

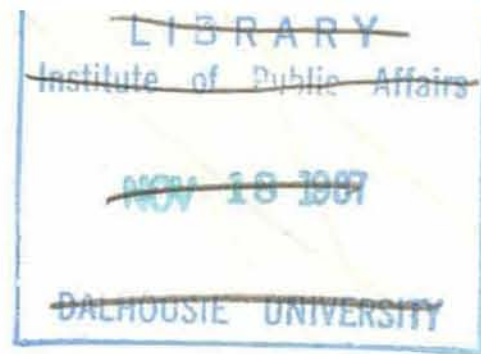
SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MICMAC IN NOVA SCOTIA



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SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF
THE MICMAC IN NOVA SCOTIA

Fred Wien
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FOREWORD

The collection and the analysis of the data herein presented have been carried out as an important project in the on-going social policy research program of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. In undertaking publication of this work, the Institute hopes to make a contribution to a broader awareness and understanding of the social and economic conditions of the Micmac peoples of Nova Scotia.

While the publication will be of interest to all who have a concern with the native population of our region or of Canada as a whole, it is our hope that the study will be a particularly useful information source for the Micmac peoples themselves.

Kell Antoft
Director
Institute of Public Affairs

Micmac people have over a number of years been encouraging university and college communities to participate with the Micmac community in working towards socioeconomic improvement of the Indian Reserves.

This publication is a first step, which we know will be equally beneficial to the Micmac community and to the Canadian public, giving a better understanding of the unique needs and aspirations of the Micmac people of Nova Scotia.

Noel Doucette
President
Union of Nova Scotia Indians

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Major contributions to the preparation of this report have been made by a number of individuals and organizations. Among the most significant is the work of Don Julien, who patiently but effectively collected the employment-related data reported in this document. He drew on the knowledge of individuals living on each of the twelve reserves and together they spent many long hours putting the necessary information together.

The initial idea and much of the momentum for collecting the educational data originated with Jean Knockwood, who at the time was the Education Liaison Officer for the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. She clearly saw the need for accurate figures on the enrolment and graduation levels of Micmac students in the province, in comparison with the levels achieved by non-Indian children. Sheila Carr-Stewart and John Jacques of the Nova Scotia District Office of Indian and Northern Affairs were instrumental in providing information on the enrolment of Micmac students by grade level. Comparative data on all Nova Scotia students was kindly made available by Don Arab and the research staff of the Nova Scotia Department of Education. Eric Cowan, the Executive Director of the Nova Scotia School Boards Association, was the key figure in eliciting the cooperation of numerous principals and guidance counsellors in schools across the province. These individuals made available information on both Micmac and non-Indian grade 12 graduates from their schools in the 1970s. The social counsellors on each of the reserves also made a valuable contribution to this process.

Once the various data sets on which this report is based were in hand, there remained the considerable task of coding,

computer analysis and table preparation. The chief coders were Karen James, Louis Comeau and Isla Milligan. Isla also performed, in a very capable manner, the computer manipulations on the employment data. Tables and graphs were carefully prepared by Rose Ann Bernard and Patti Ritcey. Bill Coffey, of the Institute's Regional and Urban Studies Centre, carried out the analysis leading to the population projections reported in Chapter 2 of the report.

The report was typed by Barbara MacKinnon, Colleen Clattenburg and Sarah Baker. Graphs were prepared by Alex Lindsay of the Dalhousie Graphics Department. Preparation of the report for publication was carried out with skill, patience and good humour by Margaret Dingley, who is in charge of publications at the Institute of Public Affairs.

A final word of appreciation is directed to Barbara MacDonald and Stuart Killen of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians' Popular Education Program. They were able to intervene at critical points to provide information, funds for research assistance, and liaison with chiefs and band councils so that the data could be made available and used at the reserve level.

Funding was provided by the Canada Council (now the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council), Health and Welfare Canada, Dalhousie University, and the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. A grant to support the publication of the report was made available by the Affirmative Action Program of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. This support is gratefully acknowledged. It should be made clear that the contents of this report are the responsibility of the author rather than the funding agencies.

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SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF
THE MICMAC IN NOVA SCOTIA

1. INTRODUCTION AND DATA SOURCES

Although a good deal of information is readily available on the history and culture of the Micmac in Nova Scotia, very little reliable data have been generated on the contemporary socioeconomic position of the Micmac in the province.¹

The Institute of Public Affairs, through the initiative of its Marginal Work World Research Program, has sought to fill part of this gap by undertaking some systematic research on the contemporary employment patterns of the Micmac, how these have changed in this century, and what implications the data have for formulating an appropriate theory and strategy of socioeconomic development. More recently, the research program has been asked by the Union of Nova Scotia Indians to pull together and analyze additional information on the demographic and educational characteristics of the population.

While work continues on the historical dimension of the project and on drawing out the implications of the results for development theory and practice, this largely descriptive report has been prepared in order to make some basic information available to the Micmac community and to the wider interested public. More specifically, the report provides an extensive set of tables on population variables such as size, growth rate, age and sex composition, movement off the reserves, dependency ratios, and so on. Secondly, detailed information is given on employment patterns such as the occupations and industries of the population, types of

¹For a brief historical overview, which also cites the main historical and anthropological sources on the Micmac, the reader may wish to consult Harold McGee [3].

employers, job locations, seasonal work, unemployment rates, and use of social assistance. Finally, tables are presented on the educational levels of the adult population as well as on enrolment by grade level and graduation levels of the in-school population.

Most of the tables include that portion of the status Micmac population residing in Nova Scotia. However, the varying patterns of subgroups such as males/females, on and off reserve populations, and age groups, are identified. To provide a comparative perspective, figures for the non-Indian or total population of the province are included where possible.

While the data have been broken down to the reserve level for the use of band councils and staff, the figures reported in this document represent the province-wide pattern and are derived from three main sources. Basic population data is taken from the band lists of the Nova Scotia reserves for the period 1965 to 1976. Band lists, for the information of readers unfamiliar with them, list all registered Indians who belong to a particular band. Each adult has a band number; children have the number of their parents until they are 18 years of age. Date of birth is recorded on the lists, as well as religion, sex, and whether living on or off the reserve. The band lists are believed to be quite accurate and up-to-date for those living on the reserve and in Nova Scotia, but less accurate for those who have left the province.² Persons newly born are added to the lists, those

²Off reserve individuals would need to notify their band of any changes such as births, deaths, and so forth; it is in their best interest to do so. On occasion the larger reserves send their band membership clerks to New England, where a large proportion of off reserve Micmacs are concentrated, in order to update their band lists.

who have died are deleted from the lists, and those who move to another reserve have their name transferred to the new band if the latter agrees to accept them. Males who marry non-Indian women remain on the list and their spouse and offspring are added; women who marry non-Indian men lose their Indian status and are removed from the lists.

The information on employment patterns was collected through the Marginal Work World Research Program at the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), Dalhousie University. Data collection took place during 1976 on each of the reserves with the permission of the chief and/or the band council. An Information Collection Form (Figure 1.1) was filled out for each person on the band list who was 15 years of age or over and out of the regular school system (elementary or high school). Both on and off reserve residents were included.

On the smaller reserves, the information was obtained by talking to three or four individuals who were well informed on the basic employment patterns for their community; for example, former chiefs or councillors, band staff, organization heads, and so forth. Due to the larger size of the Indian Brook and Eskasoni bands, a sampling procedure was planned, but was abandoned when the chief and band council of both reserves indicated their preference for having all band members included. For these two reserves, more of a house to house method was used and this was made possible by the assistance of students through the summer employment program of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians.

While the employment information was collected in 1976, much of it pertains to 1975 because of the desire to obtain information for a complete year rather than for just the time when the data happened to be collected. It should be noted

NAME	CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS		SEX	HOUSEHOLD STATUS		AGE		
	Employed _____	Unemployed _____	Male _____	Household Head* _____	Spouse _____	15 - 24 _____	25 - 34 _____	35 - 44 _____
	Housewife _____	Retired _____	Female _____	Scn/Daughter _____	Other (State) _____	45 - 54 _____	55 - 64 _____	65+ _____
EMPLOYMENT HISTORY	MAIN JOB IN 1975	JOB TWO IN 1975	JOB THREE IN 1975	MAIN PREVIOUS JOBS (Before 1975)				
				Occupation	Location	Length		
OCCUPATION				1.				
ACTUAL WORK (describe)				2.				
NO. OF HOURS PER WK. (approx.)				3.				
SEASON (QUARTER)								
NAME OF EMPLOYER								
LOCATION OF WORK								
LOCATION OF RESIDENCE								
Name of Father of Household Head	OTHER INCOME IN 1975		EDUCATION ATTAINED	LANGUAGE USED		COMMENTS		
	TYPE	ALL YEAR	QUARTER					
	U.I.C. PENSIONER	_____	_____	1 - 6 yrs. _____	Does he/she speak Micmac?			
	A. Old Age	_____	_____	7 - 9 yrs. _____	Occas- Not at			
	B. Veterans	_____	_____	10 - 13 yrs. _____	Usually ionally all			
	P.S.A. (widows/ disabled, etc.)	_____	_____	VOCATIONAL (Type)	a) at work _____			
	WELFARE (IAB)	_____	_____	MANPOWER (Type) (where)	b) at home _____			
	EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE (IAB)	_____	_____	UNIVERSITY (Degree)	YEARS IN COMMUNITY			
	Regular	Yes _____			a) all his/her life _____			
	Pattern	NO _____			b) _____ years			

4

Figure 1. 1

INFORMATION COLLECTION FORM

that 1975 is considered to be a relatively good year for Micmac employment in Nova Scotia due to the fact that a number of employment creating projects were being developed in that year. These included the construction and operation of the Abenaki Motor Inn at Millbrook, the sawmill at Indian Brook, and fisheries related projects in Cape Breton. As the development phase passed and some of the projects experienced difficulties, the level of employment was reduced in later years.³

The final major data set reported in this document deals with educational statistics. Enrolment data for the Micmac in-school population for the period 1972/73 through 1979/80 were provided by the Department of Indian Affairs, via the Education Liaison Office of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. The Nova Scotia Department of Education provided comparable information for all students in the province. Figures on actual graduates from high school, as opposed to numbers of students enrolled by grade level, were collected with the assistance of the Association of Nova Scotia School Boards and the social counsellors from each of the reserves.

The report begins, then, with the first of the three data sets to be discussed - the band list information dealing with basic population characteristics such as population size, growth rates, age and sex structure and residence on or off the band's reserved lands.

³The employment data have now been collected for the period 1980/81; thus it will be possible in a forthcoming report to demonstrate in detail what changes have taken place in the past five years.

2. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

2.1 Population Growth 1965-1976, and Projections

After suffering drastic population declines in the centuries since contact with Europeans began, the size of the status Micmac population has increased steadily in this century. Table 2.1.1 shows that in recent years a little over 100 persons have been added to the provincial band lists each year, or some 1200 persons in the period 1966-76. This represents a growth rate of between 2 and 3 percent each year, and gave a total population of 5369 in 1976. In the same year, the total (largely non-Indian) population of Nova Scotia numbered 828,571, growing at an annual rate of between 0.5 and 1.5 percent.⁴

By looking at the trends in population growth over the last few years, it is possible to make projections into the future. These are not so much predictions as to what the actual population will be as statements to the effect that if past trends continue one can expect the population to be a certain size in a given year in the future. Clearly there are a number of events that could take place that would change the trends of the past; for example, if the Indian Act is changed so that Indian women marrying non-Indians no longer lose their status and thus remain on the band lists, or if the birth rate of the population changes.

The basic procedure used to make the projections is to begin with the total population on the band lists in 1976 and

⁴The provincial data, of course, take into account movement into and out of the province, while migration does not affect the band lists.

take it through a natural aging process, adding the appropriate number of new members of the population (births) and subtracting the expected number of deaths.⁵ The excess of births over deaths each year yields the rate of natural increase, and this figure stood near 20 per thousand members of the population in 1976. If it is assumed that this rate will remain constant in the future, then the projected Micmac population on the band lists will increase from 5369 in 1976 to approximately 8800 by 1996. Table 2.1.2 gives the figures for each year (Projection #1). The rate of natural increase has been declining in recent years, however, and it is more realistic to assume that it will continue to decline, perhaps to a level of 16 per thousand. If so, a more moderate population increase is suggested, to 7376 persons by 1996 (Projection #2, Table 2.1.2).

