AN HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF URBAN AND RESERVE COAST SALISH INDIAN WITH NON-INDIAN EMPLOYMENT IN VICTORIA, B.C.: A TEST OF TWO MODELS OF INDIAN UNDERDEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

The continuing problem of Indian poverty is examined using tests of two explanations of Indian underdevelopment: an acculturation model and a dependency model. Against an historical backdrop, the study examines the development of underdevelopment for the Victoria, British Columbia area Coast Salish Indians, relative to non-Indians living in similar geographic areas from 1972-1984. The thesis follows Mooney (1976), who looks at years 1952-1971. Both studies utilize employment information from the Victoria city directory as a data base for testing of these two explanations of Indian underdevelopment. As in Mooney's study, an acculturation model fails as an explanation of Indian underdevelopment, while dependency theory appears to be the stronger explanation.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Alma and Dutch Ehrhart
who taught me to love books.
To my husband, Karl
who took me beyond the written page.
To all the fourth world people
from whom there is still so much to learn.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Any review of the literature on the social and economic situation of the contemporary Canadian Native Indian leaves the reader with an overall impression that poverty and disadvantaged social position are a way of life for Native Indians. To most people the Indian poverty problem comes as no surprise, but to some people the real surprise is the staggering magnitude of the problem. As an ethnic group, Indian unemployment in some communities may be as high as ninety-five percent. Mortality, in some Indian communities, is sixty times the national average. Suicides are three times the national average. Less than fifty percent of Indian houses are properly serviced. Ninety percent of Native students do not reach grade twelve. One percent of Indian people receive a university education. Nine percent of the Canadian Indian population are in jail. In 1979, sixty percent of the Indian people in Canada used social assistance. In 1983 George Manuel, former President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, estimated the proportion of the Indian people in Canada on social assistance to be approaching eighty percent (all preceding data from: Indian Voice, 1983c).

Explanations have been offered for the continuing impoverishment of Native Indians. These range from racist genetic approaches to the more accepted acculturation dual economy model. The dual economy model suggests that there are two types of economies existing in North America

today. One is undeveloped, existing outside the ebb and flow of the progressive, growth-minded developed economy. The concept of gradual acculturation, or culture change directed by the more numerous and militarily powerful whites, of the North American Indian to North American white dominated society exemplifies this point of view.

Another view that has gained popularity is based upon the work of Andre Gunder Frank in Latin America. This is Frank's metropolis-satellite (or dependency) model. Basically the model suggests the underdevelopment of Fourth World People[1] is the result of the development of the metropolis. This model has been used to explain the underdevelopment of the North American Indians by Jorgensen (1971), Mooney (1976), and others (see Chapter II, pp. 28-31). The basic tenet is that in a capitalist economy there exist the metropolis powers who control the technological, financial, and political aspects of a society, and the satellite resources, both human and material, that at great expense fuel the operation of the metropolis. As the metropolis grows more wealthy, or becomes developed, the satellites become further impoverished and underdeveloped. The two processes are complementary and intertwined and according to Frank (1969a), they are irreversible without revolutionary change.

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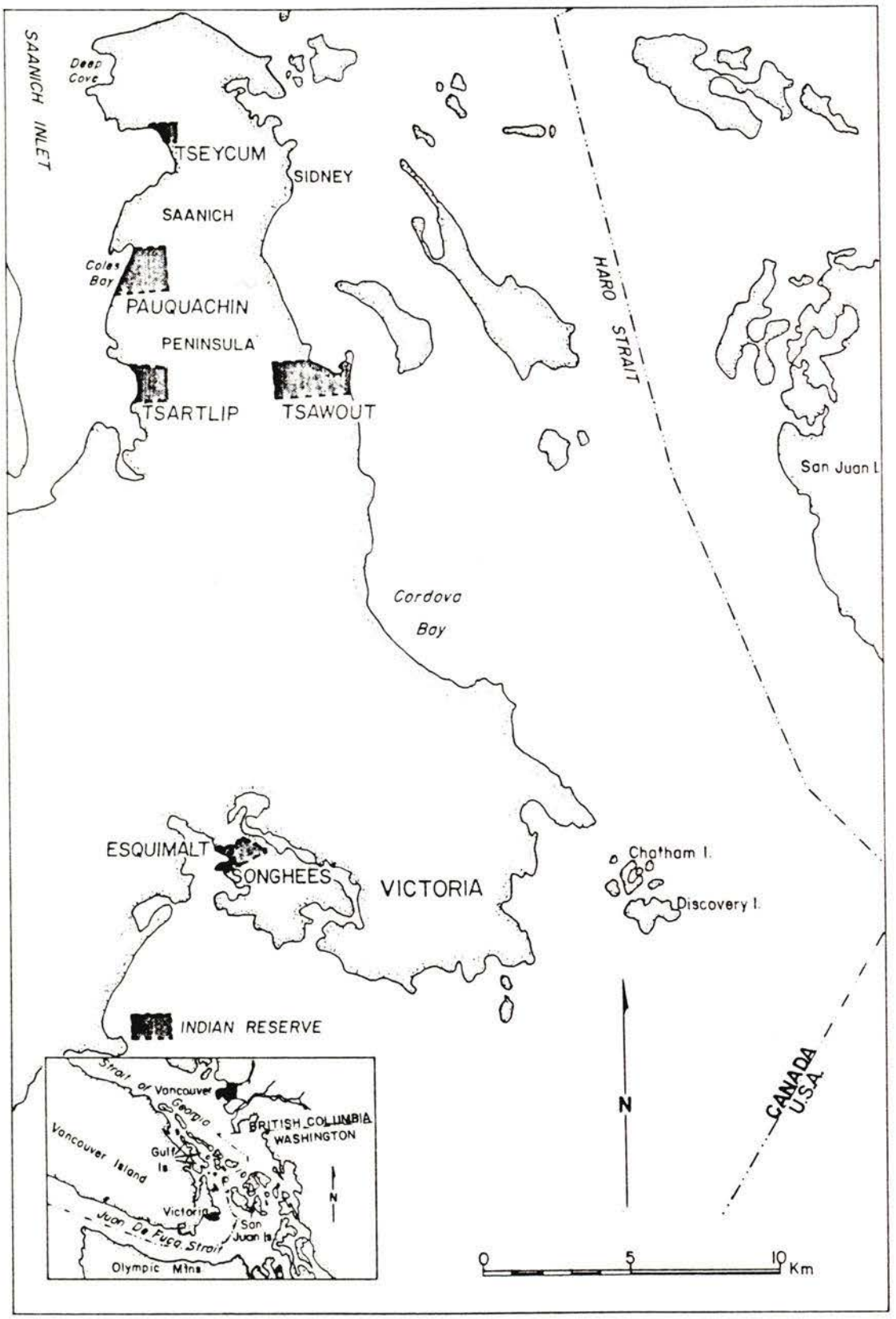
[1]Graburn defines the Fourth World as "the collective name for all aboriginal or native peoples whose lands fall within national boundaries and techno-bureaucratic administrations of the countries of the First, Second and Third Worlds. As such, they are peoples who are usually in the minority and without the power to direct the course of their collective lives" (Graburn, 1976:1).

This thesis attempts to find whether dependency theory or an acculturation model better explains the Indian poverty problem in Victoria, British Columbia. The thesis will test these explanations of underdevelopment using samples of employment information about Indians and non-Indians residing in neighborhoods where off-reserve Indians live in the Greater Victoria area. These areas are generally residential areas in which the average census family income is below the Victoria average. Thus, they represent areas in which economic power is not concentrated, or could be considered satellites in metropolis-satellite terms. The dependency hypotheses test whether or not Indians represent a satellite within a satellite in terms of economic stature within the residential areas where low income off reserve Indians live. The thesis will be historic in approach since the acculturation model suggests that with the passage of time the economic position of the acculturated improves.

The Coast Salish of Victoria, British Columbia Defined

The specific Indian groups of Coast Salish discussed in the thesis are those Coast Salish peoples found in the vicinity of present day Victoria (see Figure 1). These groups are in the Straits Salish language area. Specifically they are members of the Saanich and Lekwungen regional and dialect groups. Due to intermarriage and other family ties, however, some individuals may be from other dialect areas. As of 1850 the government classified the following bands as members of the Saanich tribe: the Tsartlip of Brentwood Bay, the Pauquachin of Cole Bay, the Tseycum of Patricia Bay, and the Tsawout of East Saanich. The Lekwungen include members of the Songhees and Esquimalt bands with adjacent reserves in the Esquimalt area of Greater Victoria (Duff, 1980: 28).

Figure 1. Map of Coast Salish Reserves Found in the Vicinity of Present Day Victoria, British Columbia.



The Historical Generators of Underdevelopment

The basic tenet of the metropolis-satellite model is that in a capitalist economy there exist the metropolis powers who control the technological, financial, and political aspects of a society. Frank (1969a:6) suggests that colonialism can provide a mechanism through which a metropolis-satellite system is established (see Chapter II, pp. 26-27). The following is a discussion of how colonialism could have transformed the Coast Salish into a satellite position within the Canadian economy.

> Colonialism occurs when individuals of a different culture and/or race establish domination over another political and economic unit. Where this domination is political and economic, a colony exists subordinated to and dependent upon the mother country. Typically the colonizers exploit the land, the raw materials, the labor and other resources of the colonized nation; in addition a formal recognition is given to the differences in power, autonomy, and political status, and various agencies are set up to maintain this subordination (Anders, 1980:682).

Colonialism not only entails the compulsion to govern a society, but it also includes fundamental changes in the subordinate society which transform its social, economic and political structure. Typically the underlying motivation for domination of a people by a colonizer is the extraction of an economic surplus (Anders, 1980:682). This extraction of an economic surplus and the metropolis utilization of that surplus is the underlying basis for the metropolis-satellite models of Frank and others.

In Canada and the United States, Indians have been subjected to internal colonial status under non-Indians (Jorgensen, 1971; Mooney, 1976; Aberle, 1969; and Anders, 1980).

Internal colonialism occurs when the infrastructure that controls the extraction of an economic surplus is transferred from the mother country to a ruling elite within the colony. These individuals generally are responsible for driving tribal peoples away from their land base, or for removing part of their land base. Commensurate with the removal of native people from the land are cultural identity problems that the tribe experiences, loss of a land base from which resources can be extracted, and marginalization of their labor into the satellite sector of the wider economy (Anders, 1980: 684-685).

In Canada, Vancouver Island became a fur-trading colony of Great Britain under the supervision of the Hudson's Bay Company. The motivation of the Hudson's Bay Company's interest on Vancouver Island was extraction of animal resources (Fisher, 1983:49-50).

Historical Development of Political Internal Colonialism for the Coast Salish of Greater Victoria

For the Coast Salish of Greater Victoria, colonization began in 1843 when the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) moved its headquarters from Ft. Vancouver on the Columbia River to Victoria (Barnett, 1955).

The Loss of the Coast Salish Land Base: In 1849 the Hudson's Bay Company was granted a Royal Charter by Great Britain. The purpose of the colonial charter was based upon an extension of the fur-trade and did not give immediate rise to Vancouver Island settlement. Despite the fact that the charter was for fur-trading a civilian governor named Richard Blanshard was appointed. Due to ill health, and a frustrated will to govern people, Blanshard left Victoria after eighteen months (Fisher, 1983:49-50).

Also in 1849, Chief Factor Douglas initiated proceedings to buy

Indian land around Victoria. The company's policy was based upon a House of Commons report concerning similar problems in New Zealand.

> This report argues that aborigines had only 'qualified Dominion' over their country, consisting of a right to occupancy but not title to the land. Until the 'uncivilized inhabitants' of any country establish among themselves 'a settled form of government and subjugate the ground to their own uses by cultivation of it', they could not be said to have individual property in the land (Fisher, 1983:66).

Consequently, Douglas negotiated eleven treaties in which only village sites and enclosed fields were recognized as being land that Indians owned. The lands that were purchased were paid for in a lump sum with goods at inflated values. The Indians ceded most of their land in the Victoria area, but retained rights to hunt on unoccupied land and fish as before:

> The Songhees, for instance, received goods with a retail price of £309.10.0, but the actual cost to the company had been £103.14.0. With 'small exceptions' of village sites and enclosed fields, the land had become 'the entire property of the white people forever' (Fisher, 1983:67).

In 1851, the governorship passed to James Douglas. Douglas was renowned for his tolerance of Indian ways (Fisher, 1983; Manuel and Poslums, 1974). He recognized the disastrous effects that settlement in the nearby regions of the United States had on race relations (Fisher, 1983). Settlement was confined to the areas nearby the fort, with the exception of a few isolated farmhouses, and early permanent settlers of Victoria were relatively small in number. There were 282 white settlers in 1854, which had increased to only 608 in 1859.

Douglas's interaction with the first white settlers on Vancouver Island included attempts at educating the settlers to safeguard against

letting cattle wander, which might be likely game for an Indian hunter. His major concern was to avoid a military presence in Victoria like that which had resulted in poor race relations and slaughter of Washington State Indians. As settlement progressed on the island, however, northern Indian groups, who had more ruthless reputations, began to arrive in Victoria. Pressure from the frightened colonists for increased protection resulted in Douglas's request for the Royal Navy to present a military presence that would quell colonists' fear of the Indians and pacify any native thoughts of armed insurgence.

