTIS	ESKIMO INUIT	TOTAL ABORIGINAL	TOTAL CANADA	AVG. ANNUAL GROWTH RATE ABORIGINAL (%)	AVG. ANNUAL GROWTH RATE CANADA (%)
1871	23,035	2		23,037	3,485,761		
1881	108,547			108,547	4,324,810	15.50	2.16
1891				0	4,833,239		1.11
1901	93,460	34,481		127,941	5,371,315	0.82	1.06
1911	105,611			105,611	7,206,643	-1.92	2.94
1921	110,814		3,269	114,083	8,788,483	0.77	1.98
1931	122,911		5,979	128,890	10,376,786	1.22	1.66
1941	118,316	35,416	7,205	160,937	11,506,655	2.22	1.03
1951	165,607 3			165,607	14,009,429	0.29	1.97
1961	208,286		11,835	220,121	18,238,247	2.85	2.64
1971	295,215		17,550	312,765	21,568,310	3.51	1.68

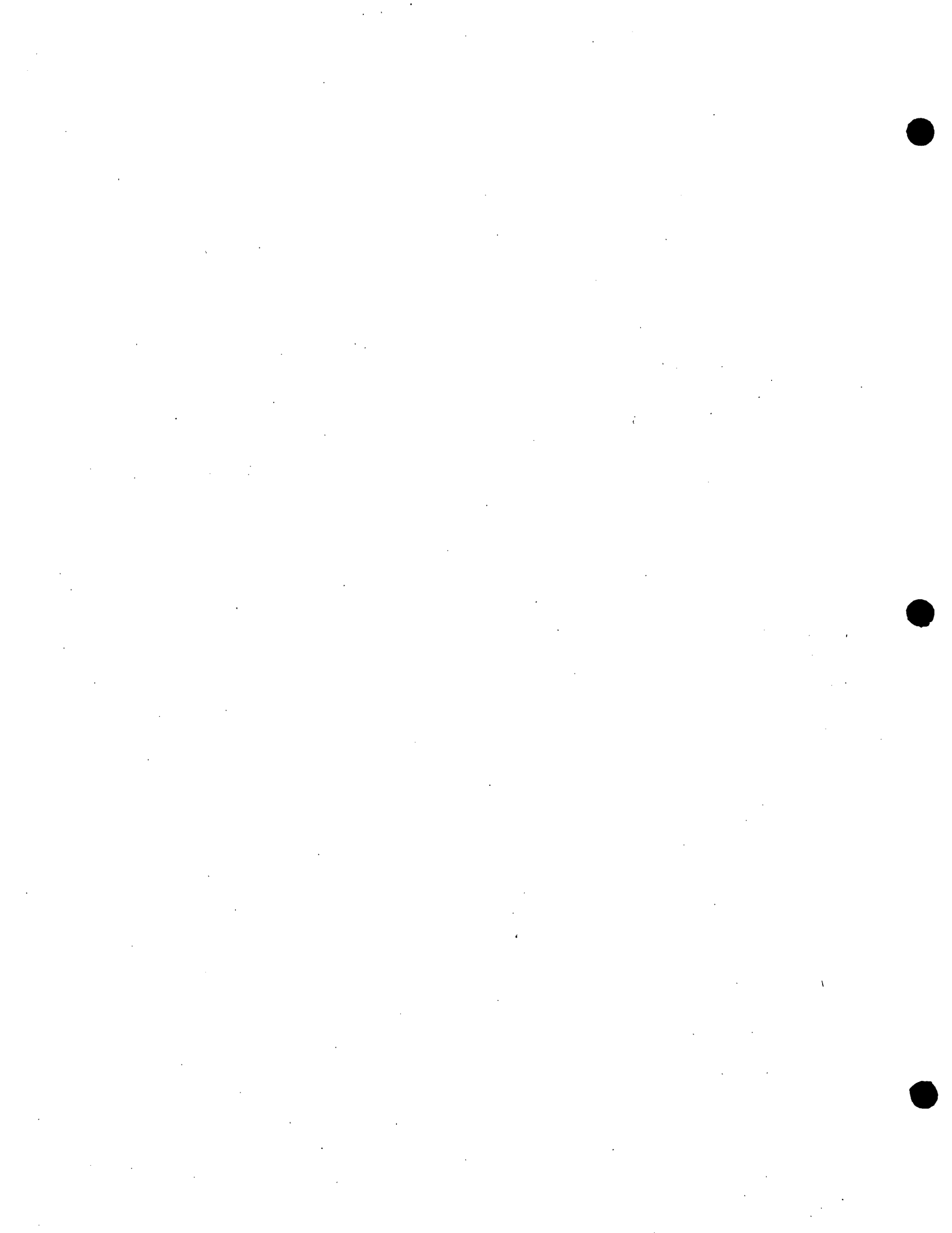


Table 2: Census Counts of Aboriginal Origins (single and multiple) - 1981 to 1991

CENSUS YEAR	RESPONSE TYPE	INDIAN	HALF-BREED MÉTIS	ESKIMO INUIT	TOTAL ABORIGINAL	TOTAL CANADA	AVG.ANNUAL GROWTH RATE ABORIGINAL (%)	AVG.ANNUAL GROWTH RATE CANADA (%)
19814	Single	313,655	76,520	23,200	413,375	24,083,495	2.79	1.10
	Multiple	26,280	49,610	2,190	78,085			
	Total5				491,460		4.52	
19864	Single	286,230	59,745	27,290	373,265	25,022,010	-2.04	0.76
	Multiple	262,730	91,865	9,175	338,460			
	Total5				711,725		7.41	
19914	Single	365,375	75,150	30,085	470,610	26,994,045	2.59	2.28
	Multiple	418,605	137,500	19,170	532,060			
	Total5				1,002,670		6.85	

In addition to the caveats listed above, and the footnotes which accompany many of the numbers in these tables, the reader must be conscious of the fact that the counts are affected by the following factors:

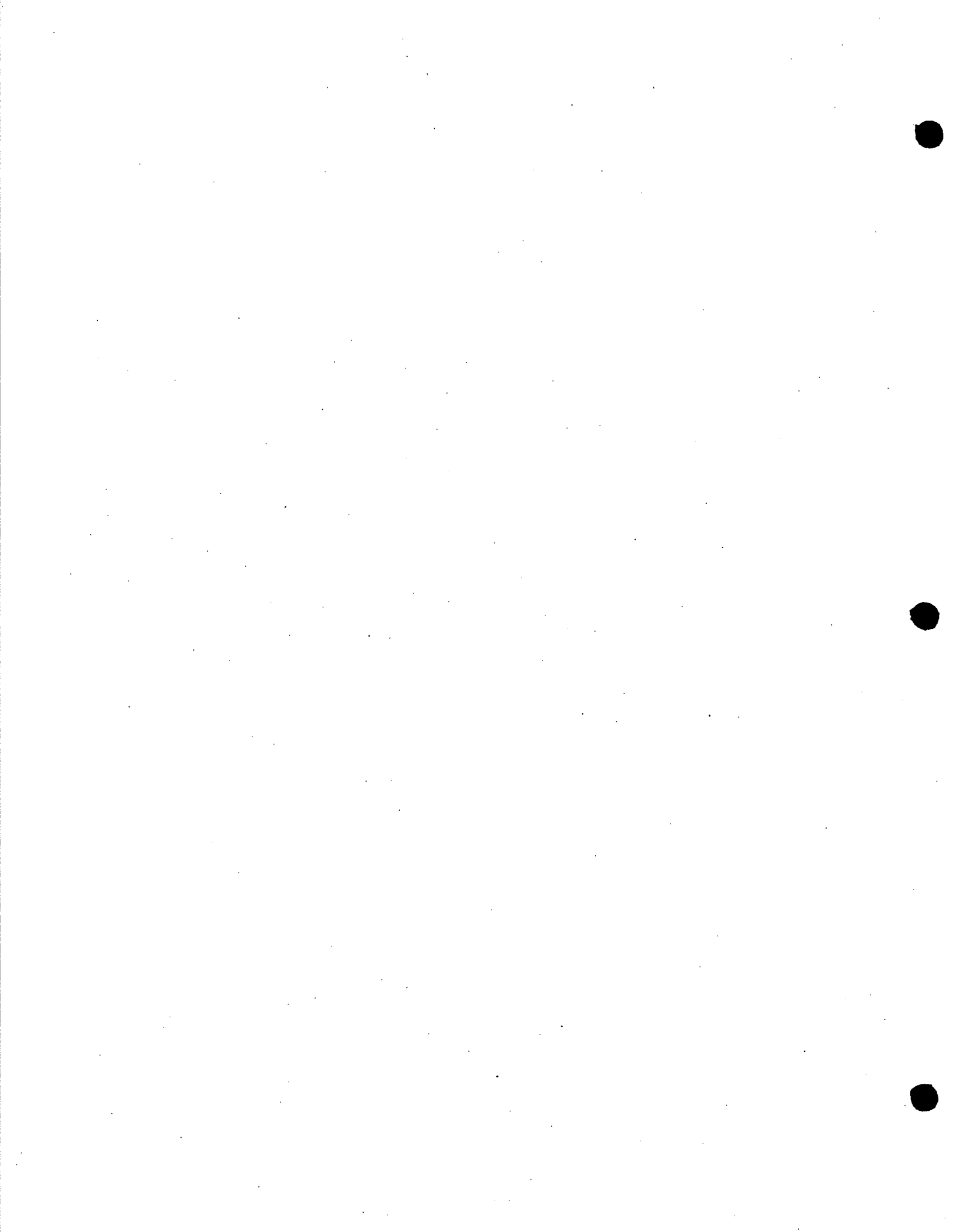
- changes in the formulation of the questions which dealt with ethnic/racial origins;
- changes in the instructions given to the enumerators (and/or respondents);
- differences in the socio-political climate at the time the census was conducted; and
- the number of incompletely enumerated Reserves.

It is difficult to quantify the impact of any or all of these factors on the counts. However, they clearly have an impact on how the enumerators and the respondents perceived their ancestries. For instance, the disappearance of a reference to Métis or Half-Breed between 1911 and 1931 is due to the lack of reference to any specific instruction to the enumerators on how to classify this segment of the population. Also, as the nature of the question on ethnic origin was modified between 1981 and 1991 to reflect the multi-cultural character of Canadian society, the incidence of respondents reporting more than one ethnic origin increased. The increase in the reporting of multiple origins, as indicated by the counts in Table 2, attest to the increased complexity of measuring Aboriginal origins.

Table 3 provides a summary of the descent rules which were applied to the ancestry data for each of the census years considered in this paper.