The Department of Indian Affairs is about to release figures that assume the rate of natural increase will drop even further, to about 10 per thousand. Their figures indicate that the birth rate is declining even as the number of women of child bearing age is increasing, suggesting that birth control measures are having a significant influence. It is claimed that the fertility of Micmac women of child bearing age has been cut in half in the Maritime region between 1966 and 1976, from a rate of 168.8 births per thousand women of child bearing age in 1966 to a rate of 84.4 a decade later. The Department projects a further decrease to 69.7 in 1979, and then holds this figure constant over the

⁵The population projections reported here were calculated using a simplified version of the cohort component population model developed at the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. This model has been employed on numerous occasions to project the population of the Atlantic Region and individual provinces. Further details on the projections can be found in a document prepared by William J. Coffey [1].

next decade on the assumption that the Indian rate will not fall below the non-Indian rate. As a result, the Department's estimate of the total band population is in the vicinity of 6325 persons in 1991.

To sum up, then, the rate of increase in the population is declining rapidly and is expected to be in the vicinity of 1 to 1.6 percent annually over the next two decades.

Table 2.1.1

INDIAN POPULATION ON AND OFF RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Year	On Reserve*		Off Reserve		Total	
	Number	Percent Change	Number	Percent Change	Number	Percent Change
1965	3324	-----	835	----	4159	----
1966	3112	-6.38	1065	+27.54	4177	+0.43
1967	3094	-0.58	1190	+11.74	4284	+2.56
1968	3188	+3.04	1218	+ 2.35	4406	+2.85
1969	3254	+2.07	1265	+ 3.86	4519	+2.57
1970	3247	-0.22	1400	+10.67	4647	+2.83
1971	3360	+3.48	1428	+ 2.00	4788	+3.03
1972	3383	+0.98	1497	+ 4.83	4890	+2.13
1973	3477	+2.48	1509	+ 0.80	4986	+1.96
1974	3606	+3.71	1545	+ 2.39	5151	+3.31
1975	3694	+2.44	1558	+ 0.84	5252	+1.96
1976	3840	+3.95	1529	- 1.86	5369	+2.23

*The "On Reserve" category in this and subsequent tables includes only those who are living on their own band's reserve.

Source: Band Lists, 1965-1976.

Table 2.1.2

PROJECTIONS OF TOTAL POPULATION
NOVA SCOTIA INDIANS
1977-1996

Year	Projection* #1	Projection** #2
1977	5503	5455
1978	5641	5542
1979	5782	5631
1980	5927	5721
1981	6075	5813
1982	6227	5906
1983	6383	6000
1984	6543	6096
1985	6707	6194
1986	6875	6293
1987	7047	6394
1988	7223	6496
1989	7404	6600
1990	7589	6706
1991	7779	6813
1992	7973	6922
1993	8172	7033
1994	8376	7146
1995	8585	7260
1996	8800	7376

*Projected population assuming a rate of natural increase of 20 per thousand members of the population.

**Projected population assuming a rate of natural increase of 16 per thousand members of the population.

2.2 On and Off the Reserve

From a careful analysis of the band lists and some other information, it is possible to say what proportion of the Micmac population is living off the reserve, what the trends are, what types of persons move off and at what age, and where they move to.

To begin, Table 2.2.1 gives 1976 figures on the on/off reserve residence for members of each of the province's twelve Micmac bands. It is clear from the table that the bands located on the mainland of the province have a much higher percentage of off-reserve members (45.2 percent on average) than do the Cape Breton bands (15.2 percent).

Table 2.2.2 reveals that by 1976, 71.5 percent of the Micmac band population was living on reserves in the province. Looking at the figures over time, it is evident that people were basically moving off the reserve at a high rate during the late sixties and until the early 1970s. Since that time, the trend has been to move back or to stay on the reserve, perhaps in response to less favorable employment and living conditions in other locations. This trend is established from the figures in Table 2.2.2 and from the graph on the following page (Figure 2.2.1). The Department of Indian Affairs forecasts that the number of persons living on reserve will remain fairly constant, moving gradually to a level of 75.5 percent on reserve by 1991.

For most Nova Scotia bands, it has been the case that a higher proportion of women have been leaving the reserve than men. Comparing the percentage of males as compared to females living on the reserve, in 1976 there were more males on reserve than females (Table 2.2.3). For the off reserve population, the reverse is the case. The figures may even underestimate this pattern, since women who marry non-Indians would no longer appear on the band lists.

A similar picture is evident when the percentage of all males on the band lists who are living off the reserve is calculated, and the procedure repeated for females (Table 2.2.4). Figure 2.2.2 provides this information in graph form. It reveals that for all Nova Scotia bands females moved off at a higher rate than males.

Something can also be said about the age at which people are most likely to live off the reserve. The percentage off reserve is lowest for very young children, standing at less than 20 percent in 1976, but climbs sharply especially for those in their 20s and reaches a peak among those aged 30-49 years, when about 45 percent of the population in this age group is living off reserve. The percentage declines again to about a third of the population off reserve for those between 50 and 64 years of age, before climbing sharply again for the oldest age groups who would likely be off reserve in hospitals or old age homes (see Table 2.2.5 and Figure 2.2.3). Limited job opportunities on the reserve for those in their most productive years probably helps to explain this pattern. It suggests that to some extent the reserve is used to raise young children and as a place to go for those nearing retirement, but provides less challenge and opportunity for those in between these two age groups.⁶

Where do they go, those who move off the reserve? The band lists do not tell, but the 1976 data collected by the Institute of Public Affairs give a good indication (see Table 2.2.6). The figures suggest that when people move off the reserve their main destination is to the United States, often to the New England region. Not very many Micmac live off reserve in Nova Scotia, nor are they likely to move to other

⁶The same kinds of figures were calculated for 1966 and 1971. The pattern is similar to that reported for 1976.

parts of Canada. While the Maritime Provinces have generally had strong connections with New England, other available data suggest that White and Black Nova Scotians are more likely to migrate to other parts of Canada than is the case for the Micmac. The greater ease by which Indians can cross the border to work in the United States helps to explain this distinctive pattern.

Table 2.2.1

ON AND OFF RESERVE POPULATION OF EACH
NOVA SCOTIA BAND, 1976

Band	On Reserve Own Band	On Reserve Other Band	On Crown Land	Off Reserve
Acadia	52	7	-	286
Afton	152	8	2	74
Annapolis Valley	91	5	5	66
Bear River	44	0	1	69
Chapel Island	167	0	1	51
Eskasoni	1418	6	10	164
Pictou Landing	179	3	4	79
Indian Brook (Shubenacadie)	607	9	12	335
Membertou (Sydney)	301	8	2	90
Millbrook (Truro)	234	0	1	143
Wagmatcook (Middle River)	252	8	0	42
Whycocomagh	<u>343</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>29</u>
Total	3,840	63	38	1,428

Source: Band Lists, 1976.

Table 2.2.2

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION LIVING ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Year	Percent
1965	79.9
1966	74.5
1967	72.2
1968	72.4
1969	72.0
1970	69.9
1971	70.2
1972	69.4
1973	69.7
1974	70.0
1975	70.3
1976	71.5

Source: Band Lists, 1965-1976.

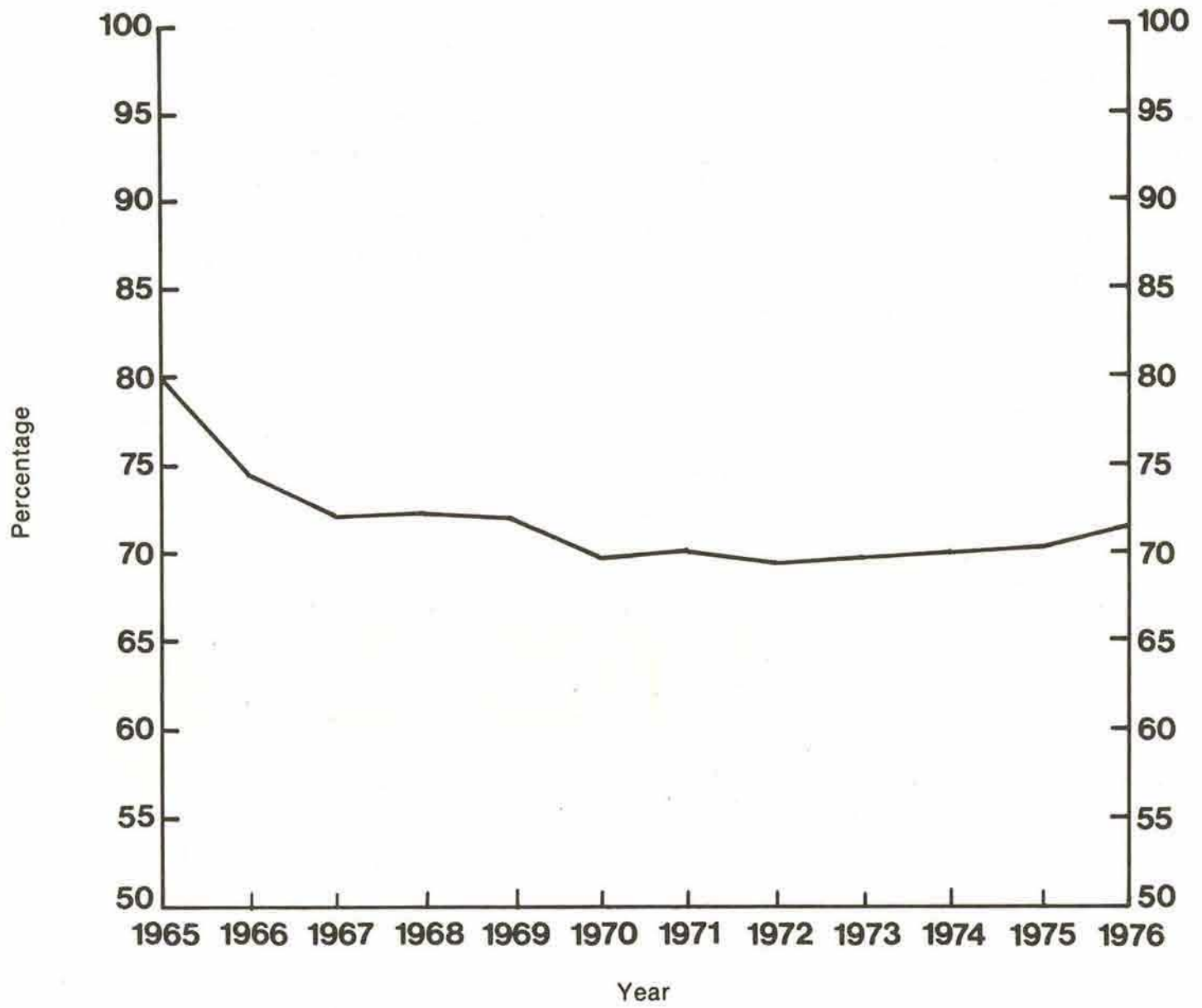


Figure 2.2.1.

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION LIVING ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Table 2.2.3

MALE/FEMALE DISTRIBUTION, ON AND OFF RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Year	On Reserve		Off Reserve		Total	
	Percent Males	Percent Females	Percent Males	Percent Females	Percent Males	Percent Females
1965	50.9	49.1	54.3	45.7	51.8	48.2
1966	51.4	48.6	51.9	48.1	51.6	48.4
1967	51.4	48.6	51.5	48.5	51.4	48.6
1968	51.2	48.8	51.0	49.0	51.1	48.9
1969	51.3	48.7	49.6	50.4	50.8	49.2
1970	51.3	48.7	49.6	50.4	50.8	49.2
1971	51.1	48.9	49.7	50.3	50.7	49.3
1972	51.7	48.3	48.4	51.6	50.7	49.3
1973	51.7	48.3	47.7	52.3	50.5	49.5
1974	51.6	48.4	47.8	52.2	50.5	49.5
1975	51.2	48.8	48.5	51.5	50.4	49.6
1976	51.2	48.8	47.9	52.1	50.3	49.7

Source: Band Lists, 1965-1976.

Table 2.2.4

MALES AND FEMALES OFF RESERVE AS A
 PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MALES AND FEMALES,
 ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Year	Males Off Reserve as Percentage of Total Males	Females Off Reserve as Percentage of Total Females
1965	20.9	18.9
1966	25.6	25.3
1967	27.8	27.7
1968	27.6	27.7
1969	27.4	28.7
1970	29.4	30.9
1971	29.3	30.4
1972	29.3	32.0
1973	28.6	32.0
1974	28.4	31.6
1975	28.5	30.8
1976	27.2	29.8

Source: Band Lists, 1965-1976.