Native inhabitants of the site of the Parliament buildings were moved to a reserve near Esquimalt harbour and became the present Esquimalt band. It is thought that this band moved to the Inner Harbour after 1843 from the site of their present reserve to be closer to the fort and moved back to the Esquimalt before 1855. This reserve was laid out by one of the Ft. Victoria Treaties (Duff, 1969:33).

Douglas safeguarded the Indians' rights that had been reserved in the treaties with one exception. The Songhees, who lived on their reserve near Ft. Victoria, witnessed increasing settler resentment of their close proximity to the whites. In 1859 efforts began in the colonial government to have the Songhees removed from the city and to sell the valuable 90 acres of real estate that the Songhees were sitting on. The Songhees became associated with increasing illegal liquor trade, theft, and prostitution, while the value of their land became more obvious. Douglas created a leasing arrangement of lands unoccupied by the Indians. This seems to have worked very well until 1864 when Douglas retired. After this disputes over legality of leases resulted in their cancellation. Through a series of negotiations, an agreement was reached in 1910 which removed

the Songhees from their land across the harbour from Ft. Victoria, to Esquimalt where a new reserve of 163 acres was established. In 1911 An Act Respecting the Songhees Indian Reserve (Canada. Parliament, 1911a) confirmed the agreement for the sale of this reserve to the Province of British Columbia "notwithstanding anything in 'The Indian Act'" (1911a:225). The same day the Songhees Reserve Act was passed by the 3rd Session of the 11th Parliament, The Indian Act (Canada. Parliament, 1911b) was amended to permit the sale of reserve land to be used for public purposes with the consent of the Governor in Council. No record of the sale of land for the old Songhees reserve has ever been recovered (Duff, 1969:42-43).

In 1862 with an outbreak of infectious smallpox, many of the Songhees moved from the main village across from Ft. Victoria on the Inner Harbour to Discovery Island (where some of them had formerly lived) and points beyond. Songhees reserves were formed by Governor Douglas on Discovery and Chatham Islands in 1863. Inhabitants of the Esquimalt reserve joined the Songhees on Discovery and Chatham Islands during the outbreak. Some of the Esquimalts' houses were burned during this period. Most Songhees and Esquimalt moved back to the Victoria area after 1863, however.

Douglas was convinced that if the Indians were to survive with the advent of settlement, they must become practicing agriculturalists, educated individuals, and Christians. With the arrival of more colonists, and the need for more civilized Indians, Douglas went about the business of administering to the colony of people instead of administering to a fur-trading post (Fisher, 1983).

In 1866, the Vancouver Island Colony united with the mainland

Colony of British Columbia which had come into existence in 1858. By 1871, British Columbia had entered Confederation as a Province of Canada (Duff, 1980). At that time, jurisdiction over Indian affairs passed from the governor to the Secretary of State in Ottawa (Duff, 1980:62).

When the Federal Government took over jurisdiction of B.C. Indians, it did so under a paternalistic and protectionist policy in which all lands that the Indians had relinquished interests in became the property of the Crown in return for government protection of territory and interest (Hawthorn, 1967).

It was not long until it became apparent that the Colony of British Columbia had not resolved the Indian land question in a satisfactory manner. In 1875 a federal order in council recommended "that a Joint Commission be established to deal with Indian lands in British Columbia" (Fisher, 1975:80). Composed of one member each from the Federal and Provincial governments and a mutually chosen party, the Commission was largely unsuccessful in the resolution of the Indian land question in British Columbia although it did allot land for several Saanich and Songhee reserves and it confirmed those lands reserved by the Ft. Victoria Treaties (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs, 1902). The Joint Commission was eventually disbanded and the reluctance of the Provincial government to settle the Indian land question continued (Fisher, 1983).

> In 1912
> ....a Royal Commission was established to restudy the Indian land question in British Columbia. In the course of three years this commission accomplished the enormous task of visiting every Indian village or community in the Province, appraising its reserve or reserves, and recommending continuance, additions to, or deductions from the reserves of each group.

> These findings were eventually accepted by both Provincial and Dominion Governments, and form the basis of the Indian reserve system" (Drucker, 1965: 228-229).

By 1916 when the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs made their report on the Coast Salish of Greater Victoria, they found all the reserves situated on Vancouver Island "either surrounded by white settlement or in direct contact therewith" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs,1916:275). Because of their close proximity to white settlement, the Royal Commission noted that the "natural avocation of these Indians, fishing" had been substantially varied by sheepraising and farming, as well as working for wages; thus, "the measure of their land requirements being unmistakably reduced by their present mode of life" (1916:275). Tracts of land such as Bare Island (which could have been used traditionally to hunt birds and gather eggs) were seen as "not necessary for Indian requirements"; Bare Island was made a sea bird sanctuary (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 1916:275). Deadman's Island, a sacred burial ground for Coast Salish was removed from reserve status by the Royal Commission. It seems that because the coffins and remains of dead Indians had been burned and pillaged in 1867, the island was "no longer required" (Duff,1969:44). Despite the submissions of the East Saanich band to increase their reserve size, such requests were "not entertained" as the land was "not available" and was "not reasonably required" (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 1916:292).

Title to Indian land is vested in the Federal Crown. Indians may not sell their land, nor have direct access to funds derived from the sale of such land or resources found on reserves. Instead, the Crown must sell Indian land on their behalf and hold funds which result from land and resource

sales in trust (Duff, 1980).

The Historical Generators of Economic Internal Colonialism: Marginalization of Coast Salish Labor

The removal of the land base from the political control of the Coast Salish had the effect of altering subsistence patterns as noted by the Royal Commission. The Coast Salish reserves were becoming internal colonies.

Altered Subsistence Patterns: Pre-contact subsistence of the Coast Salish of present day Victoria included a seasonal migratory pattern ranging from the mainland to Victoria. Items collected and hunted were ducks and birds, deer, inter-tidal plants and animals, berries, camas bulbs and potatoes. Salmon migratory patterns also influenced the location of localized groups. The Straits Salish invented the reef net which assisted them in procuring salmon passing through the Straits of Juan de Fuca en route to the Fraser River. Amongst the Victoria Coast Salish, reef net locations were owned by individual Saanich and Songhees families and provided a large portion of the subsistence base required for the year. Reef net locations ranged from the San Juan and Gulf Islands to Victoria, where five locations have been named (Duff, 1969). Along with individual family ownership of reef net locations there was ownership of camas bulb, potato, and clam beds (Suttles, 1951).

Victoria and nearby islands had supplied a rich abundance of camas bulbs which were relied upon for food by the aboriginal groups (Barnett, 1955). In the Ft. Victoria area, the camas grounds were put to production, and agricultural cultivation soon became an important source of Salishan subsistence, and also provided items to trade with the fort. "In little more than three years after the fort's commencement, there were 160 acres

under cultivation, of which were grown wheat, oats, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. The natives became well disposed and turned in to assist to clear land and perform agricultural work at the same rate as white labourers" (Begg, 1894:174). One year later 300 acres were under cultivation (Begg,1894:174).

The Ft. Victoria Treaties which Douglas negotiated to purchase land surrounding Victoria had recognized Indian title only to those lands that Indians had under cultivation, and village sites. The Coast Salish people were a migratory seafaring people who earned their subsistence from the resources of the sea and the land in numerous locations. It cannot be determined what proportion of the Coast Salish diet came from cultivation when the Ft. Victoria treaties were negotiated; however, it can be inferred that cultivation did not provide the bulk of the diet. Fishing historically provided the major protein source for the Coast Salish. Those reef nets in the San Juan and Gulf Islands used by individual families were cut off when the U.S. border was closed to them for fishing purposes. Licensing permitted the whites to take over reef netting sites while Canadian fisheries authorities may have regulated usage of the the reef net itself as early as 1894 (Easton, 1985:220). Authorities considered the reef net a fish trap and thus it was outlawed in 1916 (Elliot and Mortimore, 1982:13; Easton, 1985:220). "Meanwhile, J.H. Todd and Co. was licensed to build fish traps in the path of migrating salmon at Sooke. They operated for many years, on a larger scale than reef nets" (Elliot and Mortimore, 1982:13).

Changing Subsistence Technology and the Rise of Wage Labour: When reef nets were outlawed, the Victoria area Coast Salish were forced to rely upon less efficient methods to do subsistence fishing. Commercial fishing probably played an important role in revolutionizing fishing

technology. For all of British Columbia in 1929, all commercial licenses held by Indian fishermen numbered 3,632 licenses out of a provincial total of 13,860 (Knight, 1978:83-84). Knight (1978:86) suggests that this trend of Indian participation in the commercial fishing industry continued although he notes that the majority of Indian fishermen worked as a labour force on other people's boats and in canneries.

Wage labour: The first commercial cannery opened in British Columbia in 1870 on the Fraser River.

> The early canneries drew mainly upon Indian labour and by the late 1880's Indian fishermen and cannery workers were already drawn from long distances, travelling by canoe and steamer to the major cannery regions. The Fraser River canneries drew Indian fishermen and workers from the length of the coast; from Sooke, from the Cowichan reserves on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, from Musqueam... Later, a more regional Indian labour force developed in canneries. However, even canneries relying on regional Indian labour drew native fishermen and cannery workers from different tribes, and from many different locales (Knight, 1978:80).

Cannery work was largely seasonal and often was paid on a piece work basis. For Indians, canneries most often provided an income source for women. Actual wages and numbers of individuals employed from specific Coast Salish bands cannot be traced as the records have been destroyed (Knight, 1978:93).

Knight (1978:102) also notes the importance of Coast Salish in shipping, including work on lumber barques, coastal freighters, and tugboats.

> As for working deep sea, a few late cases that have come down to us may be worth noting. In 1918, Dick Harry from an East Saanich reserve shipped on a freighter carrying lime from the Saanich quarries (then employing Indian quarry workers) on a voyage to China. He made a number of trips, spent part of the inter-war years working as a foreman in a Vancouver Island lumber yard and in the Naval docks at Esquimalt, and during World War II made fourteen trips in the Canadian Merchant Marine to bring supplies to England (Knight, 1978:103).

Coast Salish also contributed a large portion of the longshoremen found in Victoria during the 1880's.

Evidence has been found of Indian participation in commercial whaling as crew members in the 1850's with an individual known only as Peter the Whaler. Peter the Whaler hunted in Howe Sound but had tryout bases at Bowen Island, Coal Harbour and Deep Cove. He may have employed members of Victoria area Coast Salish bands (Knight, 1978:107).

Between 1872-1892 Indian participation in commercial fur seal hunting rose from 58% to 66% of the total number of crew members employed by ship owners based in Victoria. Coast Salish living in the Victoria vicinity were no doubt among these as well (Knight, 1978:108).

In the lumber industry, Songhees worked in Victoria area sawmills as early as 1870. Many of the loggers supplying lumber for these mills came from the vicinity of the sawmill, including Coast Salish (Knight, 1978:113).

Kew (1970) refers to the importance of seasonal hop and berry picking in Washington State to contemporary Coast Salish's income. Knight (1978:146-147) suggests this practice began as early as the 1880's. Wages for hop and berry picking were minimal and employment was of short

duration.

In the 1930's most of the previous sources of employment for native employment began to dry up with the general economic depression. "While some Indian workers found employment even during the depression, the previous level of Indian employment in the primary resource industries was never again achieved" (Knight, 1978:197). As World War II approached, Coast Salish may have found work in the Esquimalt shipyards. Primary resource employment resurged slightly during that period, but the post war economic boom of the traditional resource industries in British Columbia seems to have largely excluded Indian labour. During much of the period from the 1920's to the 1960's, Indian commercial fishermen bucked the more general Indian labour decline. Instead, Indian commercial fishermen acquired their own boats. In the 1960's this major source of Indian wage labour declined as well when Canadian fisheries authorities cut back on the numbers of commercial fishing licenses for those boat owners with lower catches. Those individuals who had not managed to keep up with the capital costs associated with more technologically efficient gear were those who had lower catches, and thus were effected. Indians were particularly hard hit by this move (Knight 1978:201).

In the late 1950's welfare and social security payment availability increased dramatically for Indian people. General Indian employment levels decreased dramatically as traditional resource industries declined and Indian population levels increased.

These trends have been battled by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development through funding of small scale business enterprise on reserves and improvement of educational and technical

expertise of Indians (Knight, 1978: 202-205).

As the case of Coast Salish commercial fishing demonstrates, small scale enterprise cannot compete with larger, more efficient competitors. Just as Coast Salish boat owners lost their commercial licenses because they couldn't compete in the wider economy of the metropolis, so too did most small scale Indian owned sawmills, stores, and other economic ventures fail after World War II.

Internal Colonialism and the Cultural Identity of the Coast Salish

When the Federal government via the Department of Indian Affairs took over control of the social and political lives of Indians, the Federal and British Columbia governments did not operate schools for Indians. This responsibility fell on the Church; the relationship between Church and State was not formalized until the turn of the 19th century, however. Early educational efforts by the Church consisted of missionary work and conversion of Indians to Christianity. After 1945, the Church practiced concerted efforts " 'to change the secular as well as spiritual lives of the Indians, and they imposed a completely new social and political structure on the communities they converted' " (Duff, 1964:91 [cited in Levine and Cooper, 1976:51]). In a coordinated effort between Church and State, a policy of acculturation was begun which sought "complete integration of Indians into the economic and social life of Canada" (Hawthorn, 1967:23). The mechanism chosen to do this was education of young children in industrial and residential schools. Children were removed from their reserves and transported to boarding schools run by the Church. Here they lived for several months at a time away from the teachings of adult Indians. It is also within these walls that the Government policies of

integration of Indians and the suppression of Native languages were carried out. English was the language of instruction and Indian languages were strictly forbidden in several schools because "so long as he keeps his native tongue, so long will he remain a community apart" (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs, 1895: xxii-xxiii [cited in Levine and Cooper, 1976:52]).