Table 3: Descent Rules by Census Year by Ethnic/Racial/Tribal Origin

CENSUS	WHITE/EUROPEAN	INDIAN	MÉTIS	ESKIMO	OTHER NON-WHITE	OTHER MIXED
1871	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified
1881	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified
1891	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A



1901	Patrilineal	Tribal	Complex	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified
1911	Patrilineal	Matrilineal	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Non-white
1921	Patrilineal	Matrilineal	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Non-white
1931	Patrilineal	Matrilineal	Not specified	Not specified	Coloured	Non-white
1941	Patrilineal	Indian	Half-Breed	Eskimo	Coloured	Non-white
1951	Patrilineal	Patrilineal	Place of residence	Not specified	Patrilineal	Patrilineal
1961	Patrilineal	Patrilineal	Place of residence	Not specified	Patrilineal	Patrilineal
1971	Patrilineal	Patrilineal	Patrilineal	Patrilineal	Patrilineal	Patrilineal
1981	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal
1986	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal
1991	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal	Ambilineal

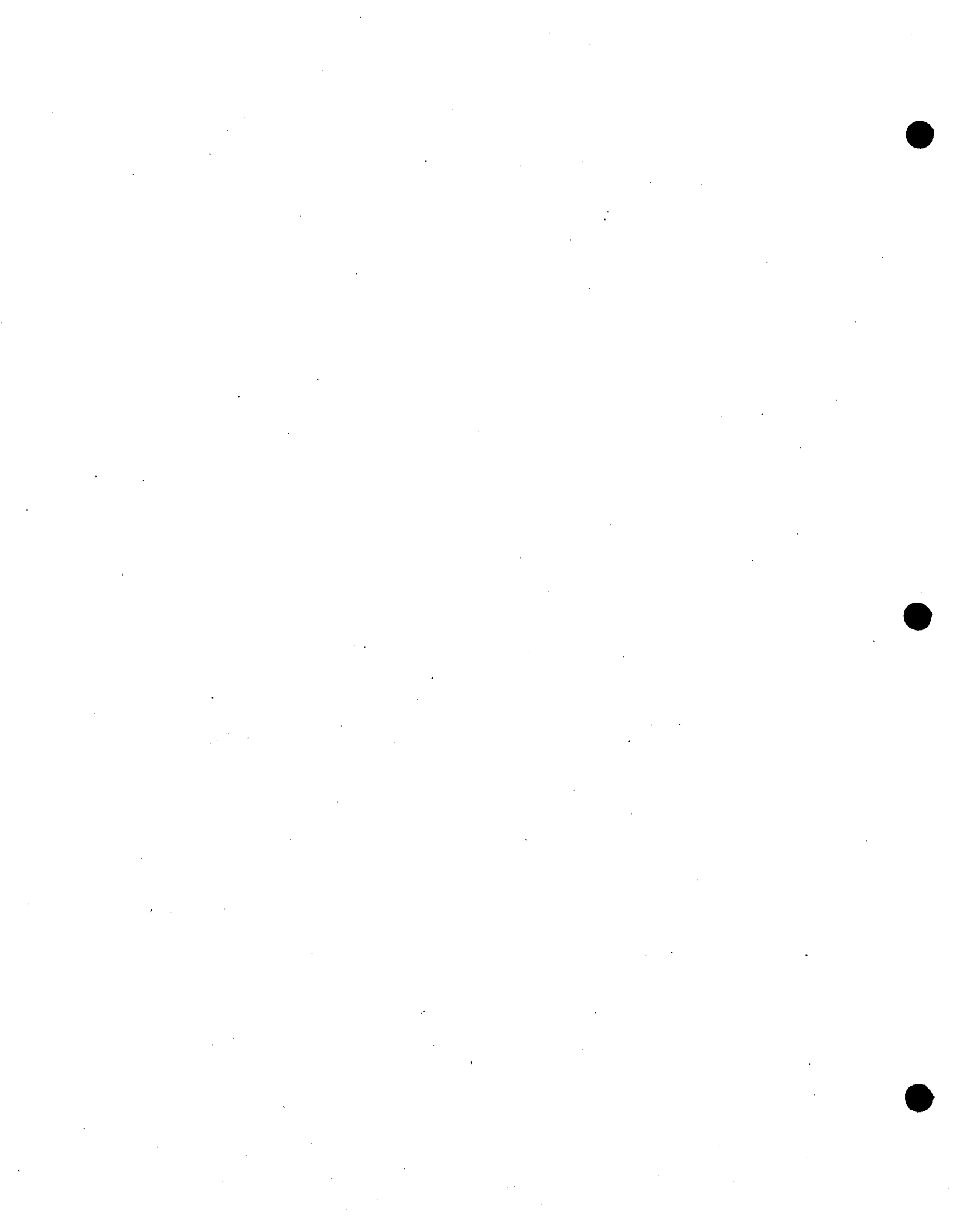
The descent rules which were de rigueur up to 1941 appear to have been influenced by the evolutionary theory. According to the nineteenth century evolutionary schemes, societies were classified on a scale that, based on Lewis Henry Morgan's interpretation, spanned a continuum from "savagery" to "barbarism" to "civilization". (Zeitlin 1990, 119) It was commonly believed by evolutionists that descent among civilized societies was promulgated along patrilineal lines. They also believed that among barbaric societies descent was matrilineally based and among the savages it was based on tribal affiliation. It is interesting to note that according to this logic the Aboriginal population "evolved" from savagery to barbarism between 1901 and 1911.

The rules also reflect legislative and policy imperatives of the government of the day. For example, the revisions of the Indian Act in 1924 and 1951 had an impact on how the Aboriginal people were classified in the census. The current Indian Act and the Constitution Act, 1982 provide the fundamental impetus for the definition of the Aboriginal people to be included in the 1986 and 1991 Censuses. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss these changes and their impact.

4. From 1871 to 1991

The common and distinctive features of each decennial census conducted in Canada from 1871 to 1991 are briefly described below. I have chosen to use standard headings in order to simplify inter-censal comparisons. Some of the information presented in this section focuses primarily on those factors which may serve to explain some of the differences and peculiarities in the data presented in Table 1 and the descent paradigms shown in Table 3. All direct quotations are taken either from the administrative manual, the general report or the publication containing the tabulations for the respective census. Therefore, they are not directly referenced. However, all relevant documentation is included in the list of references at the end of this document.

Census Year



1871**Principal Features**

This Census established the de jure tradition in Canada. The distinction between origin and place of birth was recognized.

"What is given in previous returns under the head **origin**, was simply the enumeration of people by their **place of birth**. But a moment's reflection shows at once that these two subjects of information are as different as they are important."

Collection Methodology

Canvasser

Sampling Methodology

None

Geographic Coverage

Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia

Scope of the Content

Population (including Socio-demographic and economic), Housing and Families, Health, Vital Statistics, Agriculture, Economic, Primary Industries.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Enumerators were instructed to record the answers given to them. Where no definite answer was given they were to record **not given**. This was used to explain, in part, why there are only 2 half-breeds recorded. An other reason for this is that this census did not cover the territories west of the Provinces - where most of the "half-breeds" lived. No specific instructions were given with respect to collection or coding of aboriginal origins.

Output/Tabulations

No counts reported for the Eskimo. In all likelihood there weren't any in the geography enumerated.

Census Year**1881****Principal Features**

Estimates of the Aboriginal population in the unorganized territories was based on the 1871 enumeration. Reference is made to the classification of a dwelling type of *shanty* used "to designate dwellings hurriedly put up, or the moveable lodges of nomadic populations."

Collection Methodology

Canvasser

Sampling Methodology

None

Geographic Coverage

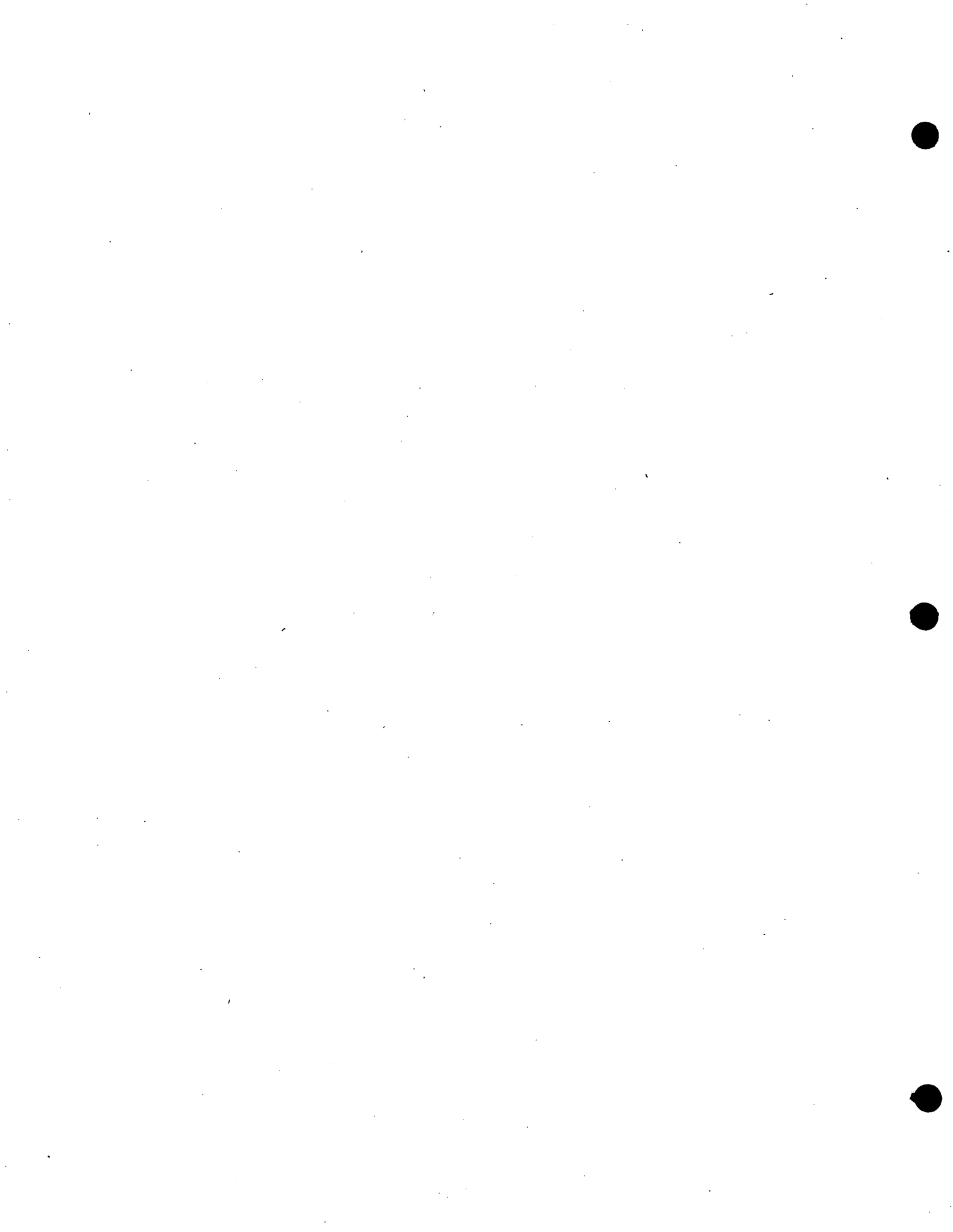
Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia, The Territories

Scope of the Content

Population (including Socio-demographic and economic), Housing and Families, Health, Vital Statistics, Agriculture, Economic, Primary Industries.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Although the instructions state that "origin is to be scrupulously entered, as given by the person questioned," no specific directions were given for the Aboriginal population. In fact, this type of instruction required that there be some form of direct contact and communication between the enumerator and the respondent. Where this was not possible, either due to language difficulties or to access, I suspect that the enumerator relied on the local authorities (either the constabulary or the Indian agent) or institutions (generally the clergy) for the information.