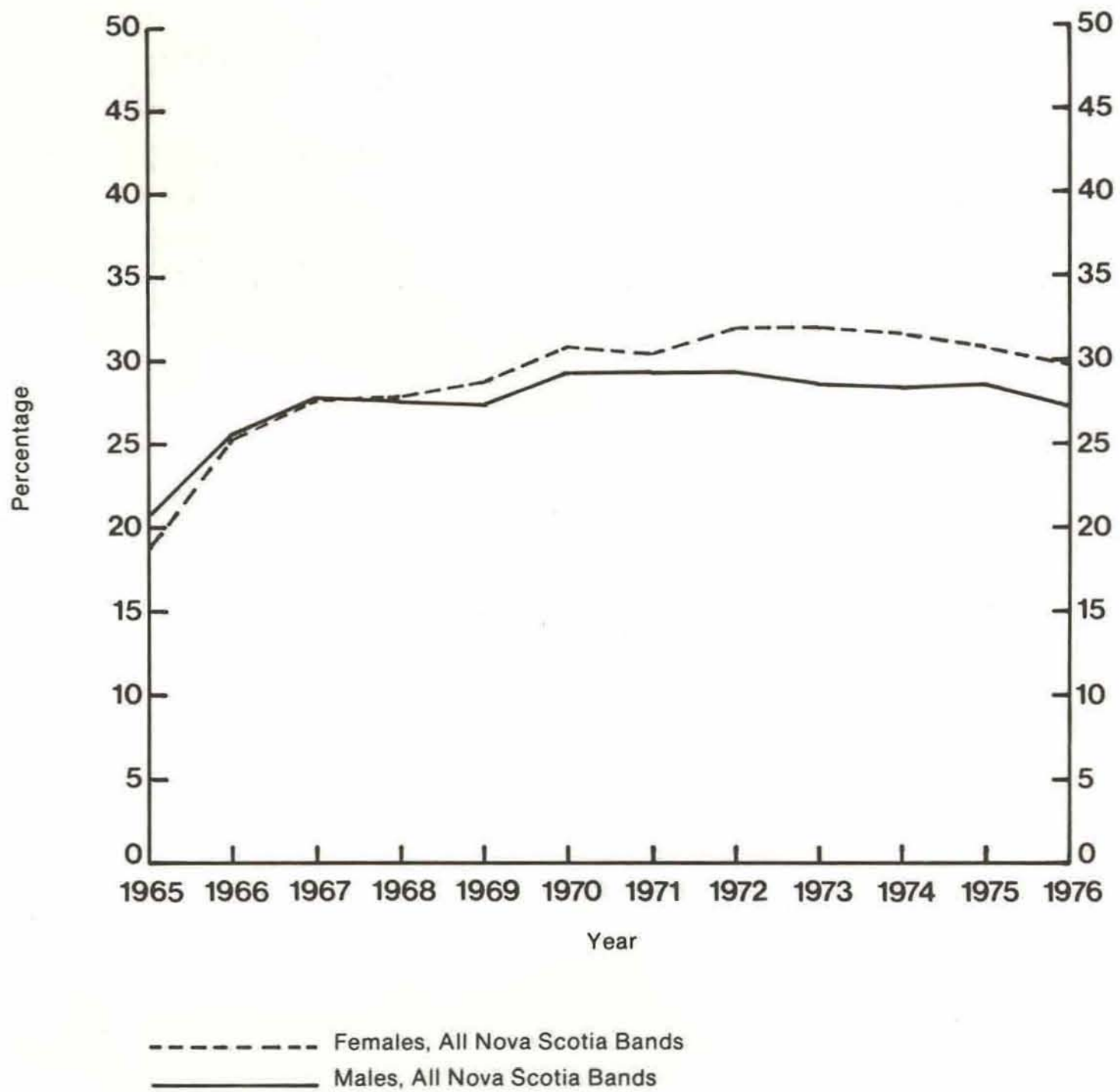


Figure 2.2.2

PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES OFF RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Table 2.2.5

PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES OFF RESERVE*
 BY AGE GROUP, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1976

Age	Males			Females		
	Total No.	No. Off Reserve	Percentage Off Reserve	Total No.	No. Off Reserve	Percentage Off Reserve
0-4 yrs.	239	29	12.1	226	21	9.2
5-9	357	62	17.4	364	51	14.0
10-14	264	64	18.9	346	69	19.9
15-19	317	59	18.6	288	53	18.4
20-24	270	53	19.6	294	76	25.9
25-29	229	57	24.9	244	96	39.3
30-34	181	76	42.0	185	91	49.2
35-39	168	58	34.5	153	74	48.4
40-44	146	56	38.4	130	63	48.5
45-49	98	39	39.8	98	43	43.9
50-54	83	30	36.1	79	22	27.8
55-59	72	26	36.1	64	20	31.3
60-64	58	15	25.9	55	16	29.1
65-69	46	16	34.8	55	13	23.6
70+	94	44	46.8	85	38	44.7
Not stated	2	1	-	6	1	-
Band Total	2698	685	25.4	2672	747	28.0

*The "Off Reserve" category in this table excludes those living on Crown Land and on another band's reserve.

Source: Band Lists, 1976.

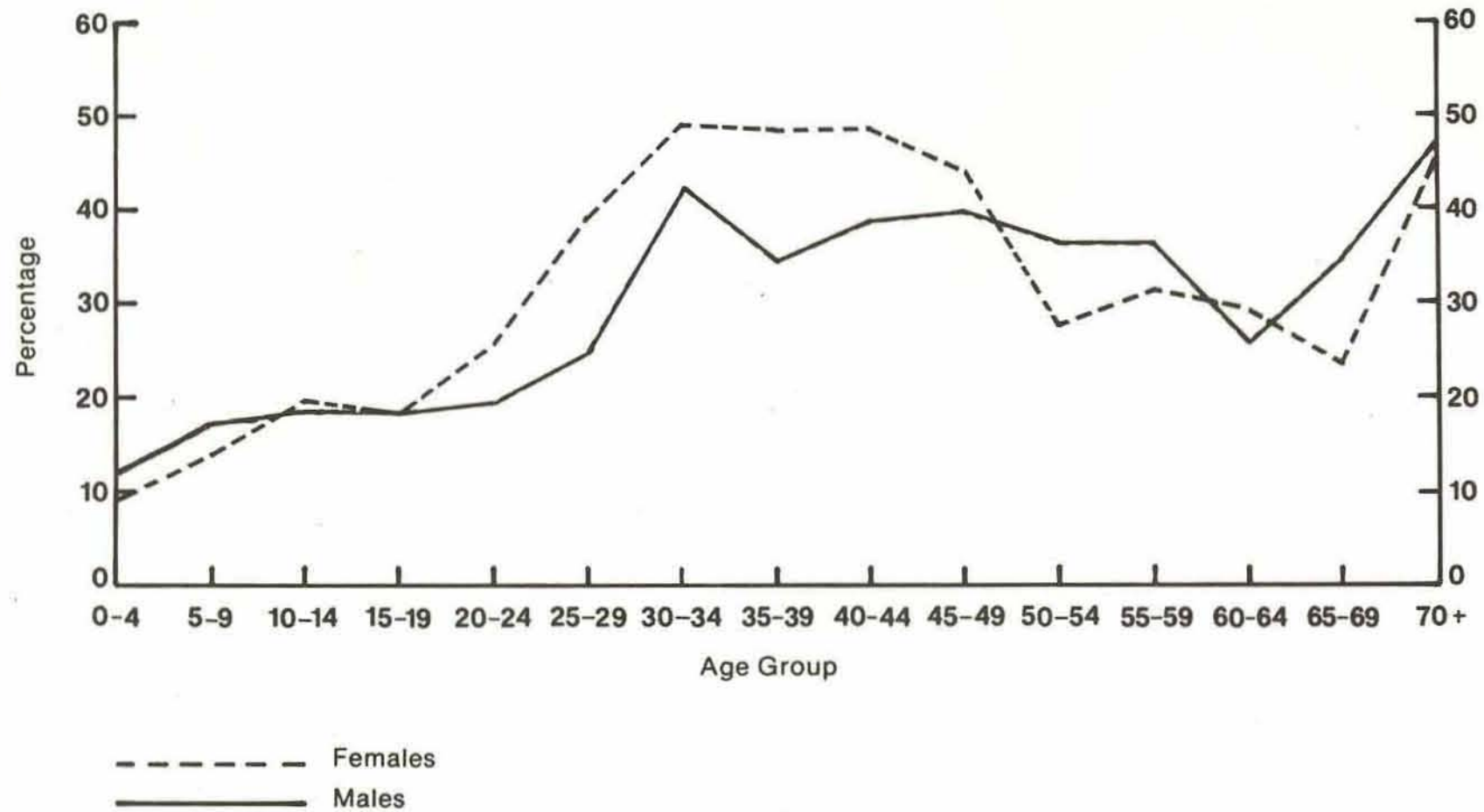


Figure 2.2.3

PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES OFF RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Table 2.2.6

LOCATION OF RESIDENCE IN 1975
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS

Location	Percent
On reserve	67.5
Off reserve	
In Nova Scotia	8.2
Atlantic region, Outside Nova Scotia	0.4
Ontario	1.5
Quebec	0.3
Other Canada	0.3
New England and Other U.S.A.	21.7
Other	<u>0.1</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(2621)
Location Unknown	(383)

Source: I.P.A. data base (population 15 yrs of age and over, and not in public or high school).

2.3 The Age Structure of the Population

The high population growth rate among Micmacs is reflected in the very high proportion of the population under 15 years of age. Table 2.3.1 gives the age distribution of the on reserve population for all Nova Scotia bands and for the total provincial population (including non-Indians) for 1971. The figures show that the Micmac population is much younger than that of the province as a whole; for example, 45.4 percent of the Micmac on reserve population was under 15 years of age in 1971, compared with only 30.5 percent of the entire Nova Scotia population. The latter has much higher percentages in the middle and older age groups.

This has meant that the band councils and staff have had to face the fact of very high numbers of young people moving into the labour force, seeking jobs and housing that all too often were not available to them because of the constraints facing band councils in these areas. We will see later that the result is in part a very high unemployment rate among those in the younger age groups.

Tables 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 provide more detailed information on the age distribution for all Nova Scotia bands in the period 1965 to 1976. Two further points are worth underlining. First, the off reserve Micmac population has generally had a much lower proportion of young people than the on reserve group (in the 0 to 14 age group 22.9 percent as compared with 39.7 percent for those living on reserves in 1976). Secondly, the high proportion of young people is declining gradually, a trend that is particularly noticeable for the on reserve population. Table 2.3.2 reveals, for example, that the 0 to 14 age group reached a peak of 46.6 percent of the population in 1970, but has declined since then to a 1976 level of 39.7 percent. This trend will

probably continue and will mean that the band councils will increasingly have to pay attention to the needs of an older population.

One way of summarizing these figures is to calculate what is known as dependency ratios. The term refers essentially to the extent to which the population in the most productive age range (usually considered to be 15 to 64 years) has to support the population of very young and very old people who are dependent on them. The ratio is calculated by dividing the population aged 0 to 14 years and over 64 years by the population aged 15 to 64 years. Again, the tables indicate the points made above: a very high dependency ratio, especially for the on-reserve population; in fact in some years there are more dependants than there are people to support them (that is, a ratio above 1.0). Although the dependency ratio is much lower for the off-reserve population, it is also evident that the ratio has been declining among those living on reserve (Table 2.3.4). The results are shown in graph form in Figure 2.3.1.

Table 2.3.5 and Figure 2.3.2 give information for the youth dependency ratio, this time calculated by dividing the 0 to 19 age group by the 20 to 64 age group. Data included here are for the on-reserve population of all Nova Scotia bands. A figure is also available for 1971 for the entire Nova Scotia population, including non-Indians, and this indicates a dependency ratio that is just over half of the Micmac on-reserve figure.

Table 2.3.1

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS AND TOTAL
NOVA SCOTIA POPULATION, 1971
(Percent)

Age Category	All Nova Scotia Bands	Total Nova Scotia Population
0-14 years	45.4	30.5
15-19	13.1	10.2
20-24	9.2	8.7
25-34	10.2	12.1
35-44	7.5	10.3
45-54	6.0	10.4
55-64	4.9	8.7
65+	<u>3.8</u>	<u>9.2</u>
Total	100.1	100.1
(Number of cases)	(3354)	(788,960)

Source: Band lists for Nova Scotia; and Perspective Nova Scotia, Department of Development, Government of Nova Scotia.