It is on this subject that Hawthorn (1967) questions the real intention of this policy of linguistic suppression. Indeed he thinks that "the government policy on preservation of Indian languages is ambiguous... The question then arises as to whether integration does not thus become actual assimilation. The loss of a people's language leads almost inevitably to the loss of their own ethnic identity and cultural traditions" (1967:37).

Many of the Coast Salish children of Greater Victoria were sent to residential schools during this period. These children were prevented from using very essential tools for the transmission of their culture: the native languages. The metropolis was altering the cultural identity of the Native people.

A Test of the Contemporary Status of the Dependency of Victoria Area Coast Salish Indians

I have attempted to illustrate how the removal of a land base substantially altered the subsistence patterns of the Coast Salish. Political and economic metropolis powers have tried to impose a new non-Indian social order. The effect of this has substantially affected the Indians' cultural identity. In this thesis I will attempt to uncover the economic effect of these many years of internal colonialism upon the Coast Salish Indians residing in present day Victoria, British Columbia.

Metropolis-satellite theory suggests that metropole development

causes satellite underdevelopment. Mooney has added to the dependency theory literature. In 1976, she published "Urban and Reserve Coast Salish Employment: A Test of Two Approaches to the Indian's Niche in North America". The study uses employment data for samples of Coast Salish Indians and non-Indians in the Greater Victoria vicinity to test Andre Gunder Frank's metropolis-satellite model versus a dual economy, acculturation model. Based upon this economic data, confirmation of four metropolis-satellite hypotheses supported the dependency explanation of Indian underdevelopment, while four hypotheses used to test acculturation models were not supported by the data.

This thesis follows up Mooney (1976) by providing a body of economic information, derived from the Victoria and Suburban Directory (1972-1983/1984), on the Coast Salish Indians of Victoria and non-Indians living in similar areas of Victoria. Combined with Mooney's study, the economic information will extend from 1952-1984, although the thesis focuses on the years 1972-1984, the years subsequent to Mooney's research. The thesis tests the same hypotheses as Mooney. If Indians represent a satellite sector of the below average income, depressed areas of the Victoria economy (i.e. Indians represent a satellite within a satellite sector of Victoria) and dependency theory is a useful explanation of Indian underdevelopment, as it was for Mooney, we will affirm the same dependency hypotheses as Mooney affirmed. Dependency hypotheses tested are as follows:

hypothesis1: Indians will have a greater degree of unemployment than non-Indians;

hypothesis 2: Indians will be more concentrated in less prestigious occupations than non-Indians;

hypothesis 3: Indians will change jobs more frequently than non-Indians;

hypothesis 4: Indians will have a lesser incidence of multiple income dependency than non-Indians.

On the other hand, as time wears on we would expect to see improving economic conditions for Indian youth, as opposed to their elders, if an acculturation model is a useful predictor of changing Indian economic circumstances over time. Acculturation hypotheses are as follows:

hypothesis 1: the younger generation of Indians will have less unemployment than did their parents' generation;

hypothesis 2: the younger generation of Indians will be concentrated in more prestigious occupational levels than was their parents' generation;

hypothesis 3: the younger generation of Indians will change jobs less frequently than did their parents' generation;

Victoria and Suburban Directory (1972-1983/84) information on employment lends itself to the testing of these specific hypotheses. Naturally this does not reflect the total economic situation of native people including education level and income of specific individuals. The city directory provides the best source of publicly accessible information on the employment of individuals that is available. The hypotheses generated are believed to be sufficient to test the explanatory adequacy of dependency vs. acculturation models.

The Study Area

Victoria is the capital of the province of British Columbia (see Figure 1, p.4). The population of the Victoria Capital Region was 230,592 persons in 1976, rising to 249,473 persons in 1981 (Canada. Statistics Canada,

1981a). Persons employed in the labour force fluctuated seasonally between 104,000 and 114,000 persons in 1981 (Canada. Statistics Canada, 1981b). Seasonal fluctuations in employment indicate the importance of tourism to the economy of Victoria.

The many tourists who flock to Victoria influence the leading employment sector: community business and personal services. This sector employed 33.5% of the Victoria labour force in 1976, and 35% in 1981.

Public administration and defence provide a stable employment backbone to the economy. Provincial government service and administration and the Department of National Defense are responsible for 19.4% of the labour force employed in 1976, declining to 18.63% in 1981. Also affected by tourism is retail and wholesale trade which employed 18.1% in 1976 and 15.66% in 1981. Construction and manufacturing sectors contributed to 6.8% and 7.1% respectively of those people employed in 1976, and 7.8% and 7.3% in 1981. Transportation, communication, and utilities employed 6.6% in 1976 and 6.4% in 1981. Finance, insurance and real estate included 6.2% of those employed in 1976 and 5.5% in 1981. Finally primary industry (i.e. agriculture, fishing and forestry) increased in importance from 2.4% in 1976 to 3.7% of the labour force employed in 1981 (Canada. Statistics Canada, 1981c, 1976).

Unemployment rates for the greater Victoria vicinity have ranged from 6.1% in 1973 to 14.4% in 1984 (Canada. Statistics Canada, n.d., 1984a, 1984b). These figures are based upon a sample of 450 Victoria households surveyed by telephone by Statistics Canada who have reported themselves and/or members of their households as being employed, unemployed or actively seeking work. Not included in such statistics are individuals who have become discouraged about finding work and no longer actively seek

work, or those individuals who do not have a telephone. If these discouraged workers (whether they be Indian or non-Indian) are included in the satellite sector of the Victoria economy, the magnitude of unemployment amongst these persons would be greater than published Victoria area aggregate unemployment statistics document. Further, if Indians represent a satellite position vis-a-vis the local non-Indian population, as a group, Indians will have an even lower economic standard, including higher unemployment, than non-Indians.

CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Acculturation Model

Acculturation is defined as "culture change that is initiated by two or more autonomous cultural systems" (Barnett et al., 1954:974). This culture change is said to occur when a culture, depicted as being dominant in size at least, comes in contact with a more submissive culture. The North American Indian acculturation literature usually depicts white Europeans as being the dominant culture and Indians as being subordinate. Acculturation, in this context, is seen as directed culture change. Linton (1940) defines directed culture change as "those situations in which one of the groups in contact interferes actively and purposefully with the culture of the other. This interference may take the form of stimulating the acceptance of new culture elements; inhibiting the exercise of preexisting culture patterns; or, as seems to be most frequently the case, both simultaneously" (Linton, 1940:6-7). Nonetheless, culture change is usually not seen as a one way process. While Indian culture is becoming more "white", white culture eventually will become more "Indian" (Linton, 1940; Bee, 1974; Jorgensen, 1978).

Acculturation Studies in the Anthropological Literature

In America, acculturation studies grew out of the need to examine sociocultural change. The historical reconstruction of Boas, rather than

focusing on the processes of sociocultural change, focused on the diffusion and classification of specific traits in specific geographic areas. Something more than historical reconstruction was needed to explain sociocultural change. In Great Britain, acculturation theory was developed to explain the changes in indigenous (and imperialist) cultures that were occurring as a result of the colonization process (Bee, 1974).

The earliest North American acculturation studies include Beals 1932, Mead 1932 and Thurnwald 1932 [cited in Bee, 1974:94]. Since then this approach has been used by anthropologists and other social scientists alike, but with the exception of Linton (1940), Redfield et al. (1936), Barnett et al. (1954), and Spicer (1961), very few studies have attempted to synthesize and codify the theory. Instead, studies such as Lang's (1953) acculturation study of the Whiterock Utes, Voget's (1967) study of "Crow Sociocultural Groups", Bruner's (1972) look at Mandan-Hidatsa Indians of North Dakota, or Mortimore's (1977) look at the Eagle Bay Ojibwa, focus upon descriptions of the acculturation process in specific case applications.

Jorgensen (1971), Mooney (1976), Bee (1982), and Frank (1969b) have all criticized the theoretical explanatory inadequacy of the acculturation model on similar grounds. The argument is that most applications of acculturation theory are descriptive of some aspects of societies undergoing sociocultural change, but do not explain why some cultures are more developed than others. The political and economic forces that create a dominant-subordinate social structure are not addressed in acculturation theory. Also not addressed in acculturation theory is the motivation for contact, domination, and repression by political and economic power brokers.

The Dependency Theories of Paul Baran and Andre Gunder Frank

In the original 1957 edition of The Political Economy of Growth the economist, Paul Baran, outlines an economic theory which focuses upon the disposal of economic surplus as being the root of distress in modern capitalism. Baran (1962) suggests that over time there is increasing growth of monopoly capital. In any country, it is those individuals who control the power over economic surplus who determine how that is utilized. This influences and is influenced by "the degree of development of productive forces, the corresponding structure of relations, and the system of appropriation of the economic surplus that those relations entail" (Baran, 1962:44). At the beginning of Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, (1967a:vii) Andre Gunder Frank acknowledges ideological brotherhood with Paul Baran.

Both Baran and Frank believe that in less technologically advanced countries, interests having the initial knowledge required to extract and develop productive capacity to exploit raw materials gained control over the economic surplus of those regions exploited. This, of course, added to their own economic power, while it, in turn, removed the potential for the less technologically advanced peoples to develop their own economic surplus.

> By outright -in many countries, massive- seizure of peasant occupied land for plantation purposes and other uses by foreign enterprise, and by exposing their rural handicrafts to the withering competition of its industrial exports, it created a vast pool of pauperized labor. Enlarging thus the area of capitalist activities, it advanced the evolution of legal and

> property relations attuned to the needs of a market economy and established administrative institutions required for their enforcement. If only in order to expand and to tighten the economic and political grip on the areas of its domination, it forced the diversion of some of their economic surplus to the improvement of their systems of communication, to the building of railroads, harbors, and highways, providing thereby as a by-product the facilities needed for profitable investment of capital (Baran, 1962:143).

Andre Gunder Frank takes this theory of capitalist underdevelopment and proposes an approach which joins the processes of development and underdevelopment into an intertwined, complementary process. Specifically, Frank sees imperialism occurring not only on an international level, but also within the internal structure of a country which can be integrally linked into the colonial system. The model includes: a metropolis, or "center of intercourse and also center of exploitation" that "maintains links with the underdeveloped communities"; and each of the satellites which "serves as an instrument to suck capital or economic surplus out of its own satellites and channels part of this surplus to the world metropolis to which all are satellites. Moreover, each national and local metropolis serves to impose and maintain the monopolistic structure and exploitative relationship of this system so long as it serves the interests of the metropoles which take advantage of this global, national, and local structure to promote their own development and enrichment of their ruling classes" (Frank, 1969a: 6-7), and at the same time causes the underdevelopment of the satellites. This system becomes very apparent in a colonial relationship.

> Just as the colonial and national capital and its export sector become the satellite of a colonizer (and later of other) metropoles of the world economic system, this satellite

> immediately becomes a colonial and then a national metropolis with respect to the productive sectors and a population of the interior. Furthermore, the provincial capitals, which thus are themselves satellites of the national metropolis and through the latter of the world metropolis are in turn provincial centers around which their own local satellites orbit. Thus a whole chain of constellations of metropoles and satellites relates all parts of the whole ..system...(Frank, 1969a:6).

Through a series of essays, Frank examines the economic and social histories of several Latin American countries [e.g. Capitalism & Underdevelopment in Latin America (1967a) including essays on Chile and Brazil].

Frank applies the metropolis-satellite model to Fourth World people in "On the Indian Problem in Latin America" (1967b). He describes the Guatemalan, Mexican, Peruvian, and Bolivian Indians' economic impoverishment, population decimation due to the spread of disease and transformation of traditional cultures, and loss of land to mining, agriculture, and livestock. His premise is that

> the Indian problem does not lie in any lack of cultural or economic integration of the Indian into society. His problem, like that of the majority of people, lies rather in his very exploitative metropolis-satellite integration into the structure and development of the capitalist system which produces underdevelopment in general (1967b:142).

The Metropolis-Satellite Model Applied to and by North American Indians

In 1928 when the Meriam Report (1928) described the living conditions and standard of living of Indian people in the United States, North American Indians were discovered to be worse off than any other ethnic group (Brophy & Aberle, 1966). Since 1928, Canadian statistics have reflected the fact that Indians suffer from greater poverty, underemployment, and unemployment than other ethnic groups (Hawthorn, 1966; Stanbury, 1975; Mandel, 1982; The Indian Voice, 1983c). Jorgensen (1971) and Mooney (1976) recognize this situation and seek an explanation other than the dual economy and acculturation hypothesis that has been used for years.

Jorgensen (1971) uses the metropolis-satellite framework to explain the continuing impoverishment and underdevelopment of the Northern Ute Indians of eastern Utah. He sees the metropolis as holders of technology, capital, political influence, and power. Satellites include the resources, both human and material, to supply the metropolis, at the expense of the satellites. This metropolis-satellite distinction is not an urban-rural contrast; rather, it illustrates the fine-grained difference between those who control power, and those who fuel it at all levels of society.

