

The Household Structure of Status Indians in Regina and Saskatoon, 1982¹

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Abstract

This paper contributes to work on ethnicity and the family by examining patterns of co-residence and financial support among Canadian Indians living in Regina and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan in 1982. The study examined the characteristics of heads of households with and without additional persons to explore whether or not some families were more likely to have extended households. Additional persons in family households were compared to each other in order to assess the effect of their characteristics on co-residence strategies.

Résumé

Le présent article contribue aux travaux consacrés à l'ethnicité et à la famille en étudiant les modèles de co-résidence et de soutien financier parmi les autochtones canadiens qui habitent à Regina et à Saskatoon (Saskatchewan) en 1982. L'étude examine les caractéristiques des chefs de ménage comptant une ou plusieurs personnes, afin de déterminer les caractéristiques qui semblent plus favorables à la famille étendue. Les personnes autres que les membres de la famille immédiate ont été comparées les unes aux autres et l'effet de leurs caractéristiques sur les stratégies de co-résidence a été évalué.

Key Words: Aboriginal, urban, household structure.

Introduction

Most modern societies have experienced major changes in the structure of households and patterns of co-residence. One dimension of this change is that adults in western societies spend fewer of their adult years in family households of their own or of their parents. Increasingly, families have fewer "extra" adults living with them — fewer widowed mothers, adult children, unmarried aunts and uncles, and even fathers. Although causal relationships are complex, this transformation has been linked to major demographic shifts, increasing affluence, and changing values regarding family life and appropriate roles for men and women.

However, the revolution in household structure has not been ubiquitous. Some groups (i.e., ethnic and religious communities) have introduced their

own adaptations to external pressures. Yet issues of ethnicity and culture appear to be under-emphasized in work on family and household structure. Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, originally published in five volumes between 1918 and 1920, saw an analysis of ethnicity and the family as integral to an understanding of modern society. Later work in sociology did not take up this theme, probably in part due to a theoretical approach which emphasized the declining importance of primary relationships in the urban and industrial setting, and the shift to impersonal and secondary ties.

Despite the general paucity of research, there is evidence that culture and values have in the past (Glasco, 1975; Hareven, 1975; Yans-McLaughlin, 1977), and continue today (Burch, 1988; Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1988; Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978; Mindel and Habenstein, 1976), to play an important role in family decision-making and household organization. Goldscheider and Goldscheider's (1989) edited collection provides a number of examples of ethnic, racial and religious variations in family-related processes.

This paper contributes to work on ethnicity and the family by examining patterns of co-residence and financial support among Canadian Indians living in the cities of Regina and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan in 1982. The first section situates urban Indians by describing their socio-economic status and household structure compared to the total population of Regina and Saskatoon. Secondly, additional persons in Indian family households are described in terms of demographic and labour force characteristics, relationship to other household members, and evidence of need for assistance with accommodation. Finally, the conclusion focussed on which households are more or less likely to house additional persons.

Interpretations of Urban Indian Household Structure

Over the years, writers describing the lifeways of urban Indians have frequently mentioned their extended family households (see Atwell, 1969; Davis, 1965; Denton, 1970; Guillemin, 1975; Krotz, 1980; Larson, 1983; Nagler, 1970). Census data demonstrate few single person and non-family households within the urban Indian population, along with considerably more Indian than Non-Indian households being extended or multi-family (Alberta, 1985; Clatworthy, 1980, 1983; Mooney, 1979; Canada, 1984). These patterns occur despite preferences for separate dwelling units for couples and parents with children (Peters, 1981; Reiber-Kremers, 1981:116). In addition, the fluidity of household composition means that family

households without additional members at any particular time have almost certainly been extended in the recent past, and will probably kin or friends in the near future (Denton, 1970; Guillemin, 1975; Krotz, 1980; Larson, 1983; Peters, 1984).