Table 2.3.2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION ON RESERVE,
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976
(Percent)

Year	Age Categories								Total	
	0-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Percent	Number*
1965	44.8	12.0	8.7	12.8	7.7	6.2	4.2	3.6	100.0	(3197)
1966	46.3	12.1	7.8	11.4	7.7	6.2	4.6	3.9	100.0	(3091)
1967	46.0	12.5	7.9	11.0	7.8	6.4	4.6	3.8	100.0	(3077)
1968	44.9	12.8	8.4	11.1	7.5	6.7	4.6	4.0	100.0	(3185)
1969	45.6	12.4	8.8	10.0	7.7	6.7	5.0	3.8	100.0	(3250)
1970	46.6	12.3	8.9	9.6	7.8	6.4	4.6	3.8	100.0	(3241)
1971	45.4	13.1	9.2	10.2	7.5	6.0	4.9	3.8	100.1	(3354)
1972	44.6	12.8	9.6	10.8	7.5	5.9	5.0	3.8	100.0	(3388)
1973	43.5	12.1	10.5	11.3	7.9	5.7	4.9	4.1	100.0	(3472)
1974	41.9	12.1	10.4	12.1	8.7	5.8	4.7	4.3	100.0	(3599)
1975	41.0	12.5	10.4	12.7	8.9	5.8	4.5	4.2	100.0	(3688)
1976	39.7	12.4	11.1	13.2	8.9	5.9	4.4	4.4	100.0	(3834)

*The number of cases does not correspond exactly to those given in Table 2.1.1 because age-specific information is not available in a few instances.

Source: Band Lists, 1965-1976.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OFF RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976
(Percent)

Year	Age Categories								Total	
	0-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Percent	Number
1965	24.4	8.9	8.6	22.4	15.0	8.0	7.2	5.5	100.0	(787)
1966	23.0	9.0	11.6	24.0	13.9	8.1	5.8	4.6	100.0	(1,032)
1967	24.4	7.9	12.2	23.4	14.1	7.5	5.4	5.0	99.9	(1,161)
1968	24.4	7.1	12.5	22.3	14.9	7.3	6.2	5.3	100.0	(1,204)
1969	21.7	7.1	12.6	24.3	15.3	7.2	5.8	6.0	100.0	(1,259)
1970	20.2	8.3	11.9	24.5	15.9	7.5	5.5	6.0	99.8	(1,393)
1971	21.2	7.7	11.5	23.3	16.5	8.2	5.3	6.2	99.9	(1,421)
1972	21.1	8.3	10.7	22.8	16.5	8.7	5.3	6.5	99.9	(1,490)
1973	22.5	8.2	9.6	23.4	16.6	8.6	4.9	6.2	100.0	(1,502)
1974	25.1	8.5	8.6	22.9	16.0	8.2	4.9	5.7	99.9	(1,540)
1975	24.4	8.0	9.0	21.9	16.5	8.5	4.8	6.9	100.0	(1,556)
1976	22.9	8.4	9.0	21.7	16.8	8.7	5.2	7.3	100.0	(1,527)

*The number of cases does not correspond exactly to those given in Table 2.1.1 because age-specific information is not available in a few instances.

Source: Band Lists, 1965-1976.

Table 2.3.4

DEPENDENCY RATIO FOR POPULATION ON AND OFF RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Year	Dependency Ratio*		
	On Reserve	Off Reserve	Total Population
1965	0.94	0.43	0.81
1966	1.01	0.38	0.80
1967	0.99	0.42	0.79
1968	0.95	0.42	0.77
1969	0.98	0.38	0.77
1970	1.02	0.36	0.76
1971	0.97	0.38	0.75
1972	0.94	0.38	0.73
1973	0.91	0.40	0.72
1974	0.86	0.45	0.71
1975	0.83	0.45	0.70
1976	0.79	0.43	0.67

*Dependency Ratio = $\frac{\text{Population less than 15 and more than 64 years}}{\text{Population aged 15-64 years}}$

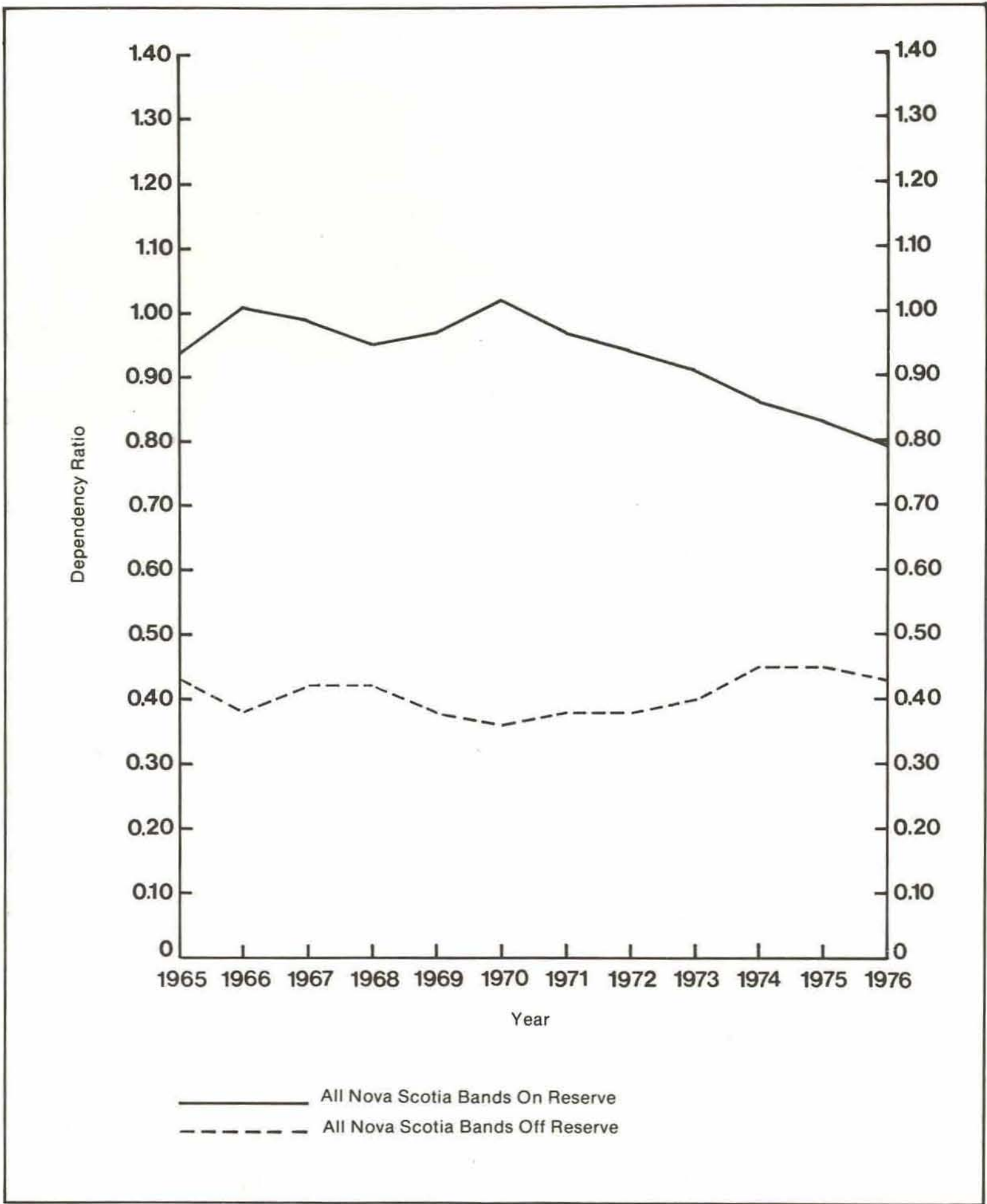


Figure 2.3.1

DEPENDENCY RATIO FOR POPULATION ON AND OFF RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

Table 2.3.5

YOUTH DEPENDENCY RATIO FOR THE POPULATION ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976, AND TOTAL
NOVA SCOTIA POPULATION, 1971

Year	On Reserve All N.S. Bands	Total N.S. Population
1965	1.43	----
1966	1.55	----
1967	1.56	----
1968	1.50	----
1969	1.52	----
1970	1.58	----
1971	1.55	0.81
1972	1.48	----
1973	1.38	----
1974	1.29	----
1975	1.26	----
1976	1.20	----

Youth Dependency Ratio = $\frac{\text{Persons aged 0-19 years}}{\text{Persons aged 20-64 years}}$

Source: Band lists for Nova Scotia, 1965-1976; and Nova Scotia Department of Development, Perspective Nova Scotia, n.d.

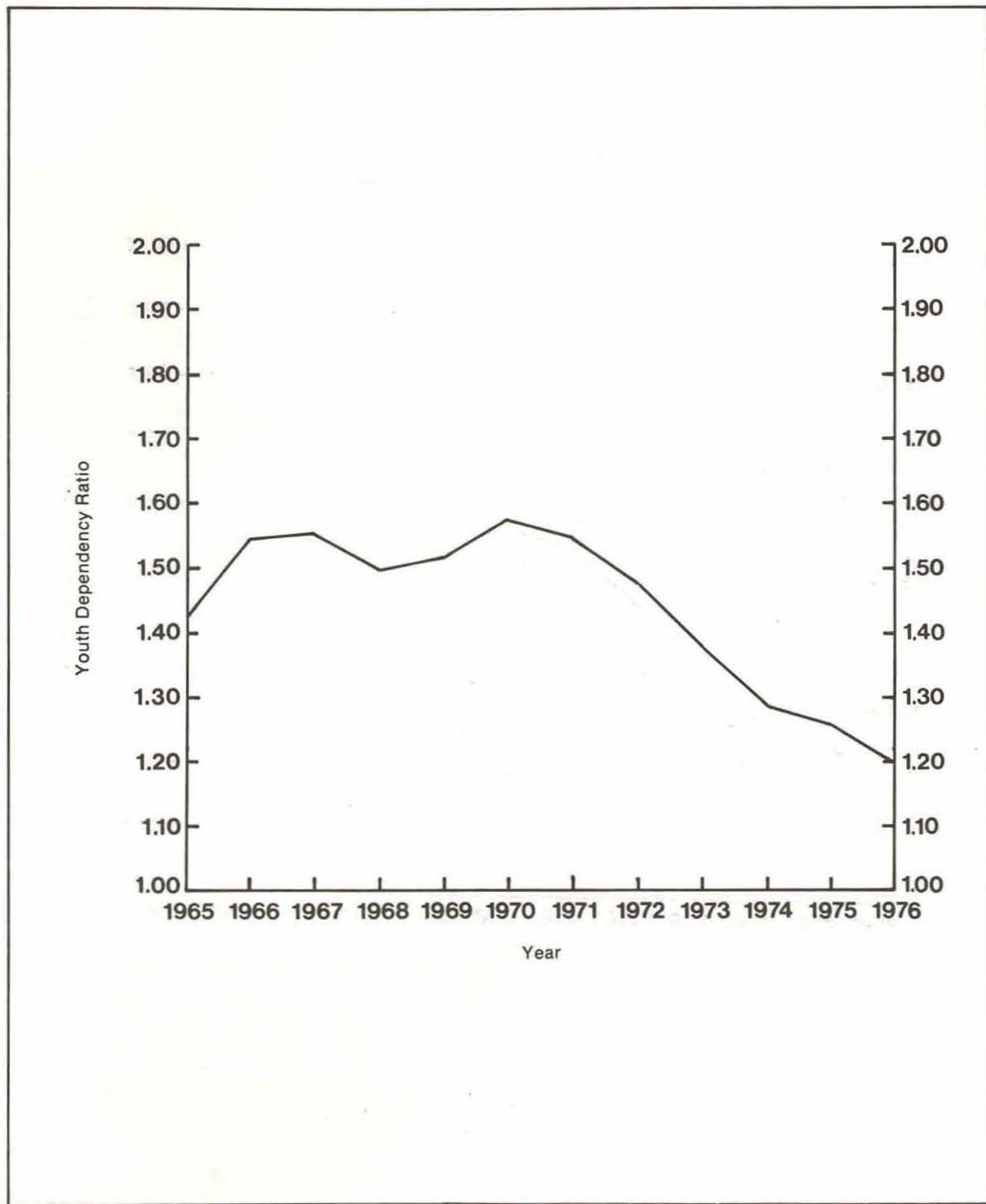


Figure 2.3.2

YOUTH DEPENDENCY RATIO FOR THE POPULATION ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1965-1976

3. COMPARATIVE EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

This section presents a detailed description of employment patterns among those living on the reserves of the province and makes comparisons to those living off reserve but still in Nova Scotia. It also includes tables that provide other comparisons - between males and females, for example, and between different age groups.

As mentioned in the introduction, the employment information was collected for the 1975/76 period by the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) using a specially designed form (see Figure 1.1). A word should be included here on the completeness and accuracy of this data base on employment patterns. The band lists indicate that there were 2179 persons living on reserve in Nova Scotia who were 15 years of age and over. The IPA study identified 1767 individuals on reserve who were 15 years of age and over and out of the elementary and secondary school system. It can be assumed that almost all of the on reserve persons not included in the IPA study, but listed on the band lists, were students who were still in the regular school system. Employment information was obtained on all but five of the 1767 individuals. Among those living off reserve but still in Nova Scotia, 213 adult individuals were identified and employment information was obtained on all but 30. There are an additional 1025 adult individuals on the band lists and in the IPA data base who, from all accounts, are residing outside the province, although in one-third of these cases the location outside Nova Scotia cannot be specified. Employment-related information has been obtained on 210 of the group living outside Nova Scotia. It is concluded that the figures for

those on and off reserve in Nova Scotia are quite complete, and it is these figures that are reported in this section. The information on those who have left the province can only provide an indication of the type of employment found by these individuals, and this will be reported at a later date.