The acculturation model assumes that Indians were in an underdeveloped[2] state when Indians first made contact with Europeans, and that as time progresses and Indians pass through stages of development they will become more developed and integrate into the

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[2]Jorgensen defines underdevelopment as "the creation and maintenance of poverty" (Jorgensen, 1978:67). In this sense an acculturation model would suggest that at contact Indians were poor (Jorgensen, 1971).

dominant white society. The metropolis-satellite model suggests that this was not the case; rather, the development of the metropolis caused the Indians to become underdeveloped. Jorgensen (1971) illustrates this with an example from the plains of the United States.

Several Indian groups once maintained their individual cultures through subsistence on bison that roamed throughout the middle United States. From 1860 to 1885, the original sixteen million bison of the plains were reduced to one thousand. The partial cause was systematic exploitation of the vast herds by whites for eastern markets. The removal of the bison enabled whitemen to take over the plains, to use its vastness for farming and cattle ranching. Later railroad, mining, and lumber interests further expropriated Indian land and pushed Indians further and further away from self-reliance into a state of underdevelopment and dependency. As the initial size requirement for effective production has grown for independent producers (such as dairy farmers, cattle ranchers, lumberers), the Indians, who did not have the economic, educational, technological, or political clout to achieve government or independent support, have been left in a pathetic state. Indians initially served as a labour pool for the early ranches, mines, etc. of the plains. These industries have either become more capital and less labor intensive as time progresses, or they have been sucked up by even larger financial and economic interests and have moved their controlling interests to the urban areas. It is important to note that even within the remaining satellite sectors of the western economy, it is the non-Indians who control the schools, churches, banks, etc. where Indians must live (Jorgensen, 1971).

Dependency theory applications include: Bee's (1982) work on politics affecting North American Indians; Kunitz's (1981) study of

underdevelopment, health care delivery, and demographic change among the Navajo; Henderson's (1979) study of exploitation of Navajo lands by oil companies; Ruffing's (1978) look at the exploitation of Navajo lands through mineral development; and Kunitz's (1977) look at Navajo underdevelopment brought on by over-contribution by metropolis forces to social services vs. help towards real forms of economic development. Other dependency studies are: French's (1977) look at tourism and the economic adjustment of urban Indian migrants in Winnipeg, Canada; and Lurie's (1974) application of Indian vs. other minority group underdevelopment in America.

North American Indian writers have also begun to recognize the fact that they are not integrating or acculturating into white society. Deloria (1969:268) writes:

> The primary problem, as far as I can ascertain it, was that policies and laws made years ago had handicapped these people for decades. Laws such as the Indian Reorganization Act, while quite effective for larger tribes, had had little influence on the lives of these people. It was as if they had been placed in an isolation ward for the last half century.

In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood discusses the reasons for this lack of integration in a manner similar to the metropolis-satellite theorists.

> It appears that the white society now finds it economically desirable to integrate us into their system, a system from which they have until recently excluded us. We are expected to become as self-sufficient and productive as they are over night. We are also expected to have somehow miraculously developed their set of values and outlook on life. All this they

> expect in spite of denying us over many decades the socio-economic and educational evolution which was readily available to them. While we were confined to reservations and forced to be only consumers, the white society took advantage of the most obvious and exploitable economic development opportunities. That is, both in the service and industrial sector of our economy National Indian Brotherhood, (1972:2).

Recent examples of informal metropolis-satellite application have been reported in The Indian Voice, a native publication. Examples include: a Sparrow (1982) interview on uranium development with Max Morin, Metis leader of Northern Saskatchewan; an unsigned editorial on potential loss of publication funding for the Voice (1982); a Bell-Younger (1982a) editorial on the reported killings of Guatemalan Indians by government soldiers; a Bell-Younger editorial on the United Nations non-governmental conference on indigenous peoples and the land (1982b); and an unsigned article on Navajo forced relocation (1983a). In all of these publications the message is clear. The Indian has been kept in a subordinate position in society because of the development of the dominant society.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Samples

Two samples of Victoria non-Indians and Indians were drawn from the Victoria and Suburban Directory from 1972 to 1984. The city directory contains information on individuals listed by name and/or address. It gives that individual's, marital status, home ownership or rental status and it states whether or not he/she is the head of a household or resident. It lists occupation and place of work. It states whether that individual owns a firm or is an officer in a company. It lists women, indicating whether or not they are single, married, or widowed. It provides the listed party's telephone number. From 1972-1975, the directory lists individuals who are age 21 and over (although some younger individuals may be included in the directory) who are secured by actual canvas to insure maximum accuracy. From 1976 to the present, the directory lists results secured by actual door-to-door canvas of individuals 18 years and older who reside or are employed in the canvassed area. The categories of student and member of the armed forces have been added to the listings for this latter period, and notation is provided indicating whether the individual is an out-of-town resident who is employed in the Greater Victoria area. Unemployment per se is not listed in the directory. In many cases the directory lists an individual by name and leaves the occupational category

blank. It is assumed, in cases where name and address are given but no information on employment is presented in the directory, that the individual was unemployed for that year.

Indian Sample

Indians chosen for selection in the sample were drawn from band lists for the six Victoria Coast Salish bands including Esquimalt, Pauquachin, Songhees, Tsartlip, Tsawout, and Tseycum. Both on-reserve and off-reserve Indians (who have maintained their status in a local band) residing in the Victoria vicinity were included in the sample. Any individual who resides at the same address as a band member and who has an identical or common Salish surname was eligible for inclusion in the sample as well. Persons living on the reserve for at least one of the thirteen years of the study, having a common Salish surname, but not necessarily listed as status Indians on band lists, were also included.

From these lists of individuals an availability sample was obtained by examining city directories from 1972 to 1984. Only those individuals who appeared in at least two of the successive directories for whom the required employment histories, address, age, and sex could be derived were included in the final sample.

In June of 1985, the registered Indian population for the six bands under study in this thesis was 1424 individuals (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs, 1987:B-11-B14). This population includes individuals of all ages. Since the city directory covers only persons 18 years and older, only those persons found on the band lists who were 18 and older at some point in the thirteen year study period were eligible for inclusion in the sample.

The Indian sample was divided into off-reserve and on-reserve groups. For the purposes of this study, an off-reserve Indian is a Coast Salish individual who resided off an Indian reserve in the Greater Victoria vicinity for one or more years from 1972-1984 and for whom date of birth could be derived from band lists. An on-reserve Indian is any Coast Salish person who resided on a designated Indian reserve in the Greater Victoria vicinity for one or more years from 1972-1984. On-reserve persons were identified as Coast Salish by virtue of their Salish surname and did not necessarily have to be listed on a band list. Date of birth for all these on-reserve people was not required. For individuals having years of residency on and off reserve, designation was made into the off-reserve category even if that was not the place of longest residence in order to make the off-reserve sample larger. In many cases the individual did not live off reserve longer than on reserve.

Off-reserve Indian addresses were located on a Victoria street map. For these persons living off reserve for more than one year, the address chosen was place of longest residence off reserve over the thirteen years of the study. Using 1981 census information, the average family income for Victoria, B.C. was derived. All census tracts were mapped on a Victoria street map and were designated as high or low income census tracts depending upon whether the average family income in that tract fell above or below the Greater Victoria average. This stratified the off-reserve Indian populations into high and low income census tract subgroups. According to the 1981 Census, the Victoria vicinity average census family income was $28,236.00 (Canada. Statistics Canada, 1981a). It is assumed that individuals occupying similar economic niches will live in similar geographic areas. Since these census tracts cover fairly small areas within

the city, their characteristics are reasonable measures of neighborhood characteristics. Victoria census information on income levels corresponds fairly well with the casual observer's expectations of income levels in one area of the city versus another.

Non-Indian Sample

A random sample of non-Indians was drawn from the Victoria City Directory. Eligibility requirements for inclusion in the non-Indian sample included that each person must reside within a one-quarter mile radius of an off-reserve Indian, and each person must reside in a low income census tract if the corresponding Indian resides in a low income census tract, or he/she must live in a high income census tract if the corresponding Indian resides in a high income census tract (Canada. Statistics Canada, 1981a, 1982). The reason for this is that it seems likely that individuals occupying similar economic levels will live in similar geographic areas. Although the Indian sample includes individuals who reside in high income census tract areas, the bulk of Indians found in Victoria reside in low income areas.

A circle with a one-quarter mile radius was drawn around each off-reserve Indian address. A list was compiled of all possible street addresses falling within the circle and each street was given a unique number from one to twenty. Using a random number table, a particular range of residence numbers on a particular street was selected, and an individual residence head was then chosen at random.

Where street addresses contain large numbers of individuals, as is the case when several apartment buildings are found on one street, the street was divided into equal sections. Individuals were chosen at random within each section proportionately. This insured that all portions of a

street were sampled.

The non-Indian sample of individuals was chosen without replacement. If on a street there were only one or two residential addresses, an individual was randomly selected; but if a street was chosen more than once, the remaining individual on that street would be recorded and that street would then be removed from the list of possible addresses from which individuals could be selected.

Once the non-Indian's name and address were located in the street address listings and recorded for the base year 1972, the individual's name was looked up in the alphabetical name listings, whereupon occupation, marital status, and other directory information was recorded. Thereafter for the years 1973-1984 the alphabetical directory listings by name only were used.

Using the outlined procedure, 12 non-Indians and their spouses, if present, were selected initially for each high or low income off-reserve Indian. Table 1 documents the preliminary sample sizes of the Indians and non-Indians chosen for inclusion in this study. Table 1 includes individuals who were eliminated eventually from the Indian sample because the information about these people was unreliable.

Table 1: Initial Sample Sizes of Indians and Non-Indians By Sex, Victoria City Directory, 1972-1983/84.

Sex	Indians	Non-Indians
Men	144	767
Women	82	498

City Directories as a Source of Reliable Data

The data gleaned from the 1952-1971 city directories which were used by Mooney (1976:397) yielded highly reliable results, as suggested when data for a sub-sample of 20 Indians, for whom at least 10 years of work, residential, and marital histories had been obtained from the directories, corresponded with interview data for the same sub-sample. Other uses of city directories in which highly reliable results were obtained include: Humphrey and Louis (1975); Tank (1978); Goldstein and Goldstein (1981); Brown and Holmes (1971); Beaman and McGinnis (1977); Jakle and Wheeler (1969); Bernstein (1975); and Goldstein (1954).

Reliability Check of Data Base

Initially there was no reason to suspect that the reliability of the city directory might have changed from 1972 to 1983/84. Preliminary data analysis suggested important differences between the results of Mooney (1976) and this study, however. Changing reliability of the data might have been one important reason for the differences seen. Accordingly, a reliability check was performed on the data base used for this study. Fifty Indians and 100 non-Indians were selected at random from the samples of persons for whom there were 5 or more years of information on employment. With their spouses the preliminary sample size rose to 60 Indians and 112 non-Indians. Of this sample, 29 Indians and 81 non-Indians were reached by telephone. These people constitute the availability sample used for the reliability check.

Sampled persons were contacted by telephone when possible. Because subject recall became a factor in this reliability check, information

on occupation and residence was asked for the years 1982-1984 only. This helped assure accuracy of the data. Persons were asked to identify their ethnicity and date of birth as well.

For the Indians included in the reliability check, city directory information proved to be correct for 22 individuals and incorrect for 7. Of these 7 people, 6 were incorrectly classified as being Indians at some point over the thirteen years of the study. Two of these 6 people resided both on and off reserve over the thirteen years. It is assumed that these individuals were Indians when they lived on reserve and were not the same individuals and were not Indians when they were located off reserve. They each had wives who were with them only when these individuals were located on reserve. One must assume that these women were correctly classified as Indians because they resided on reserve and had a common Salish surname.

Of the 6 individuals who were incorrectly classified as being Indians when in fact they were non-Indians, five were people who were off-reserve Indians for whom date of birth or registered Indian status could not be derived from band lists. Since data for individuals with these characteristics proved to be the most highly unreliable, all persons who had these characteristics were dropped from the initial Indian sample.

The remaining error for Indians was not systematic and was a problem for both Indians (1 out of 29 Indians sampled in the reliability sample) and non-Indians (4 non-Indians out of 81 in the reliability sample); that is, confusing 2 individuals with identical names over the 13 years of the study. Unfortunately this type of error cannot be eliminated from the sample, but constitutes a very small number of persons sampled.

Eighty-one non-Indians were sampled in the reliability check.

Information proved to be correct for 73 of these individuals, and incorrect for 8. Four of these 8 people were individuals who were confused with people with identical names at some point over the 13 years of the study.

The reliability of the directory as an indicator of unemployment was also examined in the reliability check. For Indians there were 6 persons classed as being unemployed from 1982-1984 who were confirmed by telephone interview as correctly classified. One Indian person was classified as being unemployed when she was in fact employed. (This one individual constitutes the seventh error found for Indians in the reliability check of the data.)

Non-Indians were more difficult to persuade by telephone to discuss years of unemployment. Of the 4 non-Indians who refused to respond, 3 were classified as being unemployed from 1982-1984. The shame of admitting to being unemployed to a stranger on the telephone may have been the reason these individuals refused to respond. It is assumed that these individuals were probably correctly classified.

Information for only 2 non-Indian respondents who were classified as being unemployed was confirmed.