Output/Tabulations

Counts provided detail only under the heading *Indian*. Eskimo and half-breeds were either included in that count or were included in the count of *Various Other Origins*.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

Greatly expanded geographic coverage.

Census Year**1891****Principal Features**

This Census was essentially a repeat of the 1881 Census without a question dealing with racial or tribal origins.

Collection Methodology

Canvasser

Sampling Methodology

None

Geographic Coverage

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia, The Territories

Scope of the Content

Population (including Socio-demographic and economic), Housing and Families, Health, Vital Statistics, Agriculture, Economic, Primary Industries.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Not applicable

Output/Tabulations

Not applicable

Significant Differences from Previous Census

Not Applicable

Census Year**1901****Principal Features**

This is the first post-confederation Census which makes specific reference to the Aboriginal population in the instructions to the enumerator.

Collection Methodology

Canvasser

Sampling Methodology

None

Geographic Coverage

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, British Columbia, The Territories (Alberta, Assiniboia East, Assiniboia West, Saskatchewan, Unorganized)

Scope of the Content

Population (including Socio-demographic and economic), Housing and Families, Health, Vital Statistics, Agriculture, Business, Primary Industries.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

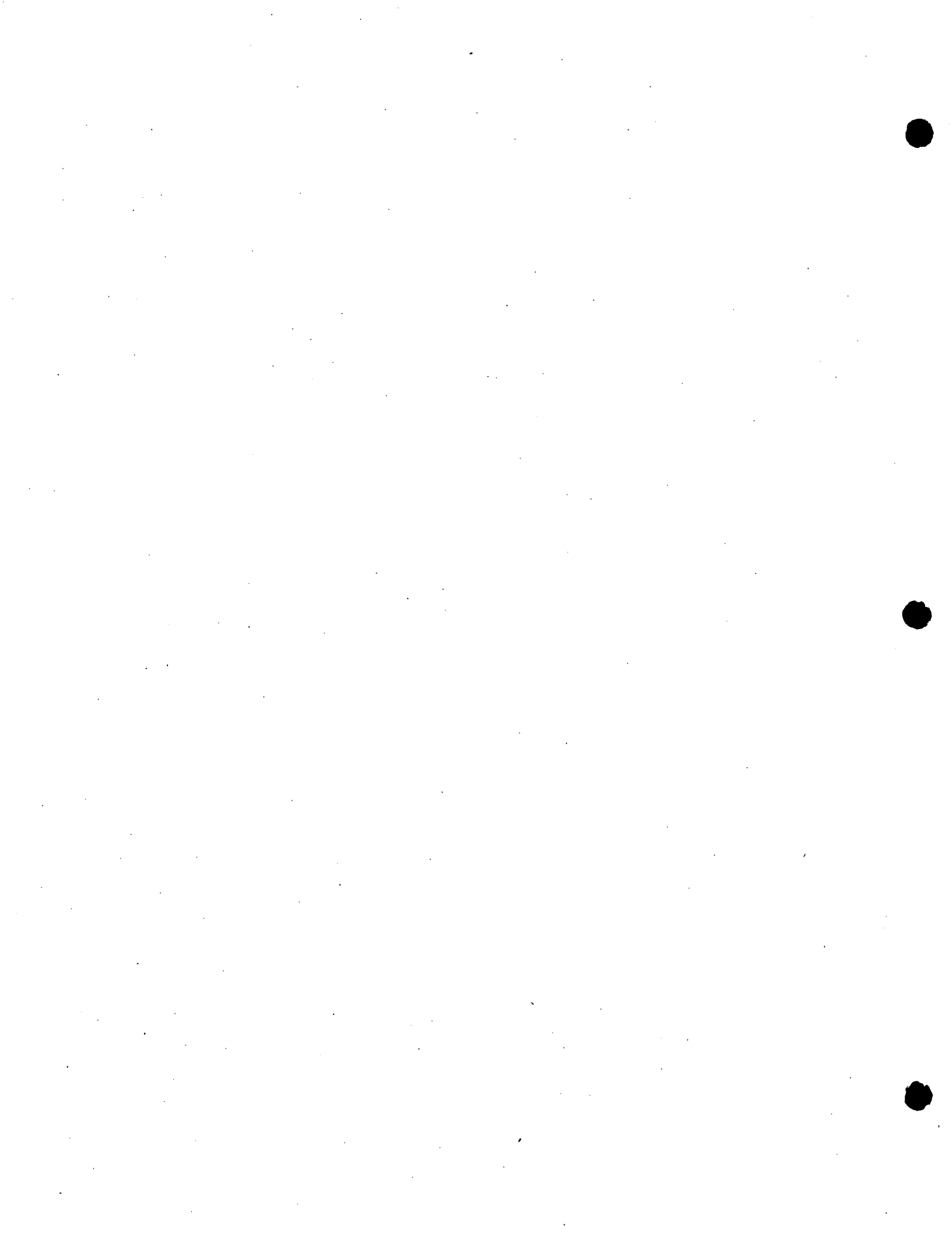
Enumerators were instructed to record the names of the tribes in the case of the Indians.

Special instructions on how to code the various combination of "persons of mixed white and red blood - commonly known as breeds" were also included. The rules for descent are clearly patrilineal for the white population. Any mixture including some Aboriginal origin was classified as "other breed", regardless of which parent was Indian.

Output/Tabulations

Counts were reported only for Indian and half-breeds.

Significant Differences from Previous Census



More detailed geographic breakdowns.

Census Year

1911

Principal Features

Not applicable

Collection Methodology

Canvasser

Sampling Methodology

None

Geographic Coverage

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon, The Northwest Territories

Scope of the Content

Population (including Socio-demographic and economic), Housing and Families, Health, Vital Statistics, Disability, Agriculture, Economic, Primary Industries.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Racial or tribal origin was to be derived along patrilineal lines except for the Indians where "... the origin is traced through the mother, and names of their tribes should be given, as 'Chippewa,' 'Cree,' etc."

Output/Tabulations

No separate counts for Indian, half-breeds and Eskimos. These are either subsumed in the count of Indian or in the category *various*.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

Expanded geography to include the new provinces.

Official sanction to use the Royal North West Mounted Police or other agents to collect the data on reserves and in the Northwest Territories.

Census Year

1921

Principal Features

First post-war census.

Collection Methodology

Canvasser

Sampling Methodology

None

Geographic Coverage

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon, The Northwest Territories

Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics), Housing and Families, Agriculture.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Patrilineal descent to be applied for the white population. Matrilineal descent for the Native population. In the case of mixed races the instructions forces a non-white classification, regardless of which parent was non-white.

Output/Tabulations

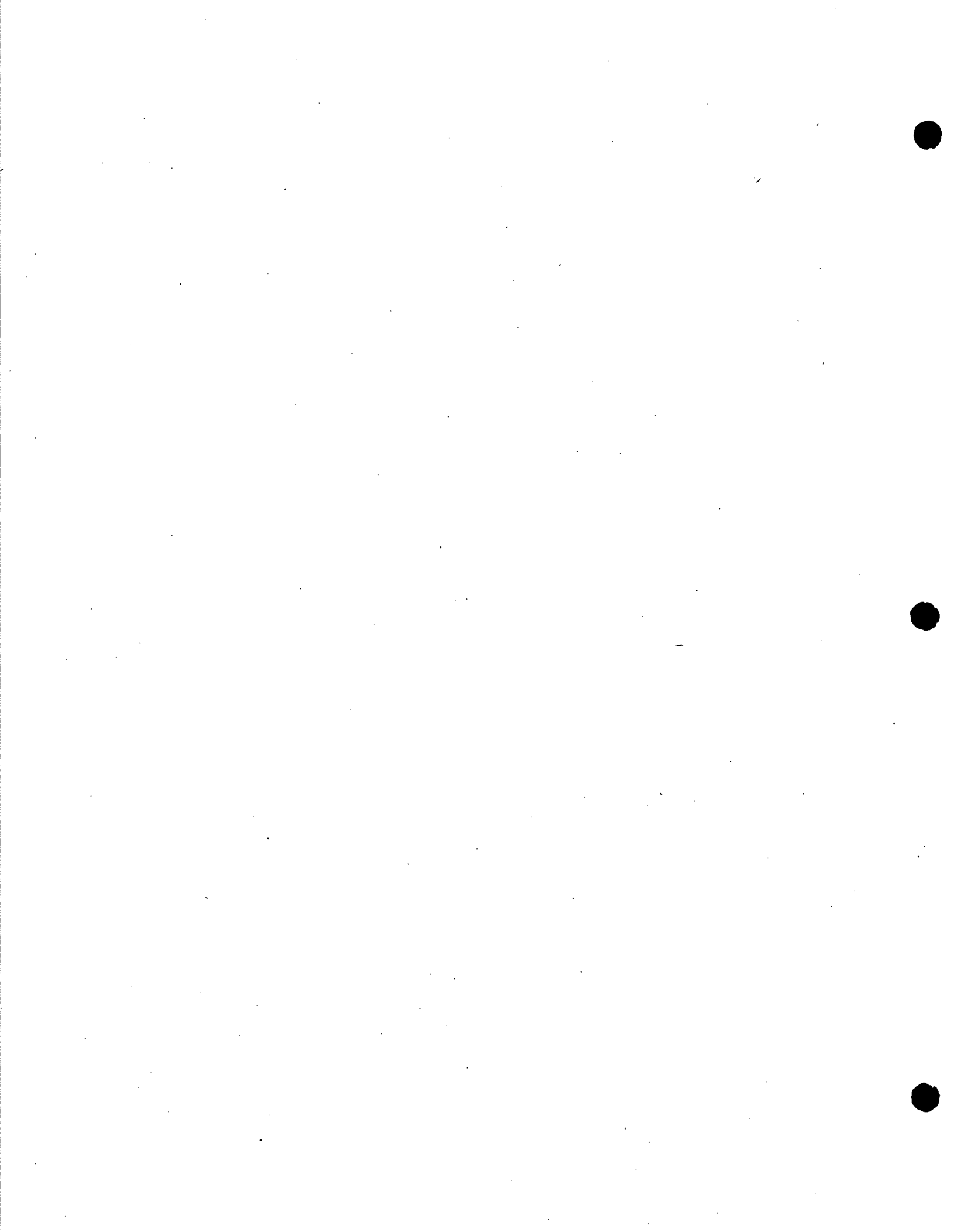
Eskimo was reported as part of the count of *various*. No separate count of half-breeds was published. They were included among the Indians.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

It was explicitly mentioned that a response of Canadian or American was not appropriate (not allowed) for the question on Racial or Tribal Origin.