With regard to the accuracy of the employment information, there appear to be few standards against which the information can be tested. The census, for example, is not comparable because it includes non-status Indians as well as those on the band lists. An indication of the problems encountered by the census is the allocation of fully 23 percent of employed native Indians in the Atlantic Provinces to a residual category called "occupations not elsewhere classified and not stated"; in the case of the data collected in the IPA project, only 0.3 percent fall in this category. The IPA data were collected with great attention to detail and were extensively checked for accuracy over a three and a half year period. Information that was judged to be questionable for certain reserves, such as that pertaining to the language used at home and at work, has not been included in the profile, but the necessary corrections will be made and the results reported at a later date.

3.1 The On Reserve Populations All Nova Scotia Bands

This section will describe the employment pattern of those living on the twelve reserves in the province. The reader should keep in mind that the population examined in these tables is that 15 years of age and over, and out of the elementary and secondary school systems.

Some background information on the male/female composition, the age and the education of the adult population

living on the reserve will first be presented. In Section 2.2 it was established that there were more males than females on reserve in the province, and this pattern is confirmed for the adult population reported in Table 3.1.1. Table 3.1.2 gives the age distribution of the adult on reserve population, revealing an average age of 37.4 years. Table 3.1.3 gives the educational level for those living on reserves in the province; for this adult out-of-school population, the average number of years of education attained is 7.3 years.

Table 3.1.4 provides a listing of the various kinds of vocational training courses that Micmac in the province have undertaken, usually through the Department of Manpower. It should be stressed, however, that this list is not complete; it only gives an idea of the range of courses that have been taken. Had each individual person been asked for this information, a much longer list would have resulted.

We come now to some conclusions about the employment status for those on reserve for all of Nova Scotia. It should be kept in mind that only the 1975-76 period is being dealt with; as mentioned above, this was a relatively good year for Micmac employment in the province because of several economic development projects being constructed on various reserves.

To begin, the labour force status of each person on the band list at the time when the information was being collected was asked. For the provincial Micmac population as a whole, the data collection period ran from February 1976 through August of the same year. If all adult members of the population are taken into consideration, the results shown in Table 3.1.5 are obtained. It should be mentioned that a person was considered to be in the labour force if he/she was

either employed or unemployed, according to our sources of information. It is reasonable to assume that a person classed as unemployed in this manner would be working if jobs were available, and therefore that this definition of the labour force is an improvement on that used by Statistics Canada. The latter essentially defines the labour force as those who say they are working or, if not, who are actively looking for work.⁷ This conception, however, leaves out the discouraged worker who has given up searching for jobs because they are simply not available.

In any case, the figures in Table 3.1.5 indicate that some 61 percent of all adult on reserve residents could be considered to be in the labour force at the time when the information was collected in the first half of 1976. The figures in Table 3.1.6 give a similar picture, except that the time period is all of 1975 and the figures cover all those who, at any time during the year, were in the labour force, so the percentage in the labour force is somewhat higher.

Attempting now to determine what proportion of those in the labour force were unemployed at the time the information was collected, it is found that the unemployed greatly outnumber those with jobs. For all on reserve residents in the province, fully two-thirds of those in the labour force in the first half of 1976 were unemployed (Table 3.1.7). While it should be kept in mind that these figures reflect a

⁷The full Statistics Canada definition of the labour force is as follows: "non-inmates 15 years and over who, in the week prior to enumeration, worked for pay or profit, helped in unpaid family work, looked for work, were on temporary lay-off, or had jobs from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, vacation, strike, and so forth. Persons doing housework in their own home or volunteer work only are excluded from the labour force . . ." (Statistics Canada, Catalogue 94-786).

reading taken at one point in time and thus include a measure of seasonal unemployment, the figures also clearly indicate the very limited employment opportunities available on most reserves. It will be seen in Section 3.6 that the comparable figure for the entire Nova Scotia labour force ranged between 8.8 and 10.3 percent unemployed in the first half of 1976.

In addition to asking about employment at one point in time, an attempt was made to piece together the employment picture for a whole year for each individual, thereby allowing some discussion of seasonal work, shifts from one job to another, and so on. With this information, it is possible to distinguish among those with regular employment during all of 1975, those with irregular work (usually seasonal jobs, plus a period on social assistance), and those who are unemployed for the full year. The results for the on reserve labour force during 1975 are given in Table 3.1.8. They show that about 25 percent of the residents had regular employment during 1975, another 37 percent had irregular work, and 39 percent of the labour force was unemployed year-round.

In a situation where there are only a few regular jobs available, and not nearly enough to employ all of the labour force, some members of the population will have a competitive advantage over others in obtaining the better jobs available. Family connections may well be important, for example, and it will be shown in Section 3.3 that age is a factor, with young people just entering the labour force having little leverage to obtain these jobs. In Table 3.1.9, it becomes clear that educational level plays a role as well in allocating people to jobs; those with the best levels of education have a better chance of obtaining the regular jobs, while those with lower levels are more likely to have irregular work or to be unemployed.

Figures on the receipt of social assistance for the on reserve populations are now examined. The figures should be used with caution, however, because this kind of information is better collected directly through interviews, or from official records, than in an indirect manner. It was also a difficult variable to code accurately. Nevertheless, the broad patterns reported in the following tables are consistent with the employment and other information that has been collected.

Clearly, with such high levels of unemployment on most reserves, both seasonal and long-term, it will not be surprising to find substantial use of social assistance payments in order to maintain a minimum income. Table 3.1.10 indicates that if all forms of social assistance are considered, including old age pensions, close to 64 percent of the adult population on reserve in the province are dependent on these payments to some degree.

The figures in Table 3.1.11 deal only with those who received social assistance during 1975. The type of social assistance being used is shown, and the table reveals in particular the fact that among those receiving social assistance on all Nova Scotia reserves the most common type for the on reserve population is welfare support from Indian Affairs. The next largest category is old age pensions, followed by UIC payments.

This brings us, finally, to a discussion of the employment patterns among those who, in 1975, had paid jobs for at least a part of the year. Some 39 percent of the total adult population on reserve had some employment during 1975. Focusing on this employed segment of the population and leaving aside, for now, those who were unemployed year round, housewives, the retired, and so forth, an idea of the occupations that the employed group was involved in can be

obtained from Table 3.1.12. This table reports the occupations given as the main job for 1975.⁸

Those on reserve residents who were employed in 1975 tended to be concentrated particularly in occupations such as carpentry, drywalling, plumbing, and other trades involved in the construction and the repair of buildings. Construction occupations accounted for over a third of all jobs held by reserve residents. Other male occupations included school bus and taxi driving, work as woodsmen and fishermen, in saw-mills, and in administrative work for band councils and other organizations. The women who were employed were found in occupations such as teacher's aides, educational and social counselling, domestic and chambermaid occupations, secretarial work, and employment as sales clerks. Both men and women were found in handicraft production.

The heavy involvement of reserve residents in construction work, in fishing, and in forestry occupations helps to explain the high proportion of seasonal employment on most Nova Scotia reserves (Table 3.1.13). More regular employment is found in white collar occupations such as managerial/administrative work, social welfare occupations, teaching, clerical or sales occupations, and in transportation.⁹

⁸In addition, some 15 percent of those with jobs in 1975 in the province reported having a second job during the year, whether held at the same time or at different periods in the year. The number of persons with three jobs in 1975 was quite small. With further analysis of the data, it will be possible to say something about seasonal shifts in employment at a later date.

⁹The occupations in the previous tables have been grouped into broad categories for purposes of comparison, but the information collected on occupations is quite detailed and is available for all Micmac residing in Nova Scotia during 1975. An attempt was made in collecting the information to include "non-official" jobs such as handicraft work in the home or travelling to Maine for the harvesting of berries and vegetables. Although this attempt was partially successful, there are still gaps to be filled.

There was no attempt to collect information on a person's income, but it is possible to obtain an idea of the rewards from employment by examining the occupations involved. All occupations in Canada have been ranked in a rough way according to the level of income, education and prestige associated with each. This ranking, known as the Blishen score, has values from 1 to 500; occupations deemed to have high educational requirements, income and status receive the smaller numbers. In Table 3.1.14 the Blishen scores for the occupations held by those living on all Nova Scotia reserves are reported.

In the remaining tables, emphasis shifts away from what the individual person does - his/her occupation, employment status, education level, and so forth - and focuses more on the kind of employer the person works for. The industry of the employer is the first characteristic to be examined. The term "industry of the employer" directs attention to the kind of product or service provided by the business in which the person is employed. Thus, if a person drives a truck for a large farm his occupation would be truck driver, but the industry in which he works would be agriculture. Table 3.1.15 gives the industry breakdown for the on reserve population for all Nova Scotia bands. Again, the concentration of the employed population in the construction industry is evident. Other important industries were public administration, community and personal services, fishing and forestry.¹⁰

To capture more closely the reality of Indian employment patterns in Nova Scotia, however, it is necessary to depart

¹⁰As with occupations, a detailed listing of the industries in which the Micmac population of Nova Scotia is employed is also available.

from the standard classification schemes of occupation and industry and ask other questions about the type of employer.

In Table 3.1.16, data are presented on the kind of employer reserve residents are dependent upon - private business, cooperatives, band councils, community organizations, and so on. What is striking about the figures for all Nova Scotia bands is the importance of LIP projects, of band council employment, and of work for community and minority organizations. Together these account for 43 percent of all jobs for all reserve residents in the province. If all types of government-dependent employment are added together, and if employment for cooperatives is generously assumed to be in the private sector (those we are acquainted with rely heavily on government developmental funds), 46 percent of all employed reserve residents in the province are directly dependent upon government support for their employment. Thus, when the private sector contributes only about half of the jobs available to the residents of the reserves, these communities are particularly vulnerable to shifts in government policy.

Table 3.1.17 indicates that, for the province as a whole, it was the band council and community/minority organizations that were more likely to provide year-round regular employment during 1975. The LIP projects and the largely fishing and forestry-related cooperative projects provided for the most part irregular, seasonal work in that year. The private sector provided a fairly even mix of both regular and irregular employment.

While ultimately the federal government directly controls close to 50 percent of Micmac employment in Nova Scotia, and indirectly an additional amount, it is clear from Table 3.1.18 that at least the immediate employer for almost all those who are working is of Micmac origin. Among the

employed on reserve residents of the province, for example, 90 percent work for employers of Micmac origin such as the band council, the UNSI, the drywall companies, and so on.

Table 3.1.19 provides information on the individual's position within the employing organization - whether he/she is in an ownership or managerial category, self-employed, or an employee. At the provincial level, on reserve residents have close to three quarters of their members in the employee category; one fifth, or 20 percent, are self-employed, and 5.5 percent are owners or managers. The self-employed include taxi and truck drivers, drywall sub-contractors, tradesmen, handicraft producers, woodsmen and small store owners.

The final table in this series, Table 3.1.20, simply indicates the extent to which the group under discussion in this section works in its community of residence or travels outside for employment. It tells us that 86 percent of all reserve residents were, in 1975, employed on their respective reserves.