Two non-Indian individuals who were classed as being unemployed were actually employed. Two other non-Indian persons said they were unemployed when the directory said they were employed. (This constitutes the remaining 4 out of the 8 errors in the non-Indian reliability check sample.) The net effect of these errors cancel each other out. We must assume they do so in the data base as well. Comments made about the reliability of the city directory to depict unemployment would require larger unemployed subsamples, however.

Since the samples of persons in the reliability check were randomly

drawn from the samples of Indians and non-Indians used for this thesis, we can say confidently the reliability samples are representative of the samples used for this thesis. The results of this reliability check show very few errors in the reliability check samples.

Table 2: Sample Sizes of Reliable Data for Indians and Non-Indians By Sex, Victoria City Directory, 1972-1983/84.

Sex	Indians	Non-Indians
Men	127	767
Women	69	498

Sampling Biases and Error

It was believed that because the non-Indian sample is random and quite large, the significance of error can be dismissed more easily than it can for Indians. In Mooney (1976:397), it is noted that city directories do not systematically canvas those areas in which streets are unnamed. The extent to which some Indian reserves still contain unnamed roads, or the point at which the roads have been named may bias the results as far as coverage of the Indian population is concerned. Mooney (1976:397-398) observed that Indians with poorer income levels tend to live on the unnamed gravel roads, as opposed to many of those Indians living on paved, named roads. This would make the Indian population appear "better off" than they might actually be.

Another potential source of error was that Indians may respond to door-to-door canvassing differently from non-Indians. The 1981 census

was boycotted by several Vancouver Island Indian bands. Indians are growing weary of being objects of study. Because of the census boycott, it seemed possible that Indians might simply have refused to answer canvassers' questions systematically or that they might have provided fraudulent information. This possibility was pointed out by members of Coast Salish Indian bands, and by non-government persons who have done door-to-door canvassing of Indians. The reliability check was intended as one way of discovering whether or not Indians and non-Indians were providing fraudulent information. Unfortunately most people contacted by telephone refused to give information on employment voluntarily unless they were told about the information the author already had so as to confirm whether it was correct or incorrect. Four non-Indians refused to answer questions posed during the reliability check. Indians were very cooperative. We must assume that Indians are more likely to cooperate with non-governmental researchers than with government researchers. If Indians cooperated with the author, they probably cooperated with the non-governmental city directory canvassers, as well.

Non-response in the directory is another matter, but rates of non-response for Indians versus non-Indians could not be derived given the nature of the data gathered from the directory. It was pointed out by some of the uncooperative non-Indian individuals who were contacted by telephone during the reliability check that they did not answer the requests for information by city directory canvassers, and would not answer any questions posed by the author. Nonetheless, their names and occupations appear in the directory. The accuracy of this information could not be determined. For all intents and purposes, it is assumed that non-response is a random event.

Job Classification

After all the data were obtained for all years 1972-1984, the data were coded and entered on a computer.

Coding of the data includes classification of jobs into specific categories. The classification scheme used was the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) (ILO, 1968). There are 1506 different occupations classified in the ISCO scheme. This study focuses on the relative economic position of a minority group within a specific geographical context. A classification scheme designed for international comparative purposes was chosen so that if an individual so desired, comparison could be made between native peoples' employment in Greater Victoria and those elsewhere in Canada, or in another country. In the ISCO system of job classification, performance of specific duties and responsibilities takes precedence over formal qualifications, income or social status of specific occupations.

The job classes used are as follows:

job class 1: professional, technical and related workers,
job class 2: administrative and managerial workers,
job class 3: clerical and related workers,
job class 4: sales workers,
job class 5: service workers,
job class 6: farmers, forestry workers, fishermen and hunters,
job class 7: production workers, equipment and transport operators and labourers (blue collar workers),
job class 8: armed forces,
job class 9: unemployed, students and widows, and
job class 10: retired persons (ISCO, 1968).

Measures of socioeconomic status utilize years of schooling, or income, as a component of the total score. Measures of occupational prestige rely solely upon aggregate scores of a sample of individual's subjective opinions of an occupation's social position. Both status and prestige have characteristics of each other contained in their make-up. Mooney (1976:404-407) examines the 1952-1971 Victoria City Directory data on occupational level using Blishen's (1958) occupational class scale. This scale was developed from 1951 Canadian census data which mainly uses measures of occupational status (income and years of schooling) to classify positions. Blishen (1958) ranks specific occupations reported in the 1951 census, by sex, according to a combined score of average income and average number of years of schooling. These scores are placed into seven classes according to the combined score they receive, but also by Blishen's "awareness of the relative prestige ranking of occupations as a major factor in the classification" (Blishen, 1958:522).

Whether or not measures of socioeconomic status utilize years of schooling or income as a component of the total score or rely solely upon aggregate scores of a national sample of individual's subjective opinions of an occupation's social position, they are usually based upon aggregate figures which do not account for individuals differences in cognition. For this study, the data gathered on employment are based upon individuals from two different ethnic groups and of many different age groups that reside in Victoria. Education and income data for these individuals could not have been obtained unless fieldwork had been done. If measures of socioeconomic status and prestige were used to rank the occupations used in this study, the system chosen would have to take into account age and ethnic group differences in socioeconomic status. Nam and Powers (1983)

have shown that nonwhite and white, urban and rural populations and differing age groups are inconsistent in the make-up of their occupations' status. This means that one should not always expect a non-Indian social worker to have the same status as an Indian social worker. Prestige of such an occupation could also vary.

Keeping this in mind, it is important to note that the usage of the ISCO system used here is not meant to depict a rank ordering of occupations. The analyses which look at the incidence of Indians and non-Indians and two generations of Indians in higher or lower occupational classifications require the ranking of job classes, however. Since it is recognized that people have differing criteria upon which they judge the status or prestige of an occupation, it is necessary to seek a measure of occupational prestige which accounts for these differences. Coxon et al. (1986) attempt to do so. Their major premise is that "no one scheme can be expected to capture the cognitive processes with which socially competent people set about making sense of the occupational world" (Coxon et al. 1986:121). The study does not merely look at the names of jobs, but it considers what people do (or are thought to do) as important factors in how people form their own occupational categories. The study uses cluster analysis, hierarchical construction, and thematic analysis to provide a taxonomic classification of occupations based upon the subject's own criteria. They find three major branches of occupations. The first branch contains professionals in: business affairs, the civil service and in people oriented and educative positions. These occupations are those found in the ISCO's job classes 1 and 2. At the branch level of the taxonomy, the majority of subjects (65%) mention high status [which Coxon et al. define as "symbolic or evaluative aspects of occupations" (1986:147) i.e. defined as

prestige here], and academic or university training as the most important features of these positions; while positions in their branch III: manual workers (equivalent to this study's job class 6 and 7) rarely mention status (prestige) as a factor associated with the classification of these positions (i.e. by only 11% of those tested). Skill level and manual job content are most often mentioned as variables used for classification in branch III. Skill level is of prime importance in the differentiation between manual unskilled workers (who are spoken of as the lowest of all occupations in many different senses) and skilled tradesmen who are acknowledged to have a qualitatively different kind of training than professionals. In fact, high status respondents use this concept as a social distancing response to these occupations (Coxon et al., 1986).

Using the Coxon et al. (1986) study as a measure of occupational prestige which accounts for individuals differences, we can say that those occupations which we have classified into job classes 1 and 2 generally have greater prestige than those positions in job classes 6 and 7. Since Coxon et al. (1986) tried to account for individual differences in cognition, it is one of the best assessments of occupational prestige that can be applied to the data used in this study. The Victoria city directory does not supply income, years of schooling, job content, or other status factors that would permit us to derive a more objective measure of status, and since it also does not tell us how members of Victoria's non-Indian and Indian ethnic communities subjectively and cognitively view the occupations available in Victoria, the Coxon et al. (1986) findings provide us with an assessment of how one group of individuals view numerous occupations.

The methods used by Coxon et al. (1986) would be very useful to assess how members of different age and ethnic groups make sense of

occupations. This points to an interesting area for further study.

It is recognized that job class 8, armed forces, contains individuals who perform tasks in other job categories. These individuals are subgrouped with job classes 6 and 7 for analysis purposes. All but one of the members of the armed forces sample reside in low income census tracts. They are all non-Indians. A recruiter for the Canadian Armed Forces told the author that all of the ranks held by armed forces personnel in the sample during the years 1971-1983 would have earned an income below the Victoria average census family income. Since the directory only classifies armed services personnel by rank, we must assume that rank and relative income help to place armed forces personnel with the less prestigious job classes 6 and 7. In terms of prestige afforded members of the military, distinctions made on the basis of military participation decline during periods of peace (Blake and Paulson, 1978). Since the 1960's the Canadian military workforce has shown an increasing propensity to mirror the occupational job class structure of the civilian workforce. When this is combined with the fact that the military offers lower wages for comparable wages in the civilian workforce, the quality of the recruits tends to be effected. In the 1970's this is what happened to the Canadian military.

> Generally, surveys of recruit characteristics indicate that the military is recruiting from the qualitative margins of the market. It is the young, the unemployed, those from depressed economic areas, and the less educated without specialized vocational training who are disproportionately drawn to military service in the 1970s. (Cotton et al., 1978:382).

Those young people who traditionally would have entered the Canadian military to obtain specialized non-degree technical training

increasingly chose to go to community-colleges instead of the military.

> The military must, in effect, take the leavings of the educational system. The result is lower aggregate quality and a 'skimming-off' of the better educated recruits for the technical-administrative sector, with the residue being allocated to the operational sectors (Cotton et al., 1978:382).

When one considers that the glory or status distinction of being in the military has decreased since the 1960s and the Vietnam War era, and the fact that the quality of recruits is declining relative to the civilian workforce, the overall prestige of the military appears to the author to be fairly low. Therefore, the decision was made to subgroup job classes 6-8 as lower prestige occupational classes for data analysis purposes.

Measures Used in Data Analysis

Differences in unemployment level between Indians and Non-Indians

For each individual in the sample, ratio UI is derived as follows:

$$UI = \frac{\text{number of years unemployed per individual}}{\text{number of years unemployed + number of years employed per individual}}$$

In this formula, years unemployed is total number of years of unemployment for each person; and years unemployed + number of years employed for each person is the total number of years of information gathered on employment (job categories 1-8) + years of unemployment (category 9), excluding retirement (category 10).

Differences in occupational level between Indians and Non-Indians using Ratio Blue Collar (BC)

For each individual in the sample, ratio BC is taken. BC is the ratio of the time a person worked in a lower prestige, manual occupational level which could require some on-the-job training, if a person has worked.

$$BC = \frac{6\text{-}8}{1\text{-}8}$$

where 6-8 is number of years a person worked in job categories 6-8, and 1-8 is total number of years a person worked (1-8 are all employment job categories).

Job classes 6-8 constitute blue collar skilled and unskilled occupations, occupations in primary industry, and armed services positions. This classification comes the closest to Mooney's (1976) job class 7, the blue collar classification, although it must be noted that this study's job class 7 does contain some persons who are skilled blue collar workers.

Differences in occupational level between Indians and Non-Indians using ratio Professional/Technical and Administrative /Managerial (P/T and A/M)

Another ratio of occupational level is employed to see how Indians and non-Indians fared. P/T and A/M is the ratio of time a person worked in a prestigious occupation requiring academic or university training, if that person has worked.

$$\text{P/T and A/M} = \frac{1\text{-}2}{1\text{-}8}$$

where, 1-2 is number of years a person worked in job categories 1-2, and 1-8 is total number of years a person worked (1-8 are all employment job categories).

Job classes 1-2 are professional/technical (1), and administrative/managerial classifications (2). Employment in job class 1 requires many years of preparatory schooling while employment in job class 2 requires that an individual be charged with making important policy decision in the public or private sectors of the economy.

Differences in job changes between Indians and Non-Indians

In this case the ratio is job changes (JC). JC is the ratio of job changes a person had, if that person was working

$$JC = \frac{\#\ JC}{1\text{-}8}$$

where, # JC is number of times a person moved from one job into another (not counting periods of unemployment), and 1-8 is total number of years a person worked (1-8 are all employment job categories).

Differences in multiple income dependency between Indians and Non-Indians

For each couple in the sample, Ratio MID is derived. MID is the proportion of time when both members of a married couple are working. The unit of analysis here is the couple.

Multiple income dependency (MID) is derived using the following equation:

$$MID = \frac{B}{(H+W) - B}$$

where, B is the total number of years both husband and wife were working; H is number of years husband was working (not exclusive); W is number of years wife was working (not exclusive); and MID is percentage of income years families had MID. Here we are subgrouping the couples by year of information.

Aggregation of Data

In Mooney (1976:401-407) data analysis is performed by aggregating information on persons for whom 5 or more years of information had been obtained. Thus all persons for whom five to twenty years of information on employment are available are amalgamated (after an examination of subsamples indicated amalgamation) and ratios were formed using the aggregated data. Inotherwords, Mooney's analyses do not utilize potential differences between individuals as described by the number of years of employment information.

One of the first analyses conducted for this thesis involved an assessment of the differences between persons for whom the sample contains a differing number of years of information. Individual differences in unemployment rates between Indians and non-Indians having 5,6, ..., or 12 years of information, ratio UI, is used to determine whether subsequent analyses should be based on aggregated data or data stratified for the number of years of information per individual.