Patterns of urban Indian household composition have received varying interpretations. Several writers have conveyed the impression that Indian households were simply a random collection of individuals staying in a household at any particular time. Larson (1983:70) described extended households as being composed of individuals who were "independent units who can detach themselves from and attach themselves to households as the circumstances require". He (1983:67) quoted an explanation of Indian household organization from one of the Indians he interviewed "That's the way it is with Indians. People can take off for some months, because they always have places to go, and people will let them stay". Dosman (1972: 73-74) went so far as to state that among Indians on welfare:

Family life in the group leaves something to be desired...Large numbers of transient relatives and friends roam about at the expense of stability and discipline of any kind whatsoever...It is not that the extended family concept is preferred to the nuclear family. Neither social formation serves any function other than immediate gratification at this level of disintegration.

Other writers presented a different view. Rather than depicting Indian households as composed of individuals drifting in and out, they indicated that there was an orderliness and structure, derived from cultural values about family and kin, to the composition and economic support of urban Indian households (Medicine, 1980-81; Meadows, 1980; Mooney, 1979; Redhorse, 1980). Since accommodation represents one of the greatest costs in city living, shared accommodation can provide significant savings. Given low wages, unstable employment and the necessity of being able to move to where work was available, economic viability is often predicated on the availability of a place to stay on short notice and at little expense (Guillemin, 1975; Lithman, 1984:45). Urban Indian households offer accommodation to individuals in the process of moving to the city (Denton, 1970; Meadows, 1980; Stanbury, 1975), to individuals making use of urban facilities (Guillemin, 1975; Hannis, 1976; Nagler, 1970), and to urban residents who have lost their housing through demolition, fire or eviction, or to those having family problems (Peters, 1984). Household composition, in this view, represents a response to the need for collective strategies in the face of poverty and economic marginality.

It is difficult to evaluate these explanations of family and household organization because most studies of urban Indians are based on very small samples, with interpretations based on methods like participant observation rather than on statistical analysis. Access to a sizeable data base allows this study to present a more general picture of household structure. The argument being if urban Indian households are simply a random collection of individuals and families are unable to control demands for accommodation, should it not be difficult to identify a logic or structure to these households? On the other hand, if there are families which are more likely to be extended and individuals who are additional persons in family households, then interpretations of disorganization and randomness need to be questioned.

Method

The paper employs a data base of over 400 urban Indian households containing almost 2,000 individuals over 15 years of age in Regina and Saskatoon. The data were collected in 1982 by the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg. The questionnaire asked about household composition, demographic and labour force characteristics of household members, kin relationships, place of origin, migration patterns, household income, and other relevant information. The Institute data are unique in that they were obtained by a random stratified sample of Indian households (Clatworthy and Hull, 1983:16-23). Few sources of information about urban Indians rely on databases of this size, or information collected through sampling techniques.

The following data were used to explore the patterns of accommodation and economic support in Indian family households (93.7% of all urban Indian households).

Three categories of persons in family households were identified: i) parents or spouses in families with no children, or with children under 16 years; ii) adult offspring of the household head 16 years or older; and iii) unattached non-family persons 16 years or older.² The purpose in selecting these categories was to identify units which could, potentially, make their own decisions about co-residence. The rationale is similar to that employed by Ermisch and Overton (1985), although the categories are slightly different. Children of the household head who were younger than 16 years, the minimum school leaving age, were considered dependent children and part of a family unit. Children 16 years and older were considered, at least potentially, able to make their own decision to leave school, find employment, and move out of the household.

Clearly, these age cut-offs are very young, especially in the context that young people have been staying home longer during the last decade (Boyd, 1989; Pryor, 1989; Ram, 1988). However, school-leaving ages are generally younger in the Indian than Non-Indian population (Hull, 1987). Indian women also begin child-bearing considerably earlier than the general population (Keetley, 1981), gaining access to social support and the enabling them to establish independent households.

Where there were two groups of parents or spouses in the household, the group containing the household head as identified by respondents, was designated as the "first family". The Institute questionnaire did not explore the meaning of the term "household head", but in almost every case (98.2%), parents or spouses in first families were older than those in second families. The rationale for the category of "second family" is derived from norms concerning co-residence. There appears to be an expectation that couples should live in a separate dwelling unit (Peters, 1981; Reiber-Kremers, 1981:116), indicating that the situations may differ between couples and unattached individuals living with other families.