Table 3.1.1

MALE/FEMALE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADULT POPULATION
ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1975

Male/Female	Percent
Male	52.4
Female	<u>47.6</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1766)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADULT POPULATION
ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1975

Age	Number	Percent
Ages 15-24	497	28.1
Ages 25-34	450	25.5
Ages 35-44	308	17.4
Ages 45-54	197	11.1
Ages 55-64	156	8.8
Ages 65 and over	<u>159</u>	<u>9.0</u>
Total	1767	99.9
Average Age:	37.4 years	

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.3

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ADULT POPULATION
ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1976

Level of Education	Percent
Grade 6 or less	29.7
Grade 7 thru 9	49.3
Grade 10 thru 13	17.9
Post-secondary	<u>3.1</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1767)
Average Years of Education:	7.3 years

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.4

VOCATIONAL COURSES TAKEN BY THE
MICMAC IN NOVA SCOTIA*

Vocational Course	Number	Percent
Manpower Upgrading	106	27.5
Clerk	2	0.5
Clerk Typist	5	1.3
Bookkeeper	1	0.3
Stenographer	5	1.3
Secretary	44	11.4
Keypunch Operator	3	0.8
Certified Nursing Assistant	4	1.0
Hairdressing	11	2.9
Heavy Duty Equipment Operator	4	1.0
Crafts	29	7.5
Teacher's Aide	15	3.9
Woodworking	2	0.5
Painting	4	1.0
Bricklaying	2	0.5
Carpentry	60	15.6
Electrical Construction	2	0.5
Cooking	13	3.4
Machinist	1	0.3
Motor Vehicle Auto Body Repair	6	1.6
Motor Vehicle Mechanic	7	1.8
Oil Burner Repair	2	0.5
Plumbing	1	0.3
Sheet Metal Worker	1	0.3
Pipe Fitting	1	0.3

Vocational Course	Number	Percent
Welder	12	3.1
Upholstering	3	0.8
Electronic Engineer	1	0.3
Social Welfare Work	2	0.5
Meat Cutting	3	0.8
Accounting	2	0.5
Business Administration	5	1.3
Drafting	2	0.5
Retail Merchandising	5	1.3
R.C.M.P.	1	0.3
Truck Driver	3	0.8
Radar Technician	1	0.3
Small Motor Repair	2	0.5
Bartender	4	1.0
Modelling	1	0.3
Chambermaid	2	0.5
Managers Course	1	0.3
Counsellor	1	0.3
Water Commissioner Training	1	0.3
Vocational, not-defined	<u>2</u>	<u>0.5</u>
Total	385	100.2

*This is a listing of the range of courses taken; it is not a comprehensive list of all courses ever taken by the population.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.5

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE ADULT POPULATION ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, AT ONE POINT IN TIME
DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1976

Labour Force Status	Percent
In the Labour Force	60.8
Housewife	26.1
Retired	9.3
In School*	1.4
Disabled	1.8
Other	<u>0.6</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1767)

*The "in school" category includes students taking vocational courses and those involved in post-secondary programs. It does not include those enrolled in elementary and secondary schools.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.6

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE ADULT POPULATION
ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS
DURING THE YEAR 1975

Labour Force Status	Percent
In the Labour Force	64.0
Housewife	24.3
Retired	8.7
In school*	1.6
Disabled	<u>1.4</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1762)

*The "in school" category includes students taking vocational courses and those involved in post-secondary programs. It does not include those enrolled in elementary and secondary schools.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.7

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, AT ONE POINT IN TIME
DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1976

Employment Status	Percent
Employed	33.6
Unemployed	<u>66.4</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1075)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.8

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS
FOR THE YEAR 1975

Employment Status	Percent
Regular Employment*	24.7
Irregular Employment**	36.8
Unemployed Year-round	38.5
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1130)

*Regular employment refers to reasonably steady work through the year, although not necessarily at one job or full time.

**Irregular employment implies seasonal work or work combined with other activities; e.g., as a student or housewife. It usually involves some reliance on social assistance during periods of underemployment.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.9

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ON RESERVE, BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS,
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1975
(Percent)

Educational Level	Regular Employment	Irregular Employment	Unemployed Year-round
Grade 6 or less	8.0	27.0	22.0
Grade 7 thru 9	42.7	51.4	65.1
Grade 10 thru 13	42.0	18.0	11.8
Post-secondary	7.3	3.7	1.0
Total	100.0	100.1	99.9
(Number of cases)	(274)	(411)	(433)
Average Years of Education	9.4 years	7.5 years	7.4 years

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.10

EXTENT OF RELIANCE ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AMONG
THE ADULT POPULATION ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1975
(Percent)

Social Assistance Status	Percent
No Reliance on Social Assistance	35.9
Use of Social Assistance	<u>64.1</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1759)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.11

TYPE OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE USED BY THE ADULT POPULATION
ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1975

Type of Social Assistance	Percent
Unemployment Insurance	8.8
Old Age Pensions	16.3
Provincial/Municipal Welfare	5.4
I.A.B. Welfare	65.0
I.A.B. Educational Assistance	1.9
Combinations	<u>2.6</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1127)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.12

OCCUPATIONS* OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1975
(Percent)

Occupational Group**	Percent
Managerial, Administrative and Related	6.8
Natural Sciences, Engineering and Math	0.1
Social Sciences and Related	4.5
Teaching and Related	3.0
Medicine and Health	0.1
Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts and Related	0.6
Sport and Recreation	0.3
Clerical and Related	6.2
Sales	4.0
Service	9.7
Farming, Horticultural, and Animal Husbandry	0.1
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related	7.1
Forestry and Logging	7.4
Processing	3.0
Machining and Related	0.9
Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	6.0
Construction Trades	33.8
Transport Equipment Operating	5.1
Material Handling and Related	0.1
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	0.7
Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified	0.3
Total	99.8
(Number of cases)	(690)

*These figures include only the individuals' main job in 1975. The second or third occupations for persons with more than one job in 1975 are not reported here, but are available upon request.

**The classification scheme used for occupations is that provided by the Canadian Classification Dictionary of Occupations (Information Canada, 1974). Occupations were coded at the 4 digit level and are reported here according to the 2 digit grouping.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.13

OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE, BY
EMPLOYMENT STATUS, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1975
(Percent)

Occupational Group	Regular Employment	Irregular Employment
Managerial, Administrative and Related	9.7	4.9
Natural Sciences, Engineering and Math	0.4	-
Social Sciences and Related	8.3	1.7
Teaching and Related	6.5	0.5
Medicine and Health	0.4	-
Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts and Related	0.7	0.5
Sport and Recreation	0.7	-
Clerical and Related	9.7	4.0
Sales	6.5	2.4
Service	12.6	7.4
Farming, Horticultural, and Animal Husbandry	-	0.2
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related	2.9	10.4
Forestry and Logging	0.4	12.3
Processing	4.7	2.0
Machining and Related	1.4	0.5
Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	4.7	6.2
Construction Trades	20.9	43.2
Transport Equipment Operating	7.6	3.2
Material Handling and Related	0.4	-
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	1.4	0.2
Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified	-	0.2
Total	99.9	99.8
(Number of cases)	(277)	(405)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.14

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT
 LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE (BLISHEN RANKINGS)
 ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, MAIN JOB IN 1975

Blishen Score	Percent
001 to 125	13.2
126 to 250	11.4
251 to 375	15.3
376 to 500	<u>60.0</u>
Total	99.9
(Number of cases)	(687)
Average Blishen Score:	343.9

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.15

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE IS EMPLOYED, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS
MAIN JOB IN 1975

Industry*	Percent
Agriculture	0.3
Forestry	7.4
Fishing and Trapping	8.1
Manufacturing Industries	7.1
Construction Industry	31.7
Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities	5.7
Trade	6.5
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	0.1
Community, Business, and Personal Service Industries	15.3
Public Administration and Defence	<u>17.7</u>
Total	99.9
(Number of cases)	(688)

*Industries are coded and grouped into categories according to the Standard Industrial Classification system, as reported in the Standard Industrial Classification Manual, Information Canada, Ottawa, 1970 (Catalogue No. 12-501).

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.16

TYPE OF EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS
MAIN JOB IN 1975

Type of Employer	Percent
Department of Indian Affairs	0.7
Armed Forces	0.1
LIP and Related Projects	20.3
Other Federal Government	0.6
Provincial Government	0.4
Municipal Government	0.1
Band Council	16.9
Private Business	42.7
Cooperatives	11.6
Community and Minority Organizations	5.3
Educational Institutions	0.3
Health Institutions	0.1
Crown Corporations	0.4
Other	<u>0.3</u>
Total	99.8
(Number of cases)	(688)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.17

TYPE OF EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1975
(Percent)

Type of Employer	Regular Employment	Irregular Employment
Department of Indian Affairs	1.5	0.2
Armed Forces	0.4	-
LIP and Related Projects	5.5	30.8
Other Federal Government	1.1	0.2
Provincial Government	0.4	0.5
Municipal Government	0.4	-
Band Council	30.2	8.1
Private Business	44.4	41.1
Cooperatives	8.7	13.8
Community and Minority Organizations	7.3	3.4
Educational Institutions	-	0.5
Health Institutions	0.4	-
Crown Corporations	-	0.7
Other	-	0.5
Total	100.3	99.8
(Number of cases)	(275)	(406)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.18

ETHNICITY OF THE EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR
FORCE ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS
MAIN JOB IN 1975

Employer Ethnicity	Percent
Micmac Origin	90.0
Majority Group Origin	<u>10.0</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(688)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.19

EMPLOYER/EMPLOYEE STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR
FORCE ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS
MAIN JOB IN 1975

Employer/Employee Status	Percent
Owner or Manager	5.5
Self-employed	20.1
Employee	<u>74.4</u>
Total	100.0
(Number of cases)	(688)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.1.20

LOCATION OF WORK FOR THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ON RESERVE, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS
MAIN JOB IN 1975

Location of Work	Percent
On the Reserve	86.4
In the Immediate Area (within ten miles)	9.7
Other Nova Scotia	3.6
Other	<u>0.2</u>
Total	99.9
(Number of cases)	(691)

Source: IPA Data Base.

3.2 The On and Off Reserve Population All Nova Scotia Bands

This section will focus primarily on the total on reserve adult population in comparison with those living off reserve, but still residing in Nova Scotia. Some information is on record regarding those who have left the province but, given the large number of individuals for whom no information is available if they have left Nova Scotia, this provides no more than an indication of what the patterns are.

It has been remarked earlier that the more usual pattern when people leave the reserve is to move entirely outside the province. The band list information presented above (Table 2.1.1, p.13) shows a total of some 1,558 individuals living off reserve in 1975, while the IPA data base records 213 adults (or approximately 400 persons when those under 15 years of age are added) living off reserve in Nova Scotia. Thus only about a quarter of those living off reserve remain in the province. For this group, our information base is much more complete.

The background characteristics of the off reserve Micmac population living in the province (to avoid repetition this will usually be called the off reserve group) will first be examined. Consistent with the results reported in Section 2.2 above, there are more females than males living off reserve in the province (Table 3.2.1), suggesting again that women are more likely to leave the reserve than men.

From figures presented earlier, it was clear how much younger the on reserve population is on average than the off reserve. Looking at the adult population, however, there is little difference in their age structure (Table 3.2.2). Thus, the lower average age of the on reserve population is explained by the large number of young children on the

reserve. This in turn is due either to the on reserve women having a larger number of children, on average, than do off reserve women, or to the latter leaving some of their children to be raised on the reserve by relatives. Probably both explanations are valid. Within the adult population, it was thought that it would be the younger elements that would move off the reserve to seek better opportunities, but this appears not to be the case, at least for those who move off reserve and stay in Nova Scotia.

It is clear from Table 3.2.3, however, that those who move off the reserve but stay in Nova Scotia have considerably higher levels of education than those who stay on the reserve. Almost half (48.9 percent) have Grade 10 or better, compared to only 21 percent for the on reserve population. The difference is particularly striking at the senior high school and post-secondary level, although it should be noted that some of this group are university and other students attending schools and living off the reserve who would return to their reserve communities upon the completion of their program.

Turning to the labour force status of the two groups, substantial differences are evident, as shown in Table 3.2.4. Those living off reserve during 1975 had a somewhat lower percentage of their adult population in the labour force at some point during the year - 55 percent compared to 64 percent. There appears to be two reasons for this. One is that, as mentioned above, the off reserve group has a higher proportion of students. It is also evident that there is a larger proportion of persons in the retired category, reflecting in part a tendency for older band members to be in hospitals and in old age homes located off the reserve. A lower proportion of off reserve women were classed as housewives, however, perhaps because of more employment opportunities combined with fewer family responsibilities.

Tables 3.2.5 and 3.2.6 deal only with that portion of the adult population that is in the labour force, and give information on the level of unemployment at one point in time in 1976 and for all of 1975. The contrast between the on and off reserve population is quite clear, showing an unemployment rate of 66.4 percent for those on reserve and 17.0 percent for those off reserve when the data were collected in the first half of 1976. The unemployment rate for the entire Nova Scotia labour force in June of that same year stood at 8.8 percent (see Section 3.6).

Table 3.2.6 distinguishes between regular employment, irregular work that usually involves periods of unemployment, and year-round unemployment. The figures indicate quite clearly that the off reserve residents have much more regular employment and are less subject to irregular seasonal work and to year-round unemployment. For example, close to 40 percent of the on reserve group is unemployed year-round, while the figure stands at 8 percent for those off the reserve. It is not surprising, then, to find less reliance on social assistance among the off reserve group (Table 3.2.7) nor to discover that among those who rely on these payments old age pensions and educational assistance figure much more prominently than they do for on reserve residents. The latter group relies very heavily on welfare payments to support those who cannot find work (Table 3.2.8).