Means of UI are compiled for the individuals in each of the following subclassifications: Indian men, Indian women, non-Indian men, and non-Indian women, for those persons with 5, 6,...or 12 years of information on employment (see Table 3).

Table 3: Means of UI for Individual Indian and Non-Indian Men and Women Classified by the Number of Years of Information, Victoria City Directory, 1972-1983/84.

Years of Information	Men				Women			
	Indian	n	Non-Indian	n	Indian	n	Non-Indian	n
5	.45	8	.20	59	.33	3	.74	14
6	.33	8	.24	49	N/A	N/A	.74	17
7	.50	4	.17	58	.27	8	.80	10
8	.44	9	.19	46	.55	4	.26	6
9	.30	10	.08	40	.39	4	.64	11
10	.16	10	.14	47	.61	3	.54	11
11	.18	5	.15	72	.73	5	.70	10
12	.02	14	.08	267	.53	3	.50	45

There appear to be rather large differences between individuals within and between each subgroup. An analysis of variance was performed to identify how the variability in the unemployment rates for the various subgroups is related to an individual's ethnicity, sex or years of information, or some combination of those factors. The most important source of variation, at the 95% confidence level, seen in the analysis of variance is the three way interaction effect of ethnicity, sex and years of information differences. To control for this source of variation, I separately analyzed non-Indian and Indian male and female subgroups having 5, 6, 7,... or 12 years of information. Because of the limited number of Indians available within each years of information subgroup, it is necessary to amalgamate some of the information to conduct meaningful analyses.

Lumping of consecutive years groups having similar UI means is the method of amalgamation chosen. Indian men with 5-9 years of information have consistently higher unemployment rates than those with 10-12 years of information. Indian women show the opposite trend, and there are no obvious trends for non-Indian men and women. Therefore, the most satisfactory approach is to conduct separate analyses for individuals with 5-9 and 10-12 years of information. To keep results consistent, the 5-9 and 10-12 years of information stratification is carried over from the tests of unemployment status to the tests of occupation level, job changes and multiple income dependency hypotheses.

Statistical Tests Employed to Find Significant Differences between Indians and non-Indians

Tests for significant differences between Indian vs. non-Indian men and Indian vs. non-Indian women were performed on the aggregated means of individuals having 5-9 and 10-12 years of information. Because of the three way interaction effect of ethnic group, sex and years of information for each individual shown by the analysis of variance, each subgroup was tested for significance separately.

Three different significance tests were run on each subgroup. The non-parametric tests Mann Whitney U and the Median test, were used initially because the distributions of individuals are not normal in any of the subgroups. The t-test was also used because it is more powerful than non-parametric tests of significance (Siegel,1956:115,123). Similarity in the results of these three tests of significance suggested that it was not necessary to use all three. For simplicity's sake and because the t-test is the most powerful test of the three, the t-test is used in the presentation of

information. For those who would argue that the distribution of the sample should determine which test should be used, see Appendix 1 for a sample of the results of non-parametric tests.

An f-test was run to test for homogeneity of variance for the two groups. The results of this test indicate whether or not a pooled variance estimate or a separate variance estimate is appropriate to use for the t-test.

The parametric t-test is employed to test hypotheses. Percentage of time employed and unemployed per individual is a continuous variable which is confounded by the number of years that the individual is employed. Each individual sampled has a proportion of time that he/she is employed or unemployed. That proportion is based upon the number of years of information per individual, but also upon the cumulative effect of his/her work history. Therefore, one cannot consider the period of time a person is employed or unemployed as an independent observation. Because of the problem of confounding by the number of years of information, individual's UI, JC, BC, P/T and A/M and MID scores were compiled and means were taken for each year of information within Indian and non-Indian men and women subgroups. The resulting figures are proportions.

CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

The following is a presentation of the results of dependency and acculturation hypotheses testing. A summary of the results is found in Table 21 (see p. 75). Discussion of the results follows in Chapter V.

Tests of Dependency Hypotheses

Dependency hypotheses test dependency theory which suggests that with the passage of time, the economic position of a satellite, relative to a metropolis, will worsen. Since it is the non-Indian in Canadian society who controls the political and economic situation of Indians, the thesis compares the Indian with the non-Indian in these tests of dependency theory. Relative to the non-Indians, the Indians presumably will have higher unemployment, be concentrated in higher proportions in the blue collar occupations, have more job changes, and a lower incidence of working wives in the workforce (multiple income dependency).

Dependency Hypothesis 1: Indians will have a Greater Degree of Unemployment

For this analysis data include information on Indian and non-Indian men and women classified into three subgroups according to years of information.

An assessment of significant differences between mean scores of individuals in each subgroup was performed to test the null hypothesis: there is no difference between Indian and non-Indian unemployment levels.

Results of the significance tests are shown in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4: Tests for Significant Differences Between Indian and Non-Indian Males' Unemployment Rates Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.*	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Separate variance estimate T value	Separate variance estimate d.f.	Separate variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	Indian	37	.39	.385	1.60	1.50	3.16	46.3	1.64
	Non-Indian	170	.18	.304					
							Pooled variance estimate		
10-12	Indian	31	.11	.177	1.51	1.64	0.23	382	1.64
	Non-Indian	353	.10	.217					
							Separate variance estimate		
Both	Indian	68	.26	.337	1.80	1.34	3.25	77.0	1.64
	Non-Indian	523	.12	.251					

* S.D. is the abbreviated form of standard deviation.

The difference in unemployment rates between Indian and non-Indian men in the 5-9 years and all years of information subgroups is significant at the $\leq .05$ significance level. Indian men have more unemployment in these subgroups. There is no difference in unemployment rates for males in the 10-12 years of information subgroup.

Table 5: Tests for Significant Differences Between Indian and Non-Indian Females' Unemployment Rates Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	Indian	21	.37	.441	1.03	1.89	-0.24	159	1.64
	Non-Indian	140	.39	.447					
10-12	Indian	9	.72	.341	1.76	2.98	2.13	106	1.64
	Non-Indian	99	.39	.453					
Both	Indian	30	.47	.441	1.04	1.68	0.94	267	1.64
	Non-Indian	239	.39	.448					

Female Indian and non-Indian unemployment rates in the 5-9 years of information subgroup are not significantly different at the $\leq .05$ significance level. Female ethnic unemployment differences in the 10-12 years of information subgroup (higher Indian unemployment) are significant at the $\leq .05$ level of significance. When years of information are combined female ethnic differences in unemployment are not significant. The women in the total sample have very similar unemployment levels.

Dependency Hypothesis 2: Indians will be Concentrated in Less Prestigious Occupations

Differences in occupational level between Indians and Non-Indians using ratio BC (Blue Collar) to determine occupational level :

The confounding effect of sex, ethnicity, and years of information was taken into consideration for this analysis. The 5-9 and 10-12 years of information subgroups were carried over to occupational level analysis, to keep results consistent. Separate analyses were done on mean scores for individuals in years of information subgroups 5-9, 10-12 and combined years of information from both subgroups. Once again the t-test was employed to test for significant differences between ethnic groups. Tested is the null hypothesis: there is no significant difference between Indians and non-Indians with respect to occupational level using BC (see p. 48) to distinguish occupational level (see Tables 6 and 7).

Table 6: Tests for Significant Differences Between Indian and Non-Indian Males' Occupation Level Using Ratio BC Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	Indian	31	.71	.404	1.35	1.67	3.05	187	1.64
	Non-Indian	158	.44	.469					
10-12	Indian	31	.72	.445	1.15	1.65	1.97	372	1.64
	Non-Indian	343	.54	.478					
Both	Indian	62	.72	.442	1.28	1.41	3.24	561	1.64
	Non-Indian	501	.51	.477					

In the men's 5-9, 10-12 and both years of information subgroups, the null hypothesis is rejected at the $\leq .05$ significance level. There are significant differences between Indian and non-Indian men with respect to occupational level. Indian men have been employed in higher proportions in less prestigious occupations than non-Indian men.

Table 7: Tests for Significant Differences Between Indian and Non-Indian Females' Occupation Level Using Ratio BC Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Separate variance estimate T value	Separate variance estimate d.f.	Separate variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	Indian	15	.27	.458	5.35	1.79	1.89	14.8	1.75
	Non-Indian	99	.04	.198					
							Pooled variance estimate		
10-12	Indian	6	.00	.000	0.00	4.42	-0.92	71	1.64
	Non-Indian	67	.12	.327					
							Separate variance estimate		
Both	Indian	21	.19	.402	2.39	1.63	1.29	22.2	1.71
	Non-Indian	166	.07	.261					

Using ratio BC, Indian and non-Indian women in the 10-12 years of information and combined years subgroups are not significantly different at the $\leq .05$ level of significance with respect to occupational level. In the 5-9 years of information subgroup, Indian women have been employed in less prestigious occupations in higher proportions than non-Indian women.

Differences in occupational level between Indians and Non-Indians using ratio P/T and A/M (professional/technical and administrative/managerial) to determine occupational level :

Another ratio of occupational level, P/T and A/M (see p.48), was employed to see how Indians and non-Indian compared with respect to the

proportion of persons employed in job classes 1 and 2, the professional/ technical, and administrative/managerial classifications.

Separate analyses were done on mean scores for individuals in years of information subgroups 5-9, 10-12 and a subgroup in which information from both subgroups is combined. The t-test is used to test for significant differences between ethnic subgroups at the $\leq .05$ significance level. Tested is the null hypothesis: there is no significant difference between Indians and non-Indians with respect to occupational level using P/T and A/M to distinguish occupational level. Results for the men are shown in Table 8. Results for the women are shown in Table 9.

Table 8: Tests for Significant Differences Between Indian and Non-Indian Males' Occupation Level Using Ratio P/T and A/M Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

					Homogeneity of variance		Pooled variance estimate		
Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.	F value	F p=.05	T value	d.f.	T p=.05
5-9	Indian	31	.15	.323	1.64	1.67	-1.33	187	1.64
	Non-Indian	158	.25	.414					
10-12	Indian	31	.16	.373	1.09	1.50	0.01	372	1.64
	Non-Indian	343	.16	.358					
Both	Indian	62	.16	.346	1.19	1.41	-0.70	561	1.64
	Non-Indian	501	.19	.378					

Table 9: Tests for Significant Differences Between Indian and Non-Indian Females' Occupation Level Using Ratio P/T and A/M Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	Indian	15	.36	.479	1.49	1.79	1.28	112	1.64
	Non-Indian	99	.21	.393					
10-12	Indian	6	.33	.516	1.74	2.35	0.68	71	1.64
	Non-Indian	67	.22	.392					
Both	Indian	21	.35	.477	1.49	1.63	1.46	185	1.64
	Non-Indian	166	.21	.391					

We cannot reject the null hypothesis at $\leq .05$ level of significance. In this sample of Coast Salish Indians and non-Indians in the Victoria vicinity there is no significant difference between Indians and non-Indians with respect to the proportions employed in professional/technical and administrative/managerial positions.

Dependency Hypothesis 3: Indians Will Change Jobs More Frequently

Another dependency hypothesis that has been examined is the alternate hypothesis: Indians have a greater frequency of unstable employment patterns featuring changes in place of employment. This is measured by job changes (JC) per individual (see p.49).

Separate analyses were done on mean scores for individuals in years of information subgroups 5-9 and 10-12 and for individuals with all years of information combined. For these analyses t-tests were performed. Results are shown in Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10: Tests for Significant Differences in Job Changes Between Indian and Non-Indian Males Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

					Homogeneity of variance		Pooled variance estimate		
Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.	F value	F p-.05	T value	d.f.	T p-.05
5-9	Indian	31	.13	.146	1.39	1.67	1.51	187	1.64
	Non-Indian	158	.08	.172					
10-12	Indian	31	.06	.090	1.14	1.50	0.67	372	1.64
	Non-Indian	343	.05	.085					
Both	Indian	62	.10	.125	1.09	1.37	2.20	561	1.64
	Non-Indian	501	.06	.120					

Table 11: Tests for Significant Differences in Job Changes Between Indian and Non-Indian Females Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	Indian	15	.05	.107	1.19	2.19	-0.53	112	1.64
	Non-Indian	99	.07	.116					
10-12	Indian	6	.08	.204	2.27	2.35	0.27	71	1.64
	Non-Indian	67	.07	.135					
Both	Indian	21	.06	.137	1.21	1.63	-0.27	185	1.64
	Non-Indian	166	.07	.124					

The null hypothesis: there is no significant difference between Indians and non-Indians with respect to job changes has been accepted for men and women having 5-9 and 10-12 years of information.

When all years of information are combined, the null hypothesis is rejected for the men, but is accepted for the women. In both cases, the Indian sample size may not have been large enough to show significant differences between Indians and non-Indians until all years of information were combined.

Dependency Hypothesis 4: Indians Will Have a Lesser Incidence of Multiple Income Dependency

The final dependency hypothesis to be tested is the alternate hypothesis: the Indians have a lower incidence of working wives bringing in a second income. The test for this involves comparison of the incidence of multiple income dependency (MID) (see p. 49) between Indians and non-Indians.