Census Year

1931



Principal Features

Full series of monographs.

Collection Methodology

Canvasser

Sampling Methodology

None

Geographic Coverage

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon, The Northwest Territories

Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics), Housing and Family, Agriculture, Merchandising & Services.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Patrilineal descent to be applied for the white population. Matrilineal descent for the Native population. In the case of mixed races the instructions forces a non-white classification, regardless of which parent was non-white.

Output/Tabulations

The output from this census included the first extensive series of monographs. Counts were provided for Indian and Eskimo. Half-breeds were included in either the count of Indian or the *various* category.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

The monograph series.

No specific mention was made of excluding Canadian as a response.

Census Year

1941

Principal Features

This census was conducted during the Second World War. Therefore, a significant proportion of the population of prime age was overseas. This affected collection staff as well the content and counts. This was also the first census where major investments were made into the use of automation.

Collection Methodology

Canvasser

Sampling Methodology

A 10% sample on the housing questionnaire.

Geographic Coverage

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon, The Northwest Territories

Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics), Agriculture, Merchandising.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Patrilineal descent was applied to the white population. "Aborigines" were to be classified either as Indian, Eskimo or Half-Breed. People of mixed blood were imputed the non-white racial category, regardless of which parent was white.

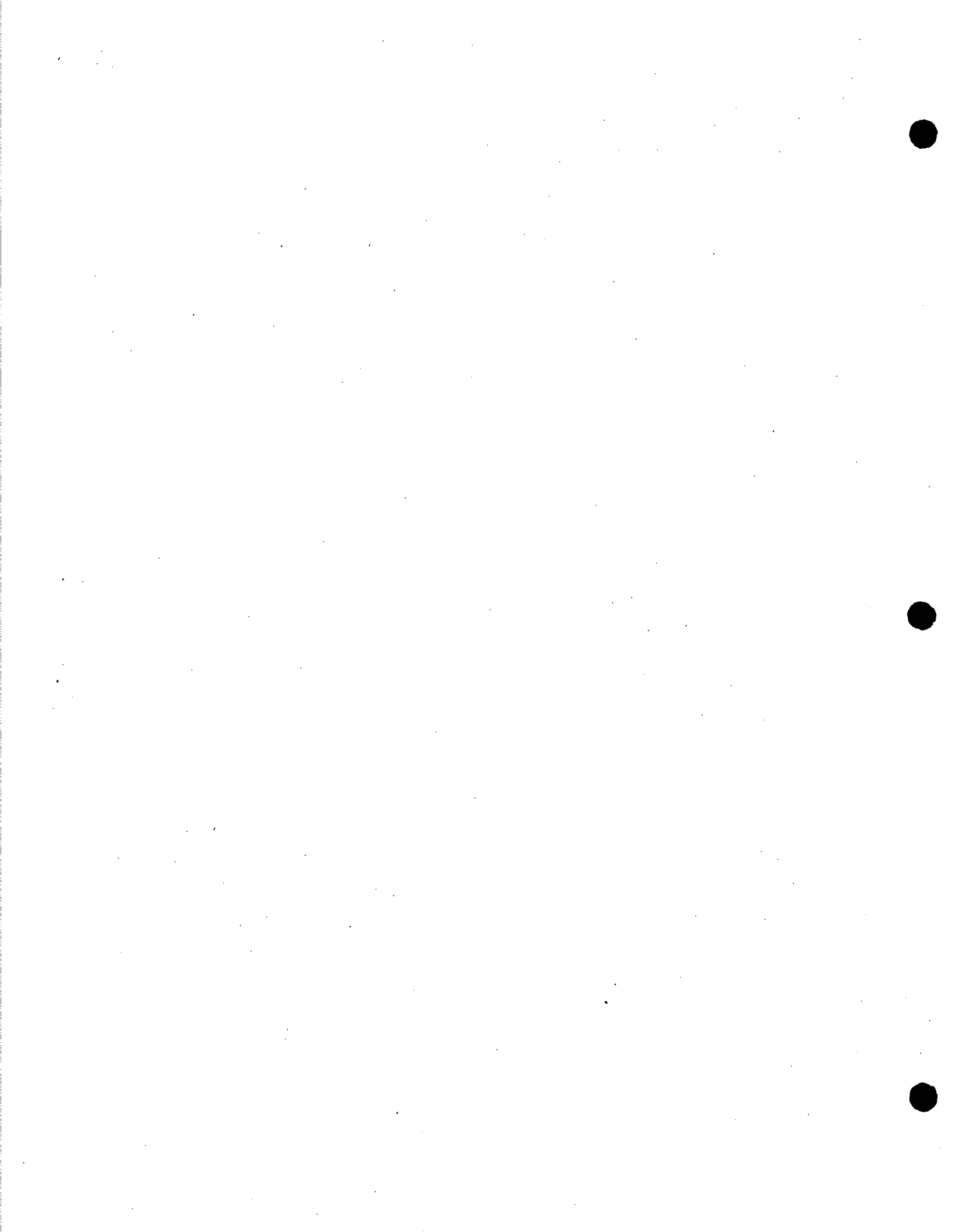
Output/Tabulations

Separate counts were published for Indian, Half-Breeds and Eskimo. These were also included in a monograph by Burton Hurd.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

References to *tribal origins* were dropped from the question and from the instructions. The question referred only to *racial origin*.

Census Year



1951**Principal Features**

Post-war census - it reflected the strong immigration from Europe.

Collection Methodology**Canvasser****Sampling Methodology**

20 % sample for the housing questionnaire.

Geographic Coverage

Canada as we know it today.

Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics), Housing and Family, Agriculture, Retail and Wholesale Trade, Fisheries.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Patrilineal descent was the dominant rule for determining origin. Mother tongue of the father was used to determine the respondent's origin.

Output/Tabulations

Eskimo and Half-Breed were not reported separately. Their counts were included in the count of Indians.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

Newfoundland was added to the geographic coverage. This was the first instance of the use of the term *Native Indian (North American)* in the Census.

Census Year**1961****Principal Features**

This was the first census in which 2 questionnaires, a short form (2A) and a long form (2B), were used to enumerate the population.

Collection Methodology**Canvasser****Sampling Methodology**

The 2B questionnaire was administered to one in every 5 households in urban areas and to every household in remote areas and on reserves.

Geographic Coverage

Canada as we know it today.

Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics), Housing and Families, Agriculture.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

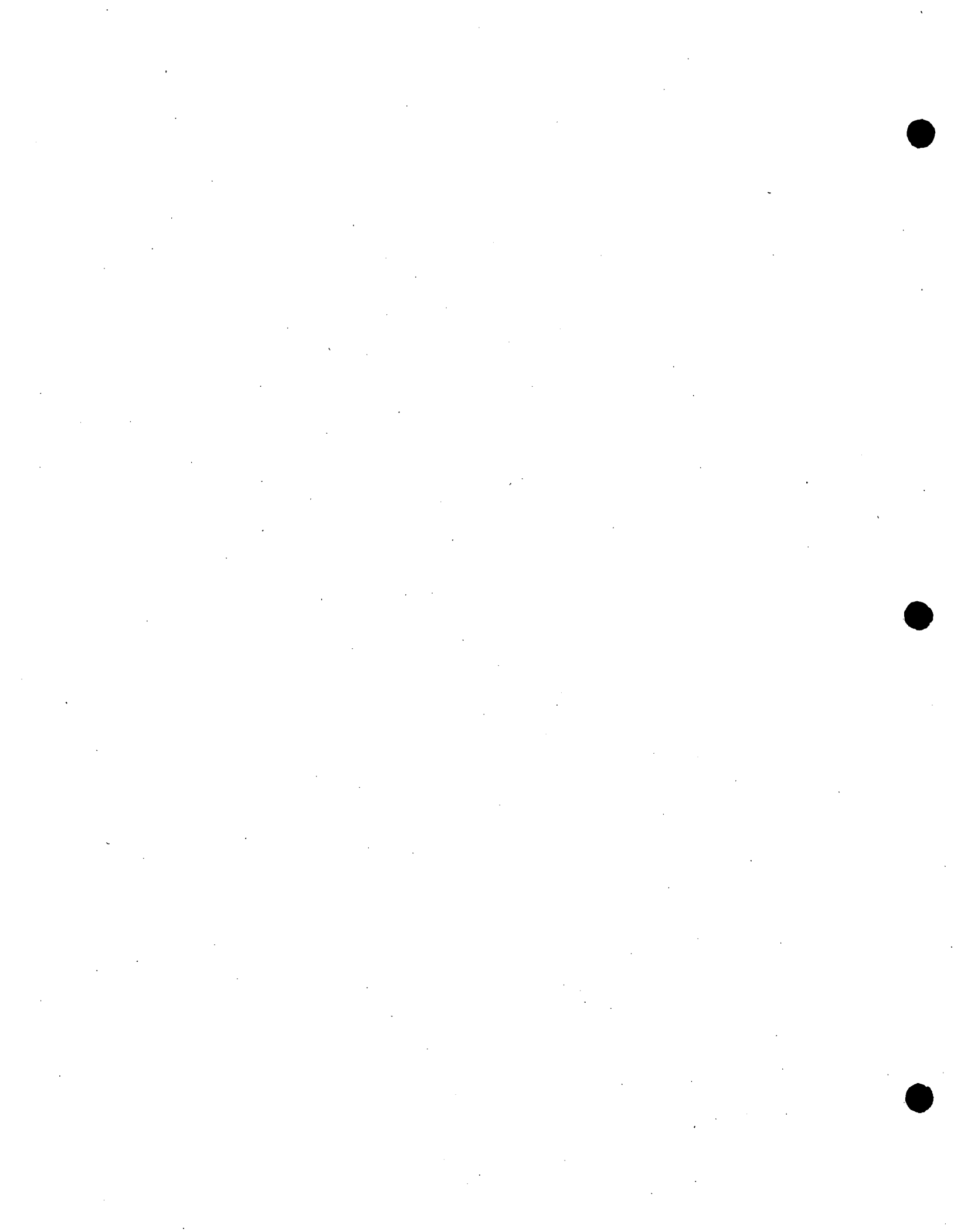
Descent was to be determined along patrilineal lines. Mother tongue of the respondent, or the respondent's "ancestor on the male side", was to be used to determine ethnic or cultural group. For Native Indians the enumerators were instructed to determine whether or not they were Band members. Treaty Indians were to be coded as band members. Respondents of mixed white and Indian parentage were coded as Indian if they lived on reserve. If they lived off reserve they were coded according to patrilineal lines.