When attention is narrowed still further to those who were employed at least part of the time in 1976, something is learned about the occupations they were engaged in (Table 3.2.9). The picture that is beginning to emerge of a comparatively well-educated, well-employed, off reserve population receives further support. Those living off reserve are much less likely to be engaged in fishing, forestry or construction activities, which helps to explain why they have

less seasonal employment than do those on reserve. Together these three types of occupations make up close to half of the occupations for the on reserve population, as compared to 15 percent for those off reserve. The latter have significantly more positions in occupations involving managerial and administrative skills, in medicine and health, in clerical occupations, and in manufacturing work than do those living on the reserve. It is these kinds of occupations that generally rank higher on the Blishen index mentioned in the previous section. Indeed, the average Blishen score for the occupations held by the off reserve group stands at 269, compared to 344 for those on reserve, which indicates that those living off reserve have, on average, occupations involving more prestige, income and education than is the case for those living on the twelve reserves in the province (Table 3.2.10).

In Table 3.2.11, the grouping of jobs is done not according to the occupation of the individual, but rather in terms of the type of product or service provided by the individual's employer (that is, the industry of employment). The result, however, is similar; those living off reserve, in comparison with those who stay on, are less likely to be in forestry, fishing, and construction. They are more likely to be involved in manufacturing, transport and utilities, trade, finance, and community, business and personal services. From Table 3.2.12, it is clear that they are more likely to be employed by governments in regular positions, as opposed to LIP grants where they are not represented at all. Those off reserve are also better represented among private employers, in community and minority organizations, and in the various public institutions such as schools, hospitals, and crown corporations. They are not found in percentages as high as those on reserve, of course, as employees of the band coun-

cils and as staff of the economic development projects controlled by the band and located on the reserves, such as the LIP construction projects and the cooperative ventures. Even the off reserve residents, however, are more likely to work for Micmac employers than for members of the majority group, although the figure (52.7 percent) is not nearly as high as it is for those living on the reserves, where almost all employment opportunities are controlled, in an immediate sense, by Micmacs (Table 3.2.13). Interestingly enough, there is little difference between the on and off reserve groups in the degree to which they are self-employed or found in employer or employee positions (Table 3.2.14).

In looking at these figures overall, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that those living off reserve but still residing in the province have an advantage as far as their employment patterns are concerned. Their work is more regular, the unemployment rate is lower, they have better jobs, they are less dependent on social assistance, and so on. In some respects their employment situation is comparable to that of the majority group (see Section 3.6 for the non-Indian data). One should not quickly jump to the conclusion, however, that the policy solution to be derived from these figures is to close down the reserves in the expectation that the Micmac population will be better off without them. We have seen that those who move off the reserve, but who stay in Nova Scotia, are a select group in the sense that they have much better educational levels than those who remain. They are perhaps the ones who can make the necessary adaptations to living in the majority society and, at the same time, develop a basis for claiming some of the (employment) rewards in terms of the educational and other credentials they have achieved. They may well prefer to work on the reserve, within their own community, but are unable to do so because of the limited opportunities.

Certainly, the available evidence for those living on the reserve is that they strongly prefer to have employment opportunities developed there. A 1977 survey of Indian Brook reserve residents 18 years of age and over, for example, revealed that 80 percent of those responding preferred to work on the reserve, and 89 percent felt that, in general, jobs for band members should be created on the reserves [6].

It should also be recognized that it is primarily the employment aspect that has been examined here. A comparison of other dimensions may not turn out to favour the off reserve residents, particularly when the positive aspects of reserve communities - the support they give to their members, the functions they perform in preserving Micmac culture in its broadest sense - are added to the equation. There is also some evidence to suggest that the on and off reserve populations are quite interdependent, with considerable visiting back and forth, the reserve being used to bring up children and to look after some of the older people, and so on. In short, while the employment figures are reasonably clear, the policy alternatives to be derived from them are not as straightforward as they might appear to be at first glance.

Table 3.2.1

MALE/FEMALE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADULT POPULATION, ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Male	52.4	47.4
Female	47.6	52.6
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1766)	(213)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADULT POPULATION, ALL BAND MEMBERS
ON AND OFF RESERVE IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1975

Age	On Reserve		Off Reserve	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Ages 15 - 24	497	28.1	63	29.6
Ages 25 - 34	450	25.5	52	24.4
Ages 35 - 44	308	17.4	38	17.8
Ages 45 - 54	197	11.1	12	5.6
Ages 55 - 64	156	8.8	18	8.5
Ages 65 and over	<u>159</u>	<u>9.0</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>14.1</u>
Total	1767	99.9	213	100.0
Average Age:	37.4 years		39.1 years	

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.3

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ADULT POPULATION
 ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE
 IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1976
 (Percent)

Level of Education	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Grade 6 or less	29.7	22.4
Grade 7 thru 9	49.3	28.7
Grade 10 thru 13	17.9	33.3
Post-secondary	<u>3.1</u>	<u>15.6</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1767)	(213)
Average Number of Years of Education	7.3	8.8 years

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.4

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE ADULT POPULATION
ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE IN
NOVA SCOTIA, DURING THE YEAR 1975
(Percent)

Labour Force Status	On Reserve	Off Reserve
In the Labour Force	64.0	55.3
Housewife	24.3	20.8
Retired	8.7	13.7
In school*	1.6	7.1
Disabled	<u>1.4</u>	<u>3.3</u>
Total	100.0	100.2
(Number of cases)	(1762)	(183)

*The "in school" category includes students taking vocational courses and those involved in post-secondary programs. It does not include those enrolled in elementary and secondary schools.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.5

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE LABOUR FORCE, ALL BAND MEMBERS
ON AND OFF RESERVE IN NOVA SCOTIA, AT ONE POINT
IN TIME DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1976
(Percent)

Employment Status	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Employed	33.6	83.0
Unemployed	<u>66.4</u>	<u>17.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1075)	(94)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.6

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE LABOUR FORCE
ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE
IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Employment Status	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Regular Employment*	24.7	69.3
Irregular Employment**	36.8	22.8
Unemployed Year-round	<u>38.5</u>	<u>7.9</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1130)	(101)

*Regular employment refers to reasonably steady work through the year, although not necessarily at one job or full-time.

**Irregular employment implies seasonal work or work combined with other activities; e.g., as a student or housewife. It usually involves some reliance on social assistance during periods of underemployment.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.7

EXTENT OF RELIANCE ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AMONG THE
ADULT POPULATION, ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF
RESERVE IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Social Assistance Status	On Reserve	Off Reserve
No Reliance on Social Assistance	35.9	56.6
Use of Social Assistance	<u>64.1</u>	<u>43.4</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1759)	(175)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.8

TYPE OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE USED BY THE ADULT
POPULATION, ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF
RESERVE IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Type of Social Assistance	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Unemployment Insurance	8.8	5.3
Old Age Pensions	16.3	42.1
Provincial/Municipal Welfare	5.4	9.2
I.A.B. Welfare	65.0	21.1
I.A.B. Educational Assistance	1.9	17.1
Combinations	<u>2.6</u>	<u>5.2</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1127)	(76)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.9

OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE, ALL BAND
MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE IN NOVA SCOTIA
MAIN JOB IN 1975*
(Percent)

Occupational Group**	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Managerial, Administrative and Related	6.8	12.4
Natural Sciences, Engineering and Math	0.1	2.1
Social Sciences and Related	4.5	4.1
Teaching and Related	3.0	2.1
Medicine and Health	0.1	5.2
Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts and Related	0.6	-
Sport and Recreation	0.3	-
Clerical and Related	6.2	15.5
Sales	4.0	4.1
Service	9.7	10.3
Farming, Horticultural, and Animal Husbandry	0.1	-
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related	7.1	1.0
Forestry and Logging	7.4	1.0
Processing	3.0	5.2
Machining and Related	0.9	3.1
Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	6.0	14.4
Construction Trades	33.8	13.4
Transport Equipment Operating	5.1	4.1
Material Handling and Related	0.1	1.0
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	0.7	1.0
Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified	0.3	-
Total	99.8	100.0
(Number of cases)	(690)	(97)

*These figures include only the individuals' main job in 1975. The second or third occupations for persons with more than one job in 1975 are not reported here, but are available upon request.

**The classification scheme used for occupations is that provided by the Canadian Classification Dictionary of Occupations, (Information Canada, 1974). Occupations were coded at the 4 digit level and are reported here according to the 2 digit grouping.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.10

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT
LABOUR FORCE (BLISHEN RANKINGS), ALL BAND
MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE IN NOVA
SCOTIA, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Blishen Score	On Reserve	Off Reserve
001 to 125	13.2	16.7
126 to 250	11.4	27.1
251 to 375	15.3	32.3
376 to 500	<u>60.0</u>	<u>24.0</u>
Total	99.9	100.1
(Number of cases)	(687)	(96)
Average Blishen Score:	343.9	269.1

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.11

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE IS EMPLOYED
ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE IN NOVA SCOTIA,
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Industry*	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Agriculture	0.3	-
Forestry	7.4	1.1
Fishing and Trapping	8.1	2.2
Manufacturing Industries	7.1	21.1
Construction Industry	31.7	11.1
Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities	5.7	7.8
Trade	6.5	8.9
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	0.1	1.1
Community, Business, and Personal Service Industries	15.3	31.1
Public Administration and Defence	<u>17.7</u>	<u>15.6</u>
Total	99.9	100.0
(Number of cases)	(688)	(90)

*Industries are coded and grouped into categories according to the Standard Industrial Classification system, as reported in the Standard Industrial Classification Manual; Information Canada, Ottawa, 1970 (Catalogue No. 12-501).

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.12

TYPE OF EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE, ALL BAND
MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE IN NOVA SCOTIA
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Type of Employer	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Department of Indian Affairs	0.7	4.4
Armed Forces	0.1	2.2
LIP and Related Projects	20.3	-
Other Federal Government	0.6	5.6
Provincial Government	0.4	4.4
Municipal Government	0.1	-
Band Council	16.9	-
Private Business	42.7	58.9
Cooperatives	11.6	1.1
Community and Minority Organizations	5.3	14.4
Educational Institutions	0.3	1.1
Health Institutions	0.1	5.6
Crown Corporations	0.4	2.2
Other	<u>0.3</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	99.8	99.9
(Number of cases)	(688)	(90)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.13

ETHNICITY OF THE EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR
FORCE, ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE
IN NOVA SCOTIA, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer Ethnicity	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Micmac Origin	90.0	52.7
Majority Group Origin	<u>10.0</u>	<u>47.3</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(688)	(93)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.2.14

EMPLOYER/EMPLOYEE STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ALL BAND MEMBERS ON AND OFF RESERVE IN
NOVA SCOTIA, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer/Employee Status	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Owner or Manager	5.5	3.1
Self-employed	20.1	20.8
Employee	<u>74.4</u>	<u>76.0</u>
Total	100.0	99.9
(Number of cases)	(688)	(96)

Source: IPA Data Base.

3.3 The Age Groups of the Population All Nova Scotia Bands

There are very sharp differences among the age groups in the Micmac population on such matters as level of education, employment status, type of occupation, and type of employer. In general, the pattern begins with those just out of high school facing the prospects of very high unemployment. Although they have higher education levels than the population over 40 years of age, it takes a number of years before they are able to obtain employment in some of the better jobs that are available. The unemployment rate begins to drop for the 20-24 year age group, and continues to do so for the remaining, older, age categories. The level of economic activity drops sharply for those over 54 years of age as they move towards retirement.

In the tables that follow, information on the on reserve population for all of Nova Scotia is presented. The population has been divided into five categories after experimenting with different cutting points to discover when the most significant changes take place. For ease of presentation, each age group will be referred to by number. Age group 1 includes those 15-19 years of age who are out of the elementary and secondary school system. Age group 2 refers to those 20-24 years of age; group 3 to the 25-34 year old population and group 4 to those between 35-54 years. The last category, group 5, includes the remainder at 55 years and over.

Table 3.3.1 gives the level of education for each of the five age groups. At first glance, it would appear that the youngest group has lower levels of education than groups two or three. This is due, of course, to the fact that our sample includes only those who have left elementary and second-

ary school; many of the 15-19 year age group would not have graduated. If we were to include those still in school, the level of education for this group would, no doubt, be higher.

There is not much difference, however, between the level of education of those 20-24 years of age (group 2) and those in group 3 (25-34 years).¹¹ This would suggest that there has not been much improvement in raising the levels of education of the on reserve population in recent years - either because the educational system is not improving as it badly needs to, or because those with better education are leaving the reserve to find better opportunities. It was seen in Section 3.2 that in fact the off reserve population has considerably higher education levels than those on reserve and that there was substantial movement off the reserves in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

There is a sharp transition to much lower education levels by age group 4 (35-54 years), a trend that is carried on with group 5 (55 years and over). Looking at those with less than Grade 7, for example, the percentage is 8.1 for group 3. It rises sharply for those 35-44 years of age to 28.9 percent and to 52.0 percent for the 45-54 age category. Those 55 and over have 82.8 percent with less than Grade 7. Tracing the years when these older populations were in school, it can be deduced that significant improvements in the education of the Micmac (at least in the sense of the bulk of the population getting into high school) took place after the Depression and through the 1940s and 1950s. A later table in Section 3.6 will show, however, the wide gap in formal education that still separates the Micmac in Nova Scotia from the non-Indian population of the province.