T-tests were performed upon the means scores of Indian and non-Indian couples having 5-9 and 10-12 years of information. Results are shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Tests for Significant Differences in Multiple Income Dependency Between Indians and Non-Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Ethnic Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Separate variance estimate T value	Separate variance estimate d.f.	Separate variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	Indian	22	.06	.163	2.58	1.86	-2.13	40.9	1.64
	Non-Indian	137	.15	.261					
10-12	Indian	21	.02	.066	15.93	1.86	-7.47	75.9	1.64
	Non-Indian	332	.18	.262					
Both	Indian	43	.04	.125	4.39	1.51	-5.53	81.4	1.64
	Non-Indian	469	.17	.262					

The null hypothesis: there is no significant difference between Indians and non-Indians with respect to incidence of multiple income dependency was rejected for the 5-9, 10-12 years of information subgroups, and for the subgroup in which years of information are combined. Indians have fewer incidences of multiple income dependency than non-Indians.

Tests of Acculturation Hypotheses

Acculturation hypotheses test acculturation theory which suggests that when compared to their elders, the younger generation of Indians will have adopted the ways of the dominant North American society because there has been more time for the contacted culture (Coast Salish) to have become assimilated. The younger generation will presumably have a lesser degree of unemployment; fewer job changes, and be employed in a more prestigious occupational level.

Acculturation Hypothesis 1: The Younger Generation Will Have Less Unemployment

To test for generations' difference in unemployment levels, ratio U1 (see p. 47) was employed for each individual and means were taken within each year of information and age subgroup. The null hypothesis tested is: there is no difference between Indians aged 25-39 and those Indians aged 40 and over with respect to unemployment rates. Results for men and women by generation stratified by years of information subgroup are shown in Tables 13 and 14. Age is determined using 1981 as the base year. Note that women are included only in the combined years of information category because of small sample size.

Table 13: Tests for Significant Differences in Unemployment Rates Between Two Generations of Male Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Age* Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate T d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	25-39	10	.25	.332	1.57	3.10	-1.20	20	1.73
	40+	12	.44	.416					
10-12	25-39	11	.11	.185	1.72	2.55	0.86	25	1.71
	40+	16	.06	.141					
Both	25-39	21	.18	.267	1.67	2.06	-0.51	47	1.64
	40+	28	.22	.345					

* Age is determined using 1981 as the base year.

Table 14: Tests for Significant Differences in Unemployment Rates Between Two Generations of Female Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Age* Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate T d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	25-39	9	.17	.331	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	40+	4	.00	.000					
10-12	25-39	2	.41	.579	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	40+	6	.81	.261					
Both	25-39	11	.21	.362	1.63	3.02	-1.54	19	1.73
	40+	10	.49	.462					

*Age is determined using 1981 as the base year.

Thus we can presume with 95% confidence that there is no difference in unemployment rates between two generations of the male and female Coast Salish sampled.

Acculturation Hypothesis 2: The Younger Generation will be Concentrated in More Prestigious Occupational Levels

Tests using ratio BC: To test for generational differences in occupational level, ratio BC (see p. 48) was used for each individual and means were taken within each Indian subgroup. The null hypothesis tested is: there is no difference between Indians aged 25-39 and those aged 40 and over with respect to occupational level. Results are shown in Tables 15

and 16. Once again the results for women are not given from the 5-9 and 10-12 years of information subgroups because of small sample size.

Table 15: Tests for Significant Differences in Occupational Level Using Ratio BC Between Two Generations of Male Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Age* Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	25-39	10	.70	.429	1.01	3.10	0.457	20	1.73
	40+	12	.62	.431					
10-12	25-39	11	.72	.463	1.07	2.55	-0.171	25	1.71
	40+	16	.75	.447					
Both	25-39	21	.71	.436	1.01	2.06	0.142	47	1.64
	40+	28	.69	.438					

* Age is determined using 1981 as the base year.

Table 16: Tests for Significant Differences in Occupational Level Using Ratio BC Between Two Generations of Female Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Age Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	25-39	9	.11	.333	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	40+	4	.00	.000					
10-12	25-39	2	.00	.000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	40+	6	.00	.000					
Both	25-39	11	.09	.302	0.00	3.13	0.951	19	1.73
	40+	10	.00	.000					

* Age is determined using 1981 as the base year.

Between two generations of Indians sampled, we are 95% confident that there is no difference in occupational level using ratio BC to determine the level.

Tests using ratio P/T and A/M: A further test for generational differences in occupational level, using ratio P/T and A/M (see p. 48) for each individual to denote occupational level, tests for significant differences between the means within each year subgroup. The null hypothesis tested is: there is no difference in occupational level between Indians aged 25-39 and those aged 40 and over. Results are shown in Tables 17 and 18. Women are once again found only in the all years of information subgroup because of small sample size in other years subgroups.

Table 17: Tests for Significant Differences in Occupational Level Using Ratio P/T and A/M Between Two Generations of Male Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Age* Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Separate variance estimate T value	Separate variance estimate T d.f.	Separate variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	25-39	10	.20	.422	6.54	2.90	0.857	11.3	1.80
	40+	12	.08	.165					
							Pooled variance estimate		
10-12	25-39	11	.19	.402	1.38	2.55	0.448	25	1.71
	40+	16	.13	.342					
							Separate variance estimate		
Both	25-39	21	.19	.401	2.10	1.97	0.876	33.6	1.64
	40+	28	.11	.277					

* Age is determined using 1981 as the base year.

Table 18: Tests for Significant Differences in Occupational Level Using Ratio P/T and A/M Between Two Generations of Female Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Age* Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	25-39	9	.37	.484	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	40+	4	.50	.577					
10-12	25-39	2	.00	.000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	40+	6	.17	.408					
Both	25-39	11	.30	.458	1.11	3.02	0.015	19	1.73
	40+	10	.30	.483					

* Age is determined using 1981 as the base year.

We are 95% confident that there is no difference in occupational level between two generations of Indians using ratio P/T and A/M to distinguish occupational level.

Acculturation Hypothesis 3: The Younger Generation Will Change Jobs Less Frequently

The significance of differences in job changes was assessed using ratio JC (see p.49) for each individual and means were taken within each subgroup. Tested is the null hypothesis: there is no significant difference between 25-39 year olds and the 40+ age group Coast Salish with regard to job changes. Age is determined using 1981 as a base year. Results are shown in Tables 19 and 20. Women are once again eliminated from some subgroups because of small sample size.

Table 19: Tests for Significant Differences in Job Changes Between Two Generations of Male Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

					Homogeneity of variance		Pooled variance estimate		
Years Subgroup	Age* Group	n	Mean	S.D.	F value	F p=.05	T value	d.f.	T p=.05
5-9	25-39	10	.18	.162	1.68	3.39	0.82	17	1.74
	40+	9	.12	.125					
							Separate variance estimate		
10-12	25-39	10	.10	.113	4.02	2.59	2.01	11.8	1.78
	40+	16	.02	.056					
Both	25-39	20	.14	.141	2.12	2.04	2.15	32.4	1.64
	40+	25	.06	.097					

* Age is determined using 1981 as the base year.

Table 20: Tests for Significant Differences in Job Changes Between Two Generations of Female Indians Stratified by Years of Information Subgroups, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984.

Years Subgroup	Age* Group	n	Mean	S.D.	Homogeneity of variance F value	Homogeneity of variance F p=.05	Pooled variance estimate T value	Pooled variance estimate T d.f.	Pooled variance estimate T p=.05
5-9	25-39	8	.09	.135	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	40+	4	.00	.000					
10-12	25-39	2	.25	.354	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	40+	3	.00	.000					
Both	25-39	10	.12	.181	0.00	4.10	1.78	15	1.75
	40+	7	.00	.000					

* Age is determined using 1981 as the base year.

The higher number of job changes amongst the younger men in the 5-9 years of information subgroup is not significant at the 95% confidence level. In the male 10-12 years of information subgroup and when the data for all years of information are combined, the null hypothesis is rejected. Due to small sample size, the results for women are shown only for the combined years of information subgroups. In this category the younger women have significantly more job changes than the elder generation. In general, Indian men and women aged 40 and over have fewer job changes than the younger generation. If acculturation theory were a useful predictor of employment trends, one would expect to see fewer job changes amongst the younger aged Indians. The sample of Indians found in this

study does not exhibit the acculturation pattern.

Summary

A summary of the results of hypotheses testing is found in Table 21.

Table 21. Summary of the Results of Dependency and Acculturation Hypotheses Testing.

		Years of Information		
Hypotheses	Sex	5-9	10-12	All
Dependency				
H1	men	accepted	rejected	accepted
	women	rejected	accepted	rejected
H2 (BC)	men	accepted	accepted	accepted
	women	accepted	rejected	rejected
(P/T	men	rejected	rejected	rejected
and A/M)	women	rejected	rejected	rejected
H3	men	rejected	rejected	accepted
	women	rejected	rejected	rejected
H4	couples	accepted	accepted	accepted
Acculturation				
H1	men	rejected	rejected	rejected
	women	N/A	N/A	rejected
H2	men	rejected	rejected	rejected
	women	N/A	N/A	rejected
H3	men	rejected	rejected	rejected
	women	N/A	N/A	rejected

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Acculturation theory assumes that underdevelopment was the original state when non-Indians first made contact with Indians. The metropolis-satellite model suggests that this was not the case; rather, the development of the metropolis causes the Indians to become underdeveloped.

The metropolis-satellite models of Frank (1969a), Jorgensen (1971), and Mooney (1976) have been informally used by Indian leaders to explain the current Indian economic situation. That economic situation of Greater Victoria Coast Salish has not improved over time as an acculturation model would suggest.

On the west coast of Canada in Victoria, British Columbia, the Europeans contacted a culture that was extremely well adapted to its environment. The pre-contact Coast Salish tribes were seasonal migratory peoples who obtained their subsistence primarily from the sea and from surrounding island and mainland land resources.

Upon contact, the Coast Salish in the vicinity of Fort Victoria were hired as labourers for non-Indians while their land and sea base was whittled down by the Fort Victoria Treaties and several government acts, an international border, Canadian Fisheries legislation which excluded fishing in traditional reef net locations and by the presence of the Royal Navy which protected settlers who came to the Victoria area.

By 1870, wage labour had gradually begun to supplant the subsistence economy. By the late 1950's, welfare and social security had begun to supplant wage labour as an income source for the Coast Salish people (Knight, 1978: 202-203).

Results Discussed

The purpose of this thesis is to present data which test metropolis-satellite theory versus an acculturation model as explanations of Indian underdevelopment, using employment data derived from the Victoria City Directory. Hypotheses have been tested and the results have been described in Chapter IV. The picture presented in this thesis of Indian underdevelopment is not as clear as it is in Mooney (1976:407-408). Table 22 compares the results of this thesis and Mooney (1976). The reasons for differences seen between the two studies are that Mooney does not have a sufficient female sample size to discover the effects of sex differences, and she finds that an analysis in which years of information for men are subgrouped supports results obtained from aggregate figures for men (see Mooney, 1976:401,403).

In this study, even though the sample size of women is small, it is possible to carry out analyses of women. More importantly, there are notable differences between samples of individuals having differing years of information. Therefore, acceptance and rejection of the hypotheses tested in the thesis requires explanation of differences between sexes and year groups.

Another possible area of difference between Mooney and this thesis is that sample size in some of the latter's subgroups may be too small to reject the null hypothesis even though Indians appear to be worse off than

Table 22. Results of Mooney (1976) and This Thesis Compared

Hypotheses	Sex	Mooney	English
Dependency			
H1	men	accepted	accepted for 5-9 subsample and total sample
	women	N/A	accepted for 10-12 subsample
H2	men	accepted	accepted for 5-9 and 10-12 subsamples and total sample
	women	N/A	accepted for 5-9 subsample
H3	men	accepted	accepted for total sample only
	women	N/A	rejected
H4	couples	accepted	accepted for 5-9 and 10-12 subsamples and total sample
Acculturation			
H1	men	rejected	rejected for 5-9 and 10-12 subsamples and total sample
	women	N/A	rejected for total sample
H2	men	rejected	rejected for 5-9 and 10-12 subsamples and total sample
	women		rejected for total sample
H3	men	rejected	rejected for 5-9 and 10-12 subsamples and total sample
	women		rejected for total sample

non-Indians. This would have the effect of downplaying dependency theory as an explanation for Indian underdevelopment; when, given a larger sample size, the differences between Indian and non-Indians would be more pronounced.

Confirmation of dependency H_2 (Indians are concentrated in less prestigious occupations than non-Indians) in both studies may be coincidental, but the duplication of Mooney's methods for data collection in this thesis may be one reason why this is so. Job class 7 (in Mooney) and 6-8 (in this thesis) are comparable, but not identically derived.

Major differences between the studies lie in the data analysis. The analysis of variance revealed the three way interaction effect between years groups, sex, and ethnicity, for the data presented in this thesis. This, in turn, suggested how the data could be further analyzed. Despite differences in data analysis, the two studies indicate that dependency theory is a stronger explanation of Indian underdevelopment than acculturation.

In this thesis, differences in sample size and data analysis may be the major reasons why dependency theory is not as strong an explanation of the Indian employment situation as it was in Mooney (1976).

Dependency (Metropolis-Satellite) Hypothesis 1: Indians Have a Greater Degree of Unemployment Than Non-Indians

The null hypothesis is rejected for males having 5-9 years of information. For the 10-12 year subgroup, it is accepted.

This would seem to indicate that if an individual was able to be traced for 10 or more years, he is fairly stable in employment pattern, is unemployed less than other persons, and does not distinguish himself in

terms of ethnicity between Indian and non-Indian ethnic classifications on the basis of unemployment data. Among those men traced for 5-9 years, Indians are more unstable in employment pattern, are unemployed more often than non-Indian men, and constitute a satellite in metropolis-satellite terms.