The intent was to examine and compare the characteristics of individuals in relation to their co-residence strategies and to gain some insight into the conditions under which they share housing. To facilitate the analysis, the categories were further sub-divided. Adult offspring of the household head were differentiated from other nonattached adults to allow an examination of the effect of kin relationships. Males and females were studied separately because of cultural norms concerning their roles in family life and because of their different eligibility for social assistance. Single women with dependent children have greater access to social assistance than men and therefore a greater opportunity to live separately.

A two-step analysis was employed in the study. The first step explored the characteristics of spouses or parents in first families with and without additional persons (including second families). Questioning whether or not some families were more or less likely to have extended households. Secondly, the characteristics of additional persons in family households were compared to each other to see whether these co-residence strategies were patterned in various ways.

Socio-economic Characteristics and Household Composition

Estimates from the Institute survey place the Status Indian population in Regina at 7,157 or 4.4% of the total city population, and the Status Indian

population in Saskatoon at 4,754, or 3.1% of the total Saskatoon population. The total Native population (Status Indian, Metis and Non-Status Indian) of Regina and Saskatoon were estimated to be 11,664 and 7,599, respectively. These numbers are higher than results from the 1981 Census, a fact that Hull (1984) attributes to the administration of the Institute questionnaire by Native researchers, contacting households directly rather than through mail-in questionnaire.

This study focusses on households containing individuals who identified themselves as Status Indians. Status Indians are individuals registered as Indian under the federal Indian Act. Households were classified as Indian if the individual designated as head in non-family households, a spouse in husband-wife family households, or the single-parent in single parent households was Indian. Only 7.1% of Indian households were mixed in terms of cultural origin.

Most of the adult Indians in Regina and Saskatoon were first-generation urban residents. Many (55.6%) moved directly from Saskatchewan reserves to the city, and more than three quarters (78.1%) had spent at least their childhood years on reserves. As a result, most Indians still have kin and friends on the reserves of their origin.

While the search for employment was the main reason migrants gave for moving, the labour force characteristics of Indians in Regina and Saskatoon were not encouraging. Compared to the total population of these two cities, Indians had very low labour force participation rates and high unemployment rates (Table 1). Women and those in younger age groups appeared to be at a particular disadvantage in the urban labour force.

TABLE 1. LABOUR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS, STATUS INDIAN AND TOTAL POPULATIONS BY AGE AND SEX, REGINA AND SASKATOON, 1982 AND 1981.

	Status Indians, 1982		Total Population, 1981	
	Participation Rates	Unemployment Rates	Participation Rates	Unemployment Rates
Males 15-24	30.6%	54.7%	78.0%	8.5%
Males 25-64	67.4%	23.6%	83.3%	3.2%
Females 15-24	17.4%	50.4%	70.2%	9.0%
Females 25-64	35.8%	66.8%	53.9%	4.5%

Sources: 1982 Institute of Urban Studies Data, Population Estimates.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-968.

The urban Indian population is generally characterized by extreme poverty. Average household income (in 1981 dollars) was \$13,974 in the Indian household, compared to \$24,867 for households in the total population. Per capita incomes show an even greater gap because Indian households were, on average, larger than households in the total population. More than three quarters (77.6%) of Indian families were below the Statistics Canada poverty line, compared to 12.6% of families in the total population.

TABLE 2. HOUSEHOLD TYPES¹, TOTAL² AND INDIAN POPULATION, REGINA AND SASKATOON 1981 AND 1982:

	Percentages	
	Total	Indian
One Family	68.2	85.0
No Additional Persons	62.9	61.8
With Additional Persons	5.3	24.1 ³
Multiple Family	0.5	7.8
Non-Family	31.3	6.3
One Person	24.9	4.1
Two or More Persons	6.4	2.2
Total Private Households	115,560	3,507

1. Family households contained at least one Census family defined as: "persons living in the same dwelling who had a husband-wife or parent-never-married child relationship". Non-family households were either one person living alone in a private dwelling, or a group of persons occupying a private dwelling but not constituting a Census family.
2. Includes Indian households.
3. Because the Institute survey did not ask whether children living at home had ever been married, all children without a spouse, living at home, were considered "never-married" children. As a result the number of Indian family households with additional persons may be slightly under-estimated.