Output/Tabulations

The tabulations provided detail only for Indian and Eskimo. Half-breeds were classified either as Indian or non-Indian during collection and processing: Therefore, they don't appear separately in the counts.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

The question used to determine ancestry was the first to refer to ethnic and cultural origins. In essence, this Census "fathered" a tradition for wording the question and the concept. Different descent rules were applied for the métis population living on reserve and those living off reserve. Specific mention is made of band membership.



Census Year**1971****Principal Features**

A mark-sense technology (FOSDIC) developed at the United States Bureau of the Census was used to capture the data from the census questionnaires. Advanced statistical methods were introduced to correct for errors and non-response.

Collection Methodology

Self-enumeration was used except on reserves and remote regions. Questionnaires were delivered and picked up by the enumerators.

Sampling Methodology

1/3 sample was used for the 2B questionnaire. However, all canvasser areas were administered a 2B questionnaire.

Geographic Coverage

Canada as we know it today.

Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics), Housing and Families, Agriculture.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

The instructions were extended to apply to respondents and coders as well. The focus for descent was still along patrilineal lines.

Output/Tabulations

Separate counts were produced for Indians and Eskimo. An extensive monograph series was published.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

Hot deck methodology was introduced to impute for non-response and response error. First Census to use self-enumeration.

Census Year**1981****Principal Features**

All canvasser areas (i.e. reserves and remote areas) were administered a 2B questionnaire. Key entry at Revenue Canada-Taxation was used to capture the data.

Collection Methodology

Self enumeration except in canvasser areas. Questionnaires were dropped off by the enumerators and mailed back in most parts (urban areas) of the country.

Sampling Methodology

Sampling ratio was 20% for the 2B questionnaire.

Geographic Coverage

Canada as we know it today.

Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics), Housing and Families, Agriculture.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

No specific rules were imposed on how ancestry was to be established. Although multiple responses were not encouraged, they were captured when present. Also, Canadian was accepted as a response when written in by the respondent. The question included four categories for the Aboriginal people; Status Indian, Non-status Indian, Métis and Inuit.

Output/Tabulations

Counts were provided for all four categories of Aboriginal people.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

This Census presented a major departure from the past with respect to the descent rules that were to be applied for ethnic origin. In addition, major new systems and methodologies were introduced to process the data.



Census Year**1986****Principal Features**

All canvasser areas (i.e. reserves and remote areas) were administered a 2B questionnaire. Key entry at Revenue Canada-Taxation was used to capture the data.

Collection Methodology

Self enumeration except in canvasser areas. Questionnaires were dropped off by the enumerators and mailed back in most parts (urban areas) of the country.

Sampling Methodology

Sampling ratio was 20% for the 2B questionnaire.

Geographic Coverage

Canada as we know it today.

Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics except religion), Housing and Families, Agriculture.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

No specific rules were imposed on how ancestry was to be established. Multiple responses were encouraged and they were captured when present. Also, Canadian was accepted as a response when written in by the respondent. The question included four categories for the Aboriginal people; Status Indian, Non-status Indian, Métis and Inuit.

Output/Tabulations

Counts were provided for all four categories of Aboriginal people. In addition, detailed breakdowns were published for multiple responses to ethnic origin and for on and off-reserve populations.

Significant Differences from Previous Census

This was the first quinquennial Census which included comprehensive content. In most other respects it was a repeat of the 1981 Census. In addition, major new initiatives were introduced to assist the Aboriginal population to make use of the data.

Census Year**1991****Principal Features**

A special version of the long questionnaire, the 2D questionnaire, was administered to all households on reserves. Two post-censal surveys were conducted in conjunction with the Census. One dealt with the Aboriginal population. The other dealt with disabilities. Special programs were introduced to induce the aboriginal population to participate in the Census. Major public consultations were conducted to determine the content of the Census.

Collection Methodology

Self enumeration except in canvasser areas. Questionnaires were dropped off by the enumerators and mailed back in most parts (urban areas) of the country.

Sampling Methodology

20% sample for the 2B questionnaire, except in canvasser areas where every household was administered a 2B questionnaire.

Geographic Coverage

Canada as we know it today.

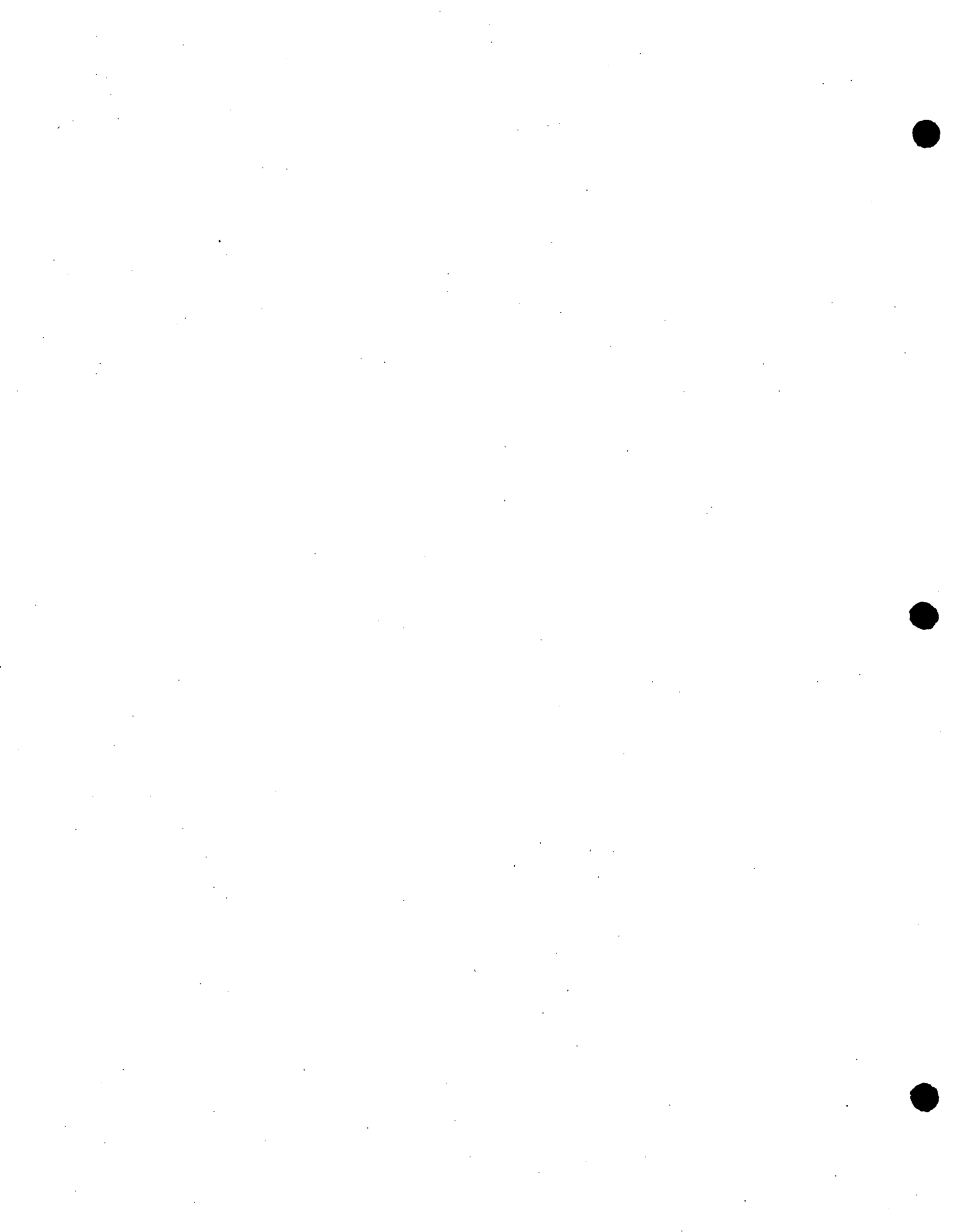
Scope of the Content

Population (including all characteristics), Housing and Families, Agriculture.

Instructions to Enumerators/Respondents

Respondents were permitted to enter multiple responses for ethnic origin. In fact, they were encouraged to do so by the wording of the question. The primary question, Q15, included 3 categories for aboriginal responses; North American Indian, Métis and Inuit/Eskimo. The status was determined through a supplementary question.

Output/Tabulations



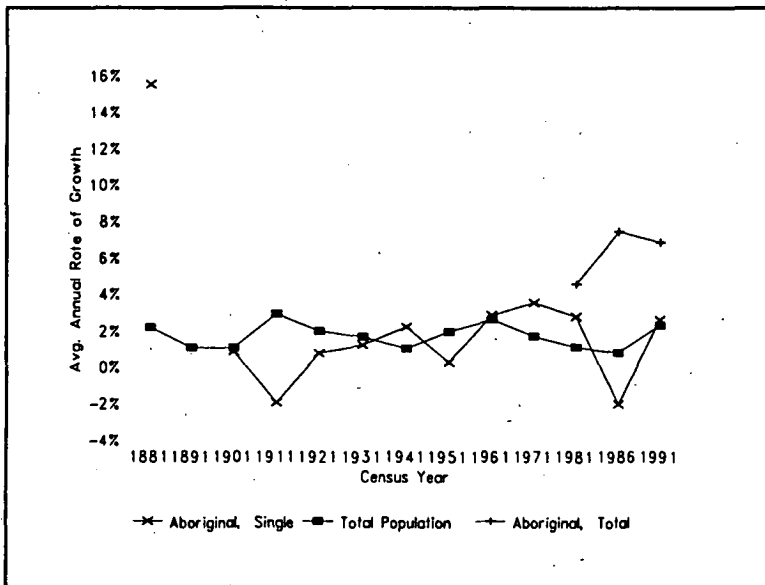
Counts will be provided for all aboriginal categories. However, due to rate of refusal some of the counts will not reflect the true population. In addition, a series of publications will be produced from the post-censal survey and one major monograph focusing on the aboriginal population will be produced.