There are not distinguishable differences in unemployment rates between Indian and non-Indian women in the 5-9 years subgroup and the total sample. The reasons for the differences seen in this subgroup are probably different than the explanations for the men. Finding no difference between Indian and non-Indian women in the 5-9 years subgroup and the total sample may be because of lower unemployment rates for the men and higher overall unemployment rates for women in the Victoria economy, regardless of ethnicity.

In the 10-12 years subgroup, Indian women have higher unemployment rates than non-Indian women. Among those women traced for 10-12 years, Indians are more unstable in employment pattern, are unemployed more often than non-Indian women, and constitute a satellite in metropolis-satellite terms.

Dependency Hypothesis 2: Indians will be more Concentrated in Less Prestigious Occupations Than Non-Indians

Indian men are found in much higher concentrations in less prestigious occupations (job categories 6-8) than non-Indian men for the 5-9 and 10-12 years of information subgroups and for the total sample.

There is no difference between Indian and non-Indian women in the 10-12 years subgroup and the total sample with respect to concentrations in these occupations. In the 5-9 years subgroup, Indian women are

employed in higher concentrations in less prestigious occupations than non-Indian women; however women are employed more in other occupational categories such as categories 1,2,3,4 and 5, in general (see Appendix 2). Ethnic differences do not seem to affect the occupational categories that women are predominantly found in (i.e. mainly clerical positions). Some women work as farm laborers or general laborers in job categories 6 and 7; as housekeepers or laundry workers in category 5; or as sales persons in category 4. The majority of women are employed in category 3 which includes Indian women employed in positions such as cashier, receptionist or clerk in places such as doctors' offices, hospitals, or schools. See Appendix 2 for the distribution of individuals in each job category.

In the professional/technical and administrative/managerial occupations there are no significant ethnic differences between Indians and non-Indians with respect to the proportion of time employed individuals were employed in job categories 1 and 2. Stratification by sex and number of years of information does not affect these results. This may reflect the growing number of Indian persons receiving advanced educational degrees and using them in the work place. [Indian people in British Columbia enrolled in post-secondary education (university) increased from 339 in 1977-1978 to 1160 in 1983/84 (Canada. Indian and Northern Affairs, n.d.)]

Some job titles that women hold in job categories 1 and 2 include: nurse or nurse's aide, teacher, school administrator or social worker. Examples of some Indian job titles that men hold include: coordinator of Diversion Program, executive director of Friendship Center, employment counsellor, employee of Provincial Museum archaeological division. Non-Indian mens' job titles are very similar. Examples include: instructor at dock yards, principal, teacher, announcer with CBC, nurse, nurse's aide,

orderly, and meteor technician.

In general, Indian men are more concentrated than non-Indian men in blue collar, mainly unskilled positions in Victoria. Examples of male Indians' positions in blue collar occupations include: machine operator, construction worker, farmer, farm laborer and food processor. This could indicate that if one considers that Indians constitute a minority of the population in Victoria, Indian men are providing more than their share of the labour to support the growth of Victoria and the metropolis at large.

Metropolis-satellite theory would seem to provide an explanation for this phenomenon. There is no significant difference between employed Indians and non-Indians in professional/technical and administrative managerial occupations; nevertheless, the majority of employed Indian people are not in these positions but represent satellite sectors of the Victoria economy.

Dependency Hypothesis 3: Indians Have a Greater Frequency of Unstable Employment Pattern Featuring Changes in Place of Employment

Indian men have more job changes than non-Indian men for all years of information subgroups. At the $\leq .05$ significance level, ethnic differences are not significant until all years of information are combined, however. The reason for this is probably the fact that Indian sample size is too small to present significant differences until all years of information are combined. Even though the 5-9 years subgroup of Indian men was unemployed for more years than the equivalent subgroup of non-Indians, those Indian men who were working found themselves changing jobs more frequently than non-Indian men. Results of hypothesis 2 tests show proportionately more years of employment by Indian men in blue collar

occupations. For Indians leading sources of blue collar employment include the forest industry, shipbuilding, and fishing and fish processing. Positions that some Indians have held in these industries include: logboom operator, logger or millworker, iron worker, waterfront employee, packer or grader in a fish plant, fisherman, or clam digger. These industries are known for the seasonal nature of employment, particularly the fishing and lumber industries. Out of a subsample of 25 Indian men employed in category 7, 13 out of 25 job changes occurred within these three industries. The lumber and shipbuilding industries have shown declines in production due to economic recession in the 1970's and 1980's. This has resulted in lay-offs and even permanent shutdown of several lumber processing mills in the Victoria metropolitan area. Naturally, any person finding employment in the lumber and shipbuilding industries would suffer high unemployment rates; in addition, because of the uncertainty of economic life for persons who find employment under these conditions, one might expect to see many more job changes for persons employed in blue collar occupations where Indian males are employed in higher proportions. Upon close consideration of the data, one finds that out of a subsample of 32 Indian men having 41 job changes among them, 36 job changes involved movement within blue collar job categories or between blue collar jobs and some other job category. Of the 41 job changes, 28 were within job categories 6-8. Indian women have fewer job changes than non-Indian women in the 5-9 years subgroup, but more job changes in the 10-12 years subgroup. Once again these differences are not significant. Despite ethnic differences, women appear to be very similar in work patterns.

Dependency Hypothesis 4: Indians Have a Lower Incidence of Wives Bringing in a Second Income (Multiple-Income Dependency)

For all individuals, regardless of the number of years of information, Indians do have a lower incidence of multiple income dependency, compared to non-Indians. When one member of a non-Indian couple is working, it is more likely that his/her spouse will be working, than is the case for Indian couples. It would seem that Indians constitute a satellite in the Victoria economy with respect to employment for one or both members of a working couple. When they are available, jobs would more likely be filled by non-Indians.

Acculturation Hypotheses

There is no significant difference between 25-39 year old Indian men and women versus Indian men and women aged 40 and over with respect to unemployment levels or occupational levels. Women are included in the combined years of information category only because of small sample size. There is no significant difference between the men regardless of years of information.

The younger generation of men does not have significantly different job change levels than the older generation for the 5-9 years of information subgroup. In the male 10-12 years of information subgroup and when all years of information are combined for Indian men and women, the null hypothesis is rejected, but the younger generation has more job changes than the elder generation of Indian men and women. Amongst subsamples of two generations of men (n=15 of the 25-39 year olds and n=10 of the 40+ year olds), the majority of job changes (JC) (80 and 75%, respectively) were within blue collar (BC) occupations, or indicated movement into BC positions from other occupational categories such as sales or clerical

positions. The remaining JC's (20 and 25%) indicated movement from blue collar positions into other occupational categories. This suggests that even though the younger generation had more JC's, these occurred between BC jobs in similar proportions to those of the elder generation. This would seem to suggest that things are simply not improving for young Indian people. To be sure that young Indians, as opposed to young non-Indians, are exhibiting a distinctive job change pattern, further study would have to be done incorporating age as a variable in the non-Indian sample. Since Indian men, when looked at as a whole, represent a satellite in the Victoria economy with respect to JC's, it is likely that this pattern of JC's within BC occupations is distinctive. It could mean that young Indians are changing jobs more than their elders because they are establishing themselves in the workforce, however. If this were the case, one would expect to see young Indians moving into jobs in categories other than blue collar.

The acculturation model would suggest that the younger generation should have greater stability with fewer job changes than the elder generation. Between two age groups of Indians the employment situation of the young people is worse than their elders. The acculturation model would suggest improving, not worsening, conditions for Indians between generations.

It appears, then, that we cannot accept these acculturation hypotheses:

(1) with respect to their elders, Victoria's Indians have a lesser degree of unemployment,

(2) the younger generation of Indians are concentrated in more prestigious occupations than Indians of the older generation,

(3) the younger generation of Indians has a lesser frequency of changes in place of employment than do Indians of the older generation.

Conclusion

The metropolis-satellite theory of Andre Gunder Frank (1969a) suggests that as a fourth world people, Indians in Victoria, British Columbia, will continue in a satellite position.

Acculturation theory, on the other hand, would suggest that Indians will eventually assimilate with North American society.

Canadian government policy has kept Indians in a satellite position through a restrictive paternalistic policy based upon the principle of acculturation which was designed to integrate Indians into the mainstream of Canadian society. Results of this thesis suggest that for the most part conditions for Indian youths vs. their elders have not improved.

Most people, including government advisors (Hawthorn, 1966; Stanbury, 1975; etc.), recognize that a situation of dependency exists for Indians today.

This thesis suggests that although dependency still provides a better explanation for economic underdevelopment among Indian men than an acculturation model, there are some hypotheses tested for which dependency theory provides only a partial explanation of the results. For

example, Indian and non-Indian men appear to be employed in similar proportions in professional/technical occupations. If one were to make more of this it would be necessary to have a larger sample of individuals employed in these positions to study the pattern of their employment. In addition to this, small sample size may also be a factor in the rejection of dependency H_3 (Indians have a greater frequency of unstable employment pattern featuring changes in place of employment) for 5-9 and 10-12 years of information subgroups, because the hypothesis is confirmed when both years of information subgroups are combined.

Indian women are another matter. The thesis has found no significant difference between Indian and non-Indian women except in the areas of unemployment and occupational level for one of the years subgroups. The total samples of women showed no significant difference between Indian and non-Indian employment and occupational level. Indian women have significantly more unemployment than non-Indian women in the 10-12 years of information subgroup. In the 5-9 years of information subgroup and the total sample, the reason for the similarity of unemployment levels may be that women as a group represent a satellite position in Canadian society. In the 5-9 years of information subgroup, Indian women were working in blue collar (BC) occupations in higher concentrations than non-Indian women; however, for the most part, Indian and non-Indian women were employed in job classes 6-8 in similar proportions. They are employed in job classes 1,3,4, and 5 more, in general. Further study of women in Canadian society may reveal more about their work patterns and preferences. This study shows very little difference between Indian and non-Indian women, suggesting that women as a whole need a lot of help to better their employment situation. Women as a group

represent a satellite position in Canadian society. Non-Indian men were the dominant employment force in Victoria from 1972-1984.

Indian leaders have proposed a solution for alleviation of their dependent status. The proposed solution is self-government and the settlement of Indian land claims (Indian Voice,1983b; Mandel, 1982; Native Voice, 1982). In consultations with Native communities a Special Committee of the House of Commons has looked at the Federal policies governing Native people (Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, 1983). The Special Committee has recommended Indian self-government as a solution to the dependent position of Native people in Canadian society. The response of the Federal government of the time to the report of the Special Committee was to agree to "effective movement towards self-government requiring substantial restructuring of the current relationship between Indian people and the Government of Canada" (Canada. Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1984:1).

"Beyond dependency" theorists (Marcussen and Torp, 1982) suggest self-initiated and administered economic development has alleviated the dependent position of countries such as Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong. Self-government and the settlement of land claims are proposed by many Canadian Indian leaders as being a possible avenue for moving Indians beyond their dependent position in Canadian society.

Dependency theory suggests that Indians may become further impoverished as time wears on and the metropolis in Canadian society and the world at large may become further developed. The results of acculturation hypothesis testing in this thesis suggest that the Canadian government policy geared towards acculturation of Indian people has failed to better the employment situation of Indian young people relative to their

elders. Combined with the results of Mooney (1976) this suggests that the economic situation of Indian people, relative to non-Indian people residing in similar geographic areas, has not improved since 1952. Dependency theory appears to be a stronger explanation of this phenomenon than an acculturation model.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 21: Results of Non-Parametric Significance Tests for Differences in Unemployment Levels Between Indian and Non-Indian Men,1972-1984.

Years of Information	Significance Test H_0 rejected at < .05
5-9	Median test Cases=291 Median=.00 χ^2 = 17.41 d.f.= 1 p≤ 0.00 reject H_0
10-12	Median test Cases=415 Median=.00 χ^2 = 0.00 d.f.= 1 p≤ .8418 accept H_0
5-9	Mann-Whitney U Cases= 291 Z=-4.275 corrected for ties 2 tailed p≤ .00 reject H_0
10-12	Mann-Whitney U Cases= 415 Z=-0.4050 corrected for ties 2 tailed p≤ 0.69 accept H_0

Table 22: Number of Individuals with at Least One Year in Each Job Category, Victoria, British Columbia 1972-1984

	Number of Occurrences				Percent Occurrence			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Category	Indian	Non-Indian	Indian	Non-Indian	Indian	Non-Indian	Indian	Non-Indian
Job Class 1	12	106	7	41	9.7	10.7	13.0	10.3
Job Class 2	1	9	1	4	0.8	0.9	1.9	1.0
Job Class 3	2	43	7	63	1.6	4.3	13.0	15.9
Job Class 4	5	64	4	45	4.0	6.5	7.4	11.3
Job Class 5	5	88	0	33	4.0	8.9	0.0	8.3
Job Class 6	6	24	0	1	4.8	2.4	0.0	0.3
Job Class 7	46	240	4	11	37.1	24.3	7.4	2.8
Job Class 8	0	39	0	1	0.0	3.9	0.0	0.3
Unemployed	36	164	19	122	29.0	16.6	35.2	30.7
Retired	11	212	12	76	8.9	21.4	22.2	19.1
Total	124	989	54	397	100	100	100	100

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