Sources: 1982 Institute of Urban Studies Data, Population Estimates.
1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-920.

Indian and non-Indian households in Regina and Saskatoon show considerable differences in household composition (Table 2). While nuclear husband-wife family households comprise over half of the households in the total population, they comprise just slightly over one-third of Indian households. Over 15 times more Indian than total households contained more than one family, although the absolute number of multiple-family households is small. Indian households with multiple families though, made up almost half (47.4%) of all multiple-family households in the total population. In other words, the proportion of multiple family households in

the non-Indian population is much lower than in the Indian population. Households with additional persons made up 5.3% of all households in Regina and Saskatoon compared to 24.1% of Indian households. Indian households with additional persons comprised 13.8% of all such households in Regina and Saskatoon.

It is more difficult to compare Indian and non-Indian families with respect to adult offspring. Published materials from the Census only provide information about 18-year-old and older children of the head living at home. A slightly larger proportion of non-Indian (19.7%) than Indian families (17.6%) had children of the head 18 years older living at home. However, the urban Indian population is much younger than the non-Indian population with only 16.4% being 35 years or older, compared to 37.1% of the non-Indian population. As a result, the pool of 18-year-old and older Indian children would be much smaller in relation to the number of Indian families. Given the different age structure of the Indian and non-Indian populations, there appears to be a relatively high proportion of Indian families with adult offspring of the head of household, living at home.

Characteristics of Extended Family Households

Households may differ in the extent to which they are willing or able to accommodate additional persons, and the type of assistance resident kin or friends are able to offer. Pooling incomes is a strategy for coping with low or intermittent economic resources (Guillemin, 1975; Mooney, 1979; Peters, 1984). In addition, kin or friends can offer assistance to larger families or where women with young children work outside the home by helping with child-care and day-to-day household maintenance (eg. shopping, doctors' appointments and laundry) allowing mothers time for occasional socializing (Albers, 1983:208; Guillemin, 1975:237; Peters, 1984:36).

Researchers disagree about the relationship between socio-economic status and household structure. Dosman (1972) indicated that the households of the urban Indian "aristocracy" sometimes contained members other than the nuclear family, but that the demands of the extended family were only entertained when no economic hardship would result for the nuclear family. Guillemin (1975: 255-257) identified a similar sub-population which did not regularly provide accommodation to kin and friends.

Mixed marriages had a similar effect. Guillemin (1975:236-7) found that Micmac women married to white men felt constrained in their relations with their friends and family.

For a truckdriver who is trying to put every nickel towards paying off the bank loan on his truck, or the skilled blue-collar worker who believes that upward mobility means saving for a two bedroom house...., a wife who finds it difficult to isolate herself from her community could make life very difficult. Not sharing one's good fortune with kin and being isolated into a small nuclear family can make life just as difficult for the Micmac woman. (See also Cruikshank, 1975).

Other research raised questions about these findings. Mooney (1979:389) found only a very weak relationship between household income and the probability that households contained additional kin. She concluded that Indian households accept kin despite their level of income. The 1981 Census reported a similar pattern (Canada, 1984:25-26). The literature is unclear, then, about the relationship between income, socio-economic mobility, and household organization.

The gender of the head of household may also have an effect. Some work suggests that single parents are particularly dependent on extended family networks and this may be reflected in household composition (Meadows, 1980: 109; Peters, 1984: 25-26).³ Albers (1983:203) wrote that women also frequently served as the nucleus for household support networks. Guillemin (1975:83) found that mature women were typically heads of "home base" households, where other individuals stayed for varying periods of time depending on the purpose for their visit. She wrote:

Women have a much more practical attitude toward money than men. Adult women take on more of the responsibility of renting city apartments which many other people use and of making sure that rent, utilities and food costs are shared (Guillemin, 1975:215).