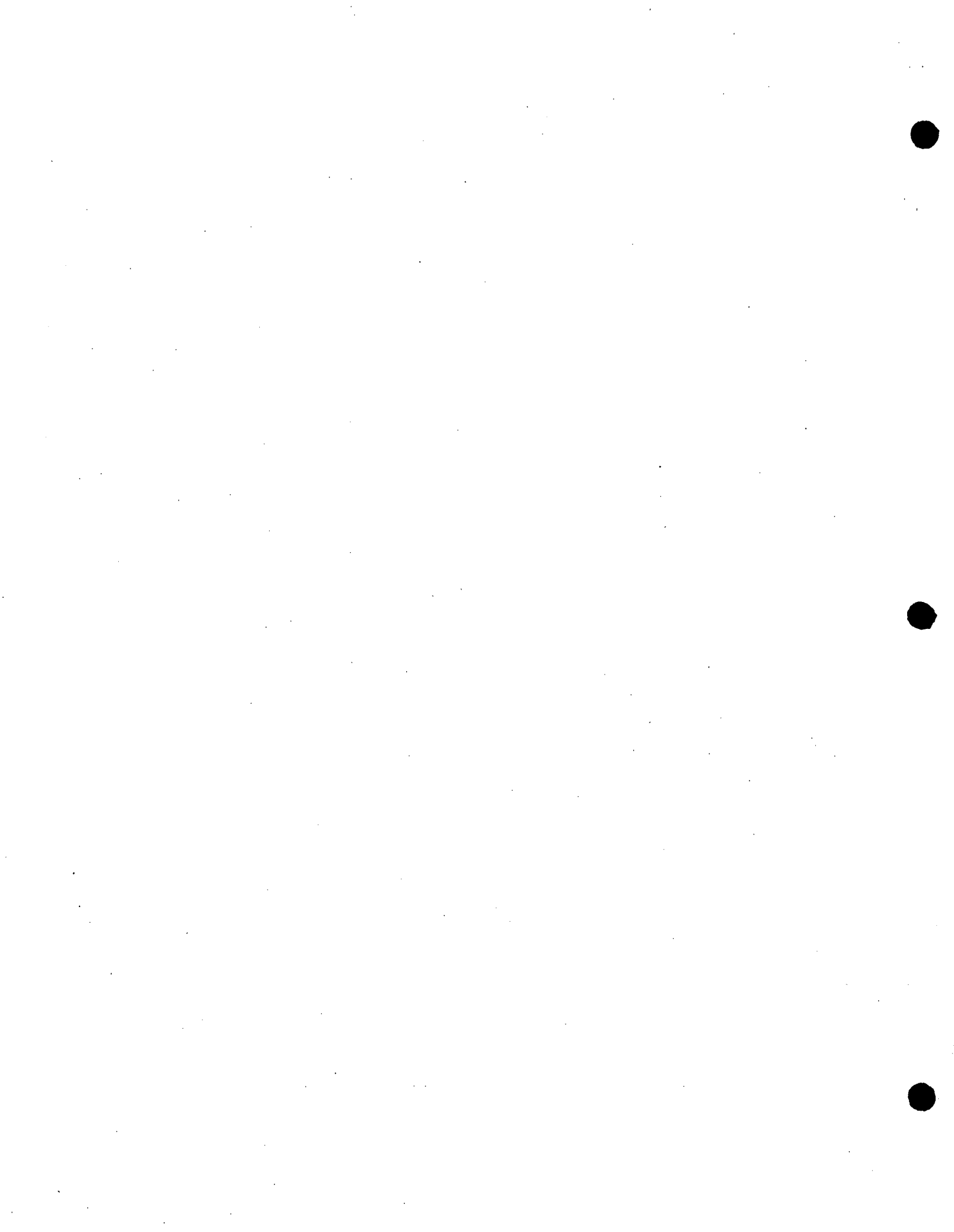
Significant Differences from Previous Census

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey is a first attempt at collecting detailed information about the Native people of Canada. Special programs were introduced to encourage the Aboriginal population to participate in the Census. Some of these programs have resulted in Aboriginal communities becoming stronger users of statistical information in planning for their people and managing their affairs. Extensive consultations were conducted to help determine the content of the Census.

5. Conclusion

It has been shown that the annual rate of growth of the aboriginal population is quite dissimilar from that of the total population of Canada both with respect to the trends and the actual rates. For instance, the average annual rate of growth for the total population of Canada over the period from 1871 to 1991 has always been positive and always greater than 1 whereas the figures for the corresponding period for the aboriginal population show a decline between 1901 and 1911 (-1.92%) and growths ranging from a low of 0.29% between 1941 and 1951 to a high of 15.5% between 1871 and 1881. The following chart clearly illustrates the degree of dissimilarity between the rates of growth (and decline) for both populations.

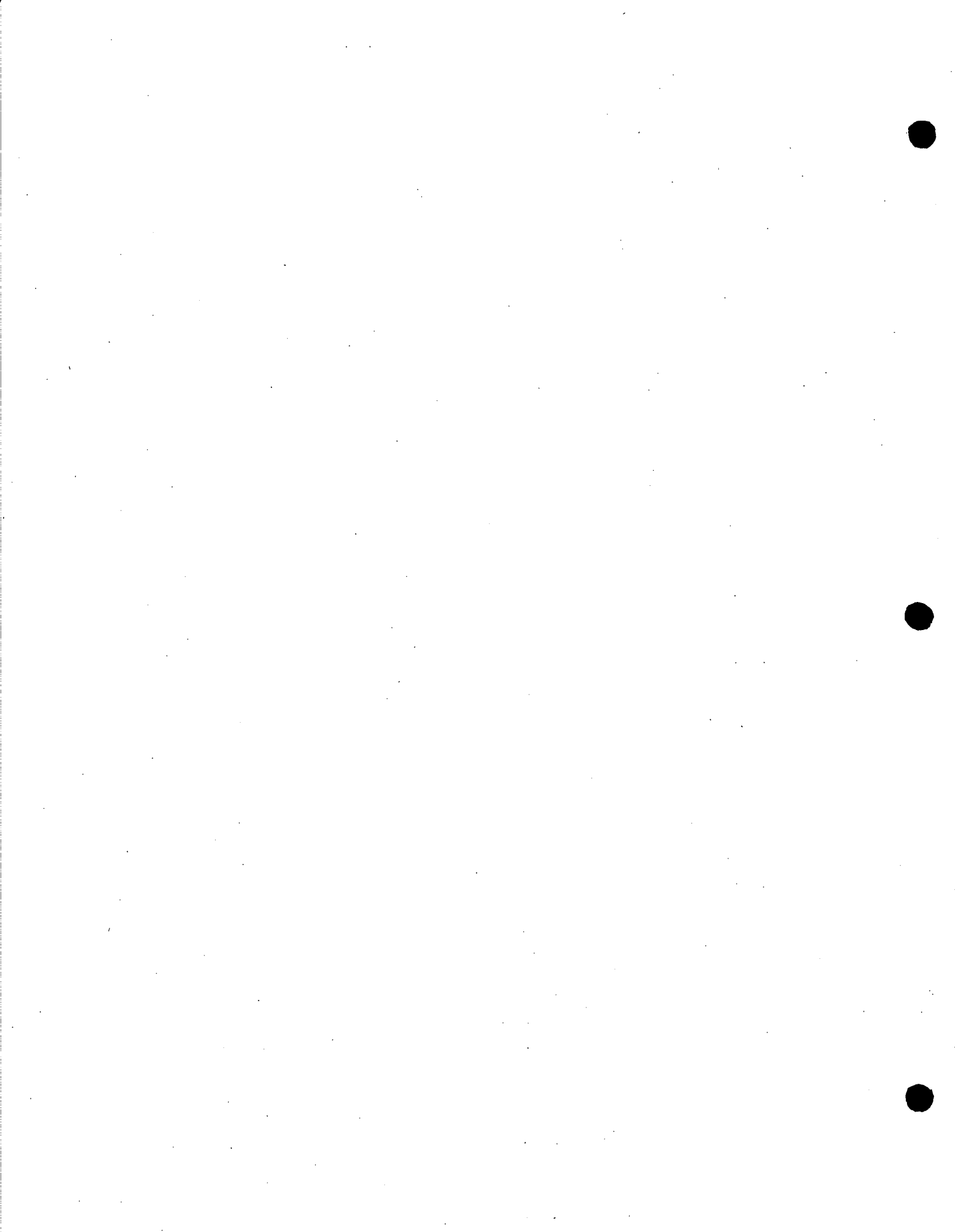




In contrast to the dissimilarities in the rates of growth up to 1971, the proportion of the total population that is Aboriginal has, with the exception of the first 4 censuses, ranged between a low of 1.21% (in 1961) and a high of 1.47% (in 1911). The proportions for all census years are shown in Table 4. The narrow range of fluctuation is quite remarkable considering the changes that may have influenced the respondents. Focussing specifically on the period between 1981 and 1991, the results show a steady increase in the proportion of Aboriginal population in Canada, taking into account the total Aboriginal response (the sum of single and multiple responses). However, it should be noted that legislative changes, attitudinal changes and the number of Indian communities who declined to participate in the census make it very difficult to draw meaningful comparisons and conclusion about the trends in population growth and decline.