The first step of the analysis attempted to identify characteristics of families with extended households by comparing first families with and without additional persons living in the household. A logit regression, which fits a multiple regression model to a single binary (0-1) variable was employed (Walker, 1967). In Table 3, the dependent variable was whether or not an Indian family household contained adult offspring, non-family persons, or second families. Models were estimated separately for each category of additional person. Table 3 summarizes both the significance levels of the model and the significance levels of individual variables. The first column lists the variables entered into the equation. The remaining columns present values of the maximum-likelihood estimate chi-square associated with the model and with each variable. The significance levels of the equation and of

the individual variables are shown, with an indication of the direction of relationship.

TABLE 3. CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH HAVING ADULT OFFSPRING, NON-FAMILY PERSONS OR SECOND FAMILIES IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, INDIAN HOUSEHOLDS IN REGINA AND SASKATOON, 1982.

	Categories of Additional Persons ¹		
	Adult Offspring Chi-Square	Non-Family Person Chi-Square	Second Family Chi-Square
Model: ² Variables: ³	90.40*	7.46*	14.43*
Intercept	52.27*	25.34*	14.98*
Age of Head	50.85*	1.21	9.80*
Husband-Wife Family	-10.17*	1.59	-8.89*
Income Change	9.00*	1.56	1.30
Number of Children	4.82**	0.02	-5.16**
Education of Head	1.19	1.06	-2.90
Mixed Marriage	1.10	-6.10**	1.34
Household Income	0.22	1.11	0.35
Head Employed	0.00	0.87	-2.08

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

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

1. With Adult Offspring = 1; Other = 0.
With Non-Family Persons = 1; Other = 0.
With Second Family = 1; Other = 0.
2. Variables which did not meet the 0.05 significance level criteria were not included in the model.
3. Husband-Wife Family = 1; Other = 0;
Income Change in Previous Year = 1; No Change = 0;
Mixed Marriage = 1; Other = 0;
Head Employed = 1; Head Not Employed = 0;
Education of Head = Years of Schooling.
Household Income = Total Income From All Sources.

Source: 1982 Institute of Urban Studies Data.

Age of the head was included to explore whether or not household types are associated with stages in the life cycle. Single- and two-parent households were differentiated to investigate gender effects; almost all single-parent households (97%) had a woman as head. Instability of income is measured by whether the household had experienced a major shift in income (in either direction)⁴ during the last year. The number of dependent children (15 years or younger) is included as an indicator of the need for help with child care.

Employment and level of education of the head of the first family,⁵ as well as household income, were used to measure characteristics resulting in attempts to retain some distance from extended family networks in order to succeed economically in the city. The variable "mixed marriage" identifies couples where one spouse is non-Indian.

Age of the head was the variable most strongly associated with the presence of adult children. In other words, the presence of adult children is largely part of the life cycle. Husband-wife families were less likely to have adult children living at home than single-parent families. This pattern may relate to the assistance adult offspring can offer to single mothers. Households which had experienced a major change in income (in either direction) were more likely to have adult children at home, lending some support to research which suggests that sharing accommodation is used as a edge against uncertain and fluctuating income.

In support of suggestions by other researchers (Cruikshank, 1975; Guillemin, 1975), households in which one spouse was non-Indian were less likely than all-Indian households to have single, non-family persons living with them. Non-family persons in the household did not appear to be related to household income or employment of the head. This finding is similar to Mooney's (1979) results. The stage in the life-cycle and type of family (single- or two-parent) were also insignificant. With the exception of mixed marriages, all types of family households, or at least all types identified by the variables in the equation, appeared to be equally likely or unlikely to have non-family persons living with them.

The presence of a second family in the household was positively associated with age of the head of the first family, negatively associated with husband/wife families, and also negatively associated with the number of the children in the first family. In other words, second families are more likely to be living with older single-parent families. No other characteristics were significant at the .05 level. Many second families were daughters of the household head with children of their own. This type of household seemed to be associated with a stage in the life cycle of single-parent families.

In summary, adult offspring of the household head and second families are more often found in single parent than in husband-wife family households, and their presence appears to be related to life cycle stages rather than income levels or socio-economic status. The presence of other non-family persons is not associated with any of the characteristics of families except for their absence in mixed marriages.