Table 4: Proportion of Aboriginal Population

CENSUS YEAR	PROPORTION BASED ON SINGLE RESPONSES (%)	PROPORTION BASED ON TOTAL RESPONSES (%)
1871	0.66	No Change
1881	2.51	No Change
1891	0.00	No Change
1901	2.38	No Change
1911	1.47	No Change
1921	1.30	No Change
1931	1.24	No Change
1941	1.40	No Change
1951	1.18	No Change
1961	1.21	No Change
1971	1.45	No Change
1981	1.72	2.04
1986	1.49	2.84
1991	1.74	3.71



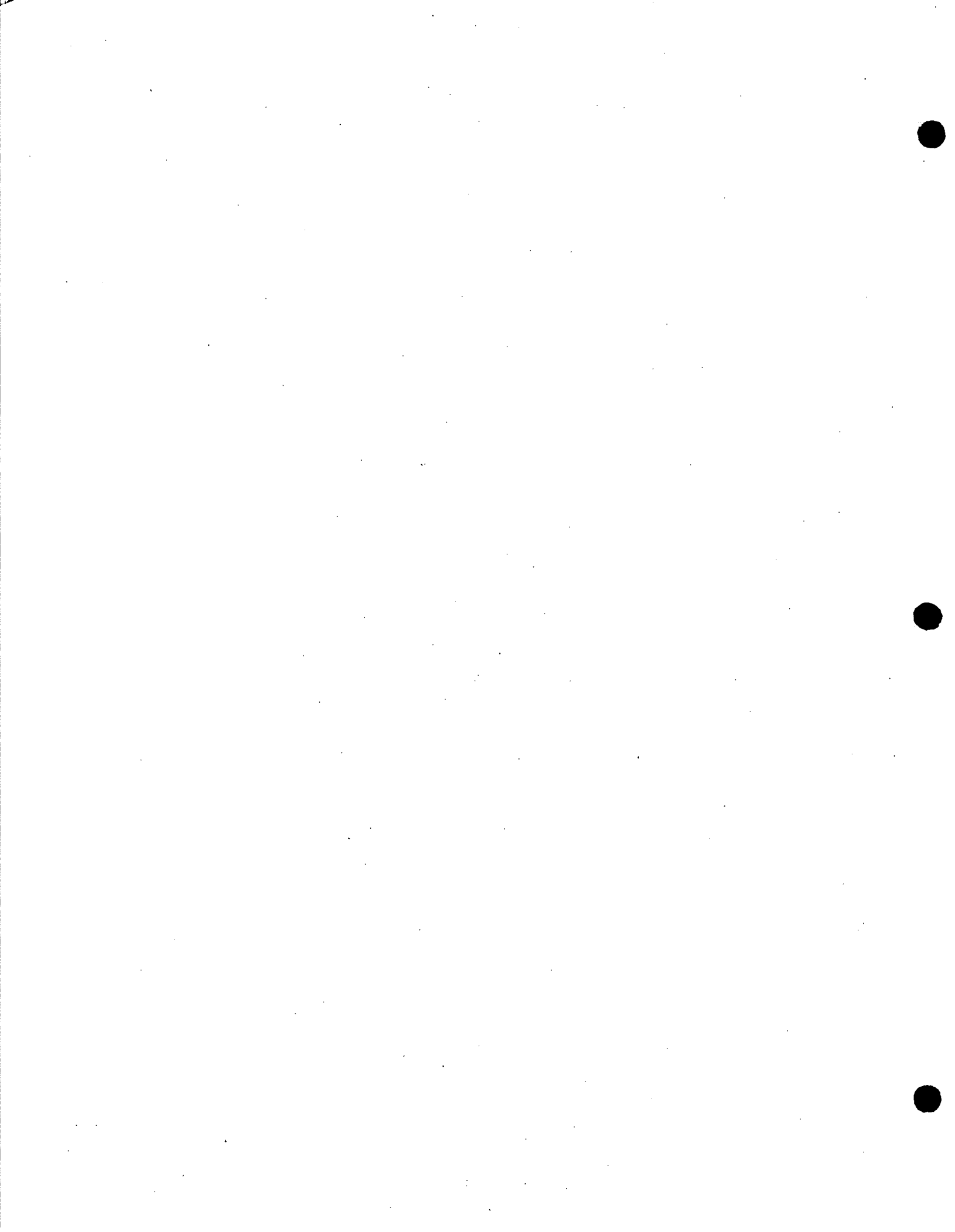
In a discussion of future issues for the Canadian Census, Pryor, Goldmann and Royce describe Canadian society as follows:

"Constitutionally, Canada is unambiguously a multicultural society, including an important native or aboriginal component." (Pryor, Goldmann and Royce 1991)

In a mosaic such as Canada one cannot expect every group in the society to exhibit identical demographic characteristics. Neither can one expect the characteristics of a particular group to mirror those of the society at large. However, in this particular instance, the divergence between the two sets of rates are too dramatic to be explained simply by differing demographic patterns. Other factors, such as changes in how descent is defined and applied and in the definition of membership in the group must also contribute to this divergence.

This study has shown that rates of growth of the Aboriginal population of Canada between 1871 and 1991 have varied erratically and unpredictably. Furthermore it has been argued that the variances in the rates are due to factors other than demographic trends. However, some questions remain to be answered. For instance, what is the impact, if any, of legislation such as the Human Rights Act on how people perceive or identify themselves? Also, how do public discussion, both historical and current, mores and values impact upon how people were and are enumerated? Finally, have the recent constitutional negotiations affected perceptions, attitudes and definitions? The answers to these questions, and others, present an interesting and relevant research agenda which should be addressed.

NOTES



REFERENCES

NON-CENSUS

Cohen, Ronald

1993 "Ethnicity, The State and Moral Order", The Measurement of Ethnicity: Science, politics and reality, edited by Gustave J. Goldmann and Nampeo McKenney, To be published June 1993, Washington: United States Bureau of the Census.

Frideres, James S.

1988 Native Peoples in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc.

Goldmann, Gustave J.

1991 The Aboriginal Population and the Census: An Evolving Relationship, Paper presented to Carleton Graduate Seminar 54.516, November 1991, Ottawa: Statistics Canada

Goldmann, Gustave J.

1993 "Census Data on Ethnic Origin: Who needs it and Why?", The Measurement of Ethnicity: Science, politics and reality, edited by Gustave J. Goldmann and Nampeo McKenney, To be published June 1993, Washington: United States Bureau of the Census.

Goldscheider, Calvin

1993 "What Does Ethnic/Racial Differentiation Mean? Implications for Measurement and Analyses", The Measurement of Ethnicity: Science, politics and reality, edited by Gustave J. Goldmann and Nampeo McKenney, To be published June 1993, Washington: United States Bureau of the Census.

Isajiw, Wsevolod

1993 "Definition and Dimensions of Ethnicity: A Theoretical Framework", The Measurement of Ethnicity: Science, politics and reality, edited by Gustave J. Goldmann and Nampeo McKenney, To be published June 1993, Washington: United States Bureau of the Census.

Pryor, Edward T., Gustave J. Goldmann, Donald A. Royce

1991 "Future Issues for the Census of Canada", International Migration Review, 25:167-175, New York: Center for Migration Studies

Pryor, Edward T., Gustave J. Goldmann, Michael Sheridan, Pamela White

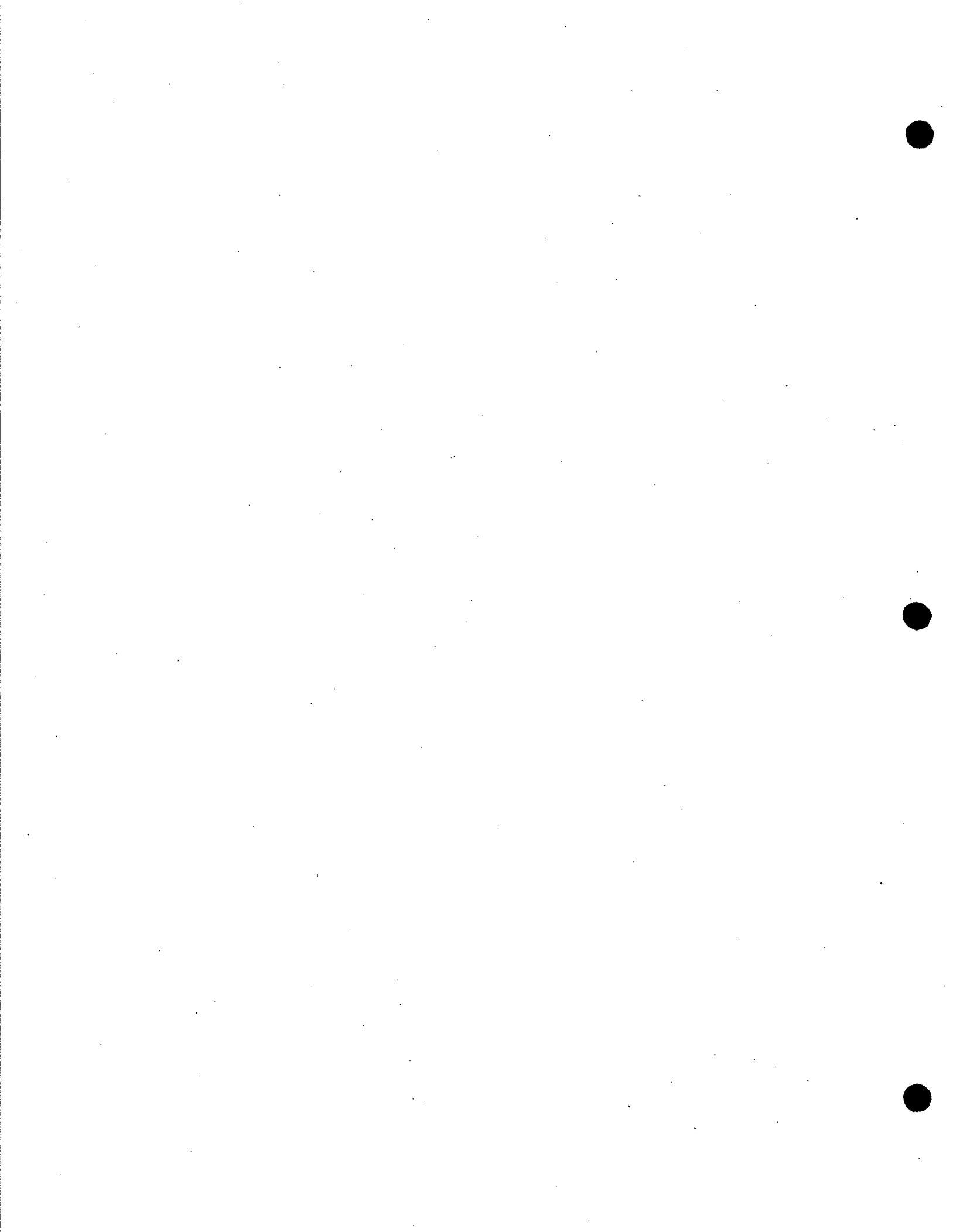
1992 "Measuring ethnicity: is 'Canadian' an evolving indigenous category?", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Volume 15 Number 2 April 1992, London: Routledge Journals

Ryder, Norman B.

1956 "The Interpretation of Origin Statistics". ESTADISTICA: The Journal of the International American Statistical Institute. 53:651-665, Washington

Zeitlin, Irving M.

1990 Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.



CENSUS DOCUMENTS CONSULTED1871 Census

Department of Agriculture

1871 Manual Containing the Census Act and the Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the First Census of Canada - 1871, Ottawa: I. B. Taylor

Department of Agriculture

1873 Census of Canada, 1870-71, Volume I, Ottawa: I. B. Taylor1881 Census

Department of Agriculture

1881 Manual Containing the Census Act and the Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the Second Census of Canada - 1881, Ottawa: Maclean, Roger and Co.