Characteristics of Additional Persons in Family Households

Individuals may also vary in their need for assistance with accommodation. Peters' (1984) research showed that the process of leaving home is often drawn out for young Indians, probably due to unemployment making affordable, independent living difficult. A very high proportion of these individuals in Regina and Saskatoon do not report income from any source (Peters, 1987:167). As a result, many young adults moved out and back home again several times.

Guillemin (1975:87;226-228) found that young Indian adults were encouraged to travel and explore, free of family responsibilities. Age may therefore be a factor affecting patterns of residence. Denton's (1970) work on gender gave the impression that young Indian men, rather than women, moved around seeking employment and adventure, depending on kin and friends for accommodation. Guillemin (1975:87) found that Indian men were more likely to continue travelling as single persons than women. Women, after they had one or more children, appeared to form more stable households.

The ability of additional persons to contribute financially to the household economy may be important, although its effect is not clear. Some researchers found that kin or friends capable of making a cash contribution was not a prerequisite to an offer of accommodation, provided that assistance with household chores was offered. Albers (1983:208) found that: "[w]hen kin move into a household and contribute neither labor nor goods, their presence is begrudgingly tolerated, if not openly resented." Guillemin (1975:139) on the other hand, wrote that assistance in the form of accommodation, was offered as a hedge against the future when the givers, their children or their kin would need assistance. The longer visitors remained in a household, the higher the expectations of a cash contribution. For the most part, however, the debt incurred by hospitality was settled by a future similar favor which, in turn, incurred a debt of service (Guillemin, 1975:84).

Kin relationships between household members may have affected the terms under which accommodation was shared. Peters (1984) suggested that there are some "rules" about the distribution of scarce household resources in the form of accommodation. She found for example, that non-family persons were relatively short-term residents in family households, and less likely to be dependent on other household members for economic support than adult children. There was some indication, however, that few urban Indian households could economically support non-contributing members over

extended periods of time. Guillemin (1975) described older people frequently moving between their son's and daughter's households in order to distribute the economic burden. Dosman (1972:87) and Peters (1984) found that households in the city were sometimes hard-pressed financially by the demands of visitors.

Life-cycle and gender effects combined with special needs for accommodation, the ability to contribute to the household economy and the possibility that assistance is structured by kin relationships, may result in co-residence patterns of considerable complexity. The probability of employment is moreover related to age and gender. Statistical analysis was used to explore the relationship between the characteristics of individuals and their patterns of co-residence.

Table 4 compares different categories of additional persons by gender, showing, for example, the characteristics associated with an adult offspring rather than a non-family person in a family household. Female non-family persons are older than adult offspring, have lived in the city a shorter period of time, and are more likely to be employed. Such individuals are somewhat younger than female heads or spouses in second families, and more likely to be employed. In many cases, the latter are single parents, and, as a result, have access to social assistance which may enable them to contribute to family budgets.

Male non-family persons have lived in the city a shorter period of time and are older than adult offspring of the household head. Employment is not a significant factor differentiating these two categories. The presence of non-family persons in urban Indian family households, then, appears to be related to the migration patterns of young single males. Non-family persons may be individuals who have moved to the city and require some assistance to settle in or may be individuals staying with friends or relatives taking advantage of urban services.

Age was the main factor associated with being an adult offspring rather than a head or spouse of a second family for males as well as females. Male heads of second families were older than adult offspring and slightly more likely to be employed. Despite norms regarding couples forming their own households, these families may be accepted for short periods of time they are capable of contributing to household budgets.

Male non-family persons younger and less likely to be employed than male heads of second families. They may be in the city "visiting", or may have lost a job and required assistance while deciding on their future.

TABLE 4. CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO THE PROBABILITY OF BEING AN ADDITIONAL PERSON¹ IN A FAMILY HOUSEHOLD, REGINA AND SASKATOON, 1982.

FEMALES	Non-Family Person Chi-Square	Second Family Chi-Square
Adult Offspring		
Model	28.65**	50.33**
Variables ²		
Intercept	11.48*	30.72**
Age	-8.72*	-29.50**
Months in City	8.41*	3.94
Employed	-4.37	0.32
Head/Spouse in Second Family		
Model	5.79*	
Variables		
Intercept	8.42*	
Age	-3.06	
Months in City	-1.93	
Employed	5.16	
MALES	Non-Family Person Chi-Square	Second Family Chi-Square
Adult Offspring		
Model	34.22**	78.08**
Variables		
Intercept	13.21*	23.39*
Age	-13.22*	-19.07**
Months in City	15.26**	0.24
Employed	-0.02	6.31*
Head/Spouse in Second Family		
Model	21.58**	
Variables		
Intercept	19.78**	
Age	-10.57**	
Months in City	1.89	
Employed	-6.55*	

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

** Statistically significant at $\alpha = .001$.

1. Non-family person = 0; Adult offspring = 1.
Head/Spouse of second family = 0; Adult offspring = 1.
Head/Spouse of second family = 0; Non-family person = 1.
2. Employed: not working = 0; employed = 1.
All other variables are continuous.

Source: 1982 Institute of Urban Studies Data.

Clearly this analysis was based on a small sample, and the results show considerable complexity. The general patterns are that male and female adult offspring appear to be younger than non-family persons and heads and

spouses in second families, male and female non-family persons have been in the city for a shorter period of time than adult offspring; and male heads of second families are older than male non-family persons, and more likely to be employed than both male adult offspring and male non-family persons.

Conclusion

The data from Regina and Saskatoon show that extended family households are more likely to be mother-led, possibly reflecting need for assistance and pooled income, and more likely to have older heads, suggesting that this is part of a life-cycle pattern for households in these circumstances. While fewer households with Indian/non-Indian spouses had non-family persons staying with them, level of income did not differentiate between extended and nuclear family households. In other words, families at all socio-economic levels appear to be equally likely to accommodate members from outside the nuclear family.

The analysis of characteristics of additional persons in family households suggests patterns as to who is financially supported in Indian households. Adult offspring are in family households mainly as a result of kin status and youth. They contribute little financially, to family budgets, since few earn an income (Peters, 1987), and do not have the accommodation need of new migrants or short-term users of urban services. Adult non-family members and heads or spouses in second families appear to be in these households due to various needs, and many appear to be short-term residents and/or able to contribute financially to household budgets. There are differences amongst them by gender and kin relationship.

The preceding analysis makes it possible to respond to competing concepts of Indian family life as random and "disorganized" or resilient responses reflecting culturally informed coping strategies. The data from Regina and Saskatoon provide evidence of an orderly progression of family changes through the life cycle; evidence that assistance is extended to children before kin and friends; and evidence that the doubling up of families and accommodation of non-family persons represents a way of assisting individuals in need. Together, these patterns suggest that household organization among urban Indians may be appropriately viewed as strategies rather than reflections of an inability to accommodate the demands of modern life. These patterns are also consistent with the idea that values regarding sharing and extended family networks are mobilized to cope with urban life and movements between the reserve and the city.

There are some implications for the housing of urban Indians. The patterns of household composition discussed above do not appear to be a temporary phenomenon. The majority of the Indian population still lives on the reserves, resulting in the need for accommodation in the city when individuals migrate or use urban services. There is no evidence of a rapid improvement in the economic position of the Indian population, and therefore this type of assistance will be necessary. Extending assistance by offering room and board is also not as Dosman (1972) initially suggested, characteristic of only a portion of the urban Indian population which is having difficulty adapting to urban life. These factors suggest that strategies to improve the housing of urban Indians should attempt to preserve their ability to offer accommodation to kin and friends.

Footnotes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Canadian Population Society Annual Meetings in Kingston, May, 1991.
2. Non-family persons younger than 16 years were omitted from the calculations. They made up only 3.5% of people in Indian family households. Of these, 0.8% were siblings of the household head, 1.1% were grandchildren of the head, 0.9% were other relatives and 0.6% were non-relatives.
3. The special needs of all single parents, Indian or non-Indian, are documented in a number of studies (Keller, 1981; Klodawsky and Spector, 1985; Klodawsky, Spector, and Hendrickx, 1984).
4. Sanger's (1979) work suggests that instability of income is as much of a problem as low level of income for families in poverty.
5. The household head was the male spouse or parent in the first family, and the female parent in mother-led first families.

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