Department of Agriculture

1883 Census of Canada, 1880-81, Volume I, Ottawa: Maclean, Roger and Co.1884-85 Census

Department of Agriculture

1886 Census of the Three Provisional Districts of the North-West Territories, Ottawa: Maclean, Roger and Co.1891 Census

Department of Agriculture and Statistics

1893 Census of Canada, Volume I, Ottawa: S. E. Dawson1901 Census

Department of Agriculture and Statistics

1901 Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Instructions to Officers, Ottawa: S. E. Dawson

Department of Agriculture and Statistics

1902 Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Volume I - Population, Ottawa: S. E. Dawson1911 Census

Department of Agriculture and Statistics

1911 Fifth Census of Canada, 1911. Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators, Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau

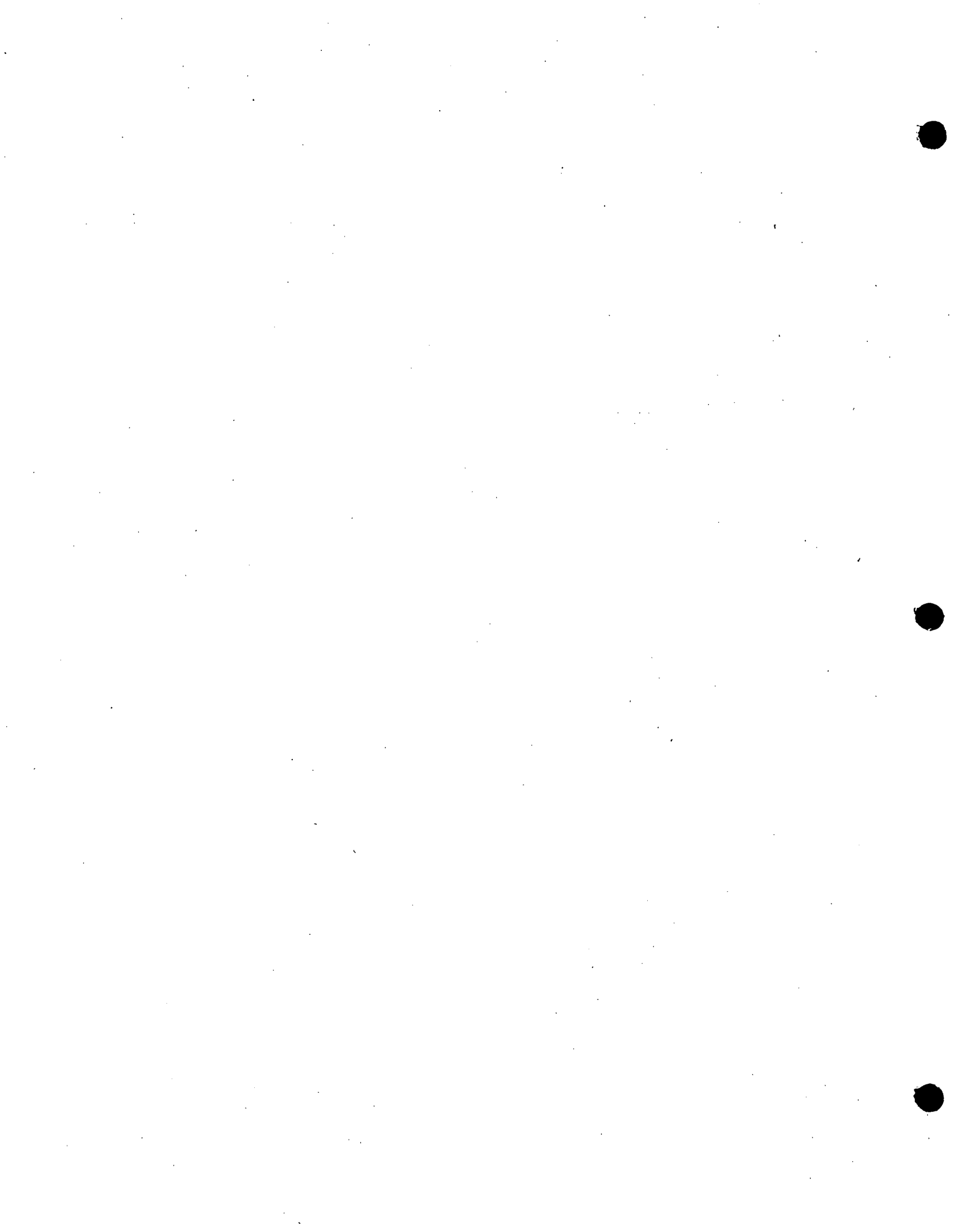
Department of Agriculture and Statistics

1913 Fifth Census of Canada, 1911. Volume II. Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts and Sub-Districts, Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee1921 Census

Department of Trade and Commerce

1921 Sixth Census of Canada, 1921. Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators, Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau

Department of Trade and Commerce



1924 Sixth Census of Canada, 1921. Volume I, Number, Sex, Racial Origins and Religion, Ottawa: F. A. Acland

Department of Trade and Commerce

1929 Origin, Birthplace, Nationality and Language of the Canadian People: A Census Study Based on the Census of 1921 and Supplementary Data, Ottawa: F. A. Acland

1931 Census

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1931 Seventh Census of Canada, 1931. Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators, Ottawa: F. A. Acland

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1934 Volume IV, Cross-classification, Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I.S.O.

Hurd, Burton W.

1937 Census Monograph No. 4, Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People, Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I.S.O.

1941 Census

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1941 Eighth Census of Canada, 1941. Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators, Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1945 Eighth Census of Canada, 1941. Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician, Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1946 Eighth Census of Canada, 1941. Volume IV, Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier

Hurd, W. Burton, O.B.E.

1941 Ethnic Origin and Nativity of the Canadian People, Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery

1951 Census

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1951 Ninth Census of Canada, 1951. Enumeration Manual, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1953 Ninth Census of Canada, 1951. Volume II, Population: Cross-classification of Characteristics, Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery

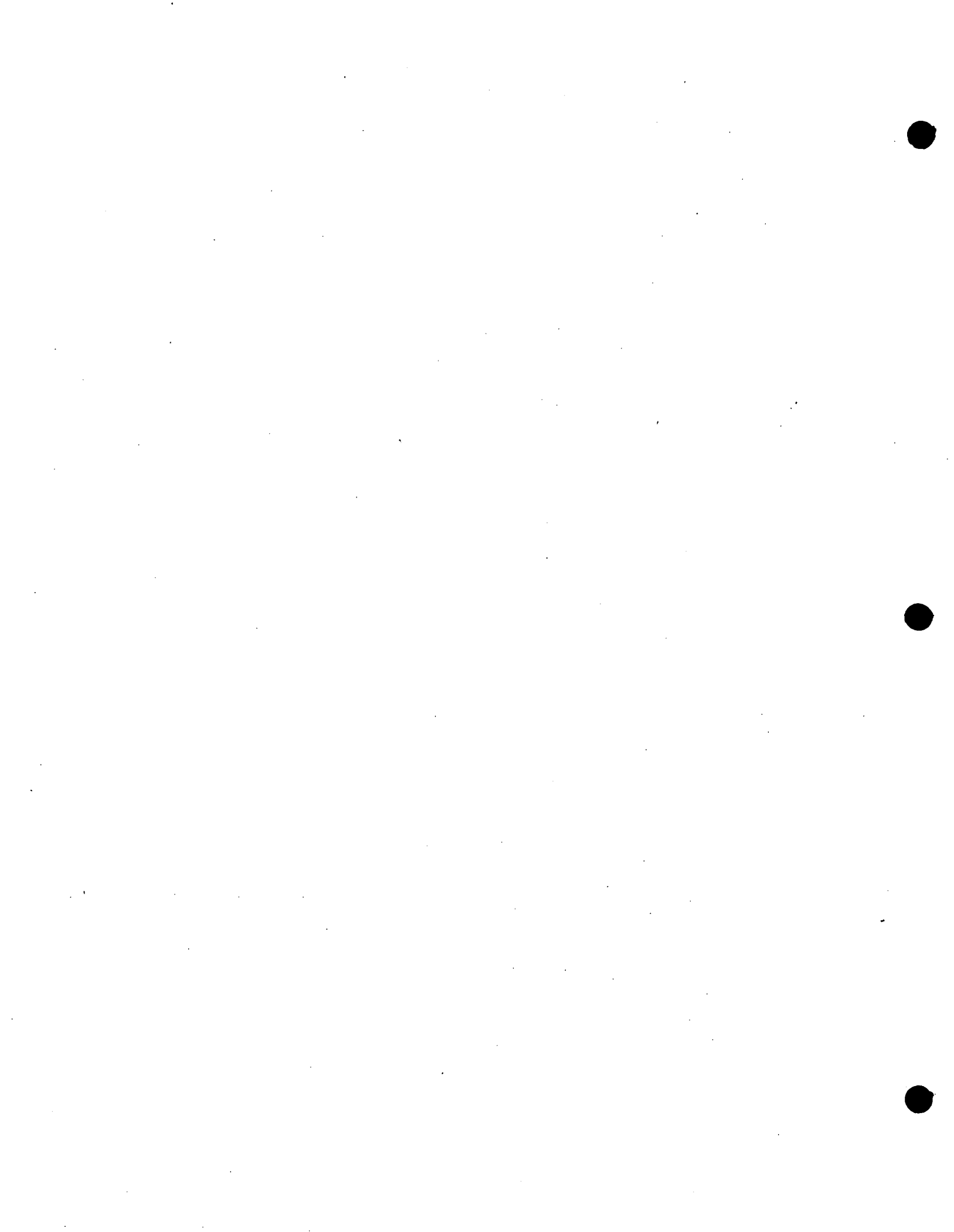
1961 Census

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1961 1961 Census of Canada. Enumeration Manual, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics

Dominion Bureau of Statistics

1962 1961 Census of Canada. Volume I (Part: 2), Population: General Characteristics



Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery

1971 Census

Statistics Canada

1973 1971 Census of Canada, Population: Ethnic Groups, Catalogue 92-723 Vol: 1 - Part: 3, Ottawa: Statistics Canada

Statistics Canada

1976 1971 Census of Canada, General Review: Administrative Report of the 1971 Census, Catalogue 99-740 Vol: VI-Part: 1

1981 Census

Statistics Canada

1984 1981 Census of Canada, Population: Ethnic Origin, Catalogue 92-911, Ottawa: Statistics Canada

1986 Census

Statistics Canada

1989 Ethnicity, Immigration and Citizenship: The Nation, Catalogue 93-109, Ottawa: Statistics Canada

Statistics Canada

1989 Profile of Ethnic Groups, Catalogue 93-154, Ottawa: Statistics Canada

1991 Census

Statistics Canada

1993 Ethnic Origin, Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1991 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-315