¹¹By age group 2, individuals still in school would most likely be at the post-secondary level and thus included in our sample. Most of these individuals would in any case be living off reserve.

Table 3.3.2 provides figures on the labour force status of the different age groups for the year 1975. These percentages include the entire population that is on reserve and out of elementary or secondary school. They reveal that a very high proportion of the 15-19 age group is in the labour force, although it will be seen later that most of these people are in fact unemployed. The percentage of the adult population in the labour force drops steadily from age group 1 to age group 5, initially because some of the women become housewives through marriage. While only 6 percent of age group 1 are classed as housewives, the figure goes to 19 percent of age group 2 and to 33 percent for group 4. Finally, in group 5, the retirement figures become the dominant influence as the level of economic activity lessens.

In Tables 3.3.3 and 3.3.4, we look only at those involved in the labour force and examine the employment status of each age group. It is immediately clear that almost all of the 15-19 year age group is unemployed - the figure stood at 85 percent unemployed at the time when the data were collected in 1976. Much of this is year-round unemployment, as Table 3.3.4 indicates. The unemployment rate drops sharply for those in their 20s and 30s, however, as those who remain in the labour force gradually make progress in obtaining access to jobs. Even for the prime age groups, however, more than half of the labour force was unemployed at the time when the data were collected in 1976 (Table 3.3.3). A final observation on the employment status tables is that, not surprisingly, the young are the least likely to have had regular employment in 1975. Only 8 per-cent of the labour force in age group 1 was in the regular employment category, compared with 31 percent for groups 3 and 4 (Table 3.3.4).

Given the higher rate of unemployment among the young, a high degree of reliance on social assistance can be expected.

According to the figures, 83 percent of age group 1 uses social assistance of one kind or another, compared with a low of just over 50 percent for age groups 3 and 4. Age group 5 is up to 87 percent, due to their receipt of old age pensions (Tables 3.3.5 and 3.3.6). The young are almost entirely reliant on welfare payments from the Department of Indian Affairs, a dependence that is reduced slightly for the other age groups who, because of their better employment position, are able to make use of the UIC system.

The remainder of this section will deal only with those who were employed for at least part of 1975. Table 3.3.7 gives the occupations in which the employed of each age group are found. As expected, certain occupations, such as construction and service work, are among the most important for all age groups. There are, however, significant differences from one age group to the other. The youngest age group, for example, is generally more strongly represented in easy-access and low-skill occupations such as those in the service sector, in forestry, and in fishing. They are not as heavily involved in construction as age group 2, probably because the construction jobs are dependant on LIP grants and preference for these jobs is given to those with family responsibilities on the reserve. Group 2 is also well represented in clerical and in manufacturing-type occupations. Those in the prime ages from 25 through 54 have the widest range of jobs and the best representation in higher level positions such as managerial, administrative, social welfare and teaching occupations. Those 55 years and over, however, tend to be found less often in these kinds of positions, and are also less involved in the more demanding occupations of fishing, forestry, and construction. Instead, service, transport, and handicraft production figure more prominently for this age group than for the others.

The Blishen scores in Table 3.3.8 provide some confirmation of these patterns. It will be recalled that occupations can be ranked from 1 to 500 on the basis of the level of income, education, and prestige that each has been deemed to exhibit. A high numerical rank means low rewards. In Table 3.3.8, the average Blishen scores for the occupations of each group beginning with the youngest are respectively: 411, 374, 316, 336, and 353. In other words, the labouring type jobs of the young give way to some degree to the more skilled and responsible positions held by those in age groups 3 and 4.

In Table 3.3.9, the industries in which each age group is found are listed, and provide a picture similar to that given by the occupational distribution. The additional element suggested by this table is that the middle age groups, from 25 to 54 years, rely to a considerable extent on employment in public administration, in contrast to the young and the old.

This pattern is confirmed by Table 3.3.10, which gives the types of employers to which each age group is attached. The young and the old, groups 1 and 5, are similar in that they are both reliant to a large degree on employment in the private sector. If private businesses and cooperatives are grouped together, both age groups 1 and 5 find around 70 percent of their employment here - the young perhaps because they cannot yet get access to the public sector jobs and the older group possibly because the expansion of the band council and minority/community organization positions has been a relatively recent phenomenon. As suggested above, work on the construction-type LIP projects may also be too demanding for those nearing retirement. It is age group 2 and 3, and to a lesser extent group 4, that predominate on the LIP projects, among the staff of the band council, and in

the organizations of the community. For age group 3, for example, only 42.3 percent of the jobs are in the private sector.

It can be seen more clearly from Table 3.3.11 why a high proportion of the older population is in the private sector. Over half of the 55 year and over age group that was working in 1975 was classified as self-employed, working on their own account. Going to the younger age groups, the figure declines rapidly: group 5 had 51.6 percent self-employed; group 4, 29.1 percent; group 3, 11.7 percent; and group 2, 5.6 percent. Group 1 is back up to 14 percent self-employed, which could represent either a renewed spirit of private entrepreneurship among the 15-19 group, or a pattern of "making do" in the face of the very restricted employment possibilities for the young. The table also shows that it is the more mature workers in age groups 3, 4, and 5 who advance to ownership and managerial positions in larger enterprises.

For the on reserve population, there is not much difference among the various age groupings in the ethnicity of the employer; the figure hovers around 90 percent working for Micmac employers, with a decline to 82 percent for age group 5 (Table 3.3.12). It is clear from Table 3.3.13 that more of the people in this age group are working off the reserve and are thus more likely to be employed in non-Indian enterprises.

Table 3.3.1

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ADULT POPULATION
ON RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, 1976
(Percent)

Level of Education	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
Less than Grade 7	7.9	7.9	8.1	38.0	82.8
Grade 7 thru 9	77.2	57.6	57.9	48.8	15.9
Grade 10 thru 13	14.3	29.9	27.5	11.8	1.3
Post Secondary	<u>0.8</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	100.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(127)	(368)	(444)	(500)	(308)
Average Years of Education	8.2	8.8	8.9	6.6	3.8

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.2

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE ADULT POPULATION ON
RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, DURING THE YEAR 1975
(Percent)

Labour Force	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
In the Labour Force	88.2	77.5	69.9	64.5	29.2
Housewife	6.3	18.6	27.9	32.7	19.2*
Retired	-	-	-	0.2	48.7
In school**	5.5	3.5	1.3	0.4	-
Disabled	-	0.3	0.9	2.2	2.9
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(127)	(370)	(448)	(507)	(312)

*All persons over age 64 were classified as retired, including housewives, unless they were working outside the home or were disabled.

**The "in school" category includes students taking vocational courses and those involved in post-secondary programs. It does not include those enrolled in elementary and secondary schools.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.3

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
 BY AGE GROUP, AT ONE POINT IN TIME DURING THE
 FIRST HALF OF 1976
 (Percent)

Employment Status	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
Employed	14.9	23.4	39.0	42.5	42.5
Unemployed	<u>85.1</u>	<u>76.6</u>	<u>61.0</u>	<u>57.5</u>	<u>57.5</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(114)	(282)	(295)	(313)	(73)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.4

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, DURING THE YEAR 1975
(Percent)

Employment Status	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
Regular Employment*	8.0	17.4	31.6	30.9	22.0
Irregular Employment**	31.3	33.1	36.7	39.8	45.1
Unemployment Year-Round	<u>60.7</u>	<u>49.5</u>	<u>31.6</u>	<u>29.4</u>	<u>33.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.1
(Number of cases)	(112)	(287)	(313)	(327)	(91)

*Regular employment refers to reasonably steady work through the year, although not necessarily at one job or full-time.

**Irregular employment implies seasonal work or work combined with other activities; e.g., as student or housewife. It usually involves some reliance on social assistance during periods of underemployment.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.5

EXTENT OF RELIANCE ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AMONG THE ADULT
POPULATION ON RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, 1975
(Percent)

Social Assistance Status	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
No Reliance	16.7	32.1	48.7	46.6	12.8
Use of Social Assistance	<u>83.3</u>	<u>67.9</u>	<u>51.3</u>	<u>53.4</u>	<u>87.2</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(126)	(368)	(448)	(504)	(313)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.6

TYPE OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE USED BY THE ADULT
POPULATION ON RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, 1975
(Percent)

Type of Social Assistance	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
Unemployment Insurance	6.7	10.8	16.1	9.3	1.1
Old Age and Other Pensions	-	0.4	-	3.0	64.1
Provincial or Other Welfare	-	2.0	4.3	8.6	8.4
I.A.B. Welfare	89.5	80.8	75.7	74.0	23.1
I.A.B. Educational Assistance	3.8	4.0	2.6	0.4	-
Combinations	<u>-</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>3.4</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1
(Number of cases)	(105)	(250)	(230)	(269)	(273)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.7

OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
BY AGE GROUP, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Occupation*	Age Group				
	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-54	55+
Managerial, Administrative and Related	-	-	8.4	11.3	6.5
Natural Sciences, Engineering, and Math	-	-	0.5	-	-
Social Sciences, and Related	-	2.8	7.4	4.3	1.6
Teaching and Related	2.3	3.5	4.7	1.7	1.6
Medicine and Health	-	-	-	-	1.6
Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts and Related	2.3	0.7	0.9	-	-
Sport and Recreation	-	-	0.5	0.4	-
Clerical and Related	9.3	11.3	9.3	1.3	-
Sales	4.7	4.9	3.3	4.3	3.2
Service Occupations	16.3	5.6	9.8	8.3	19.4
Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry	-	-	-	0.4	-
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related	14.0	11.3	6.5	5.2	3.2
Forestry and Logging	16.3	4.2	4.2	10.4	8.1
Processing	4.7	6.3	1.4	3.0	-
Machining and Related	-	1.4	0.9	0.9	-
Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing**	-	4.2	4.2	7.3	14.5
Construction Trades	30.2	41.5	32.6	33.0	24.2
Transport Equipment Operating	-	2.1	5.1	5.2	14.5
Material Handling	-	-	-	0.4	-
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	-	-	-	2.2	-
Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified	-	-	0.5	-	1.6
Total	100.1	99.8	100.2	99.6	100.0
(Number of cases)	(43)	(142)	(215)	(230)	(62)

*The classification scheme used is that provided by the Canadian Classification Dictionary of Occupations (Information Canada, 1974).

**Handicraft Production is included in this category.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.8

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT
LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE (BLISHEN RANKINGS),
BY AGE GROUP, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Blishen Score	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
001 to 125	2.3	4.2	18.7	16.8	9.7
126 to 250	7.0	13.4	16.4	8.0	14.5
251 to 375	7.0	13.4	9.3	19.5	22.6
376 to 500	<u>83.7</u>	<u>69.0</u>	<u>55.6</u>	<u>55.8</u>	<u>53.2</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
(Number of cases)	(43)	(142)	(214)	(226)	(62)
Average Blishen Score	411	374	316	336	353

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.9

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
IS EMPLOYED, BY AGE GROUP, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Industry	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
Agriculture	-	-	0.5	0.4	-
Forestry	14.0	4.2	4.2	10.9	8.1
Fishing and Trapping	14.0	12.0	8.0	6.1	3.2
Manufacturing Industries**	4.7	6.3	4.7	8.3	14.5
Construction Industry	30.2	43.0	29.1	30.4	19.4
Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities	4.7	2.8	5.6	5.2	14.5
Trade	4.7	11.3	6.1	5.2	3.2
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	-	-	0.5	-	-
Community, Business, and Personal Service Industries	20.9	9.9	15.0	14.3	29.0
Public Administra- tion and Defence	<u>7.0</u>	<u>10.6</u>	<u>26.3</u>	<u>19.1</u>	<u>8.1</u>
Total	100.2	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0
(Number of cases)	(43)	(142)	(213)	(230)	(62)

*Industries are coded and grouped into categories according to the Standard Industrial Classification Manual, Information Canada, 1970 (Catalogue No. 12-501).

**Includes Handicraft Production.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.10

TYPE OF EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer Type	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
Indian Affairs	-	-	1.4	0.9	-
Armed Forces	-	-	-	0.4	-
LIP and Related Projects	16.3	29.4	21.6	17.4	8.1
Other Federal Government	-	-	-	1.3	1.6
Provincial Government	2.3	-	-	0.9	-
Municipal Government	-	-	-	0.4	-
Band Council	7.0	11.2	25.4	16.5	9.7
Private Business	53.5	37.8	31.5	46.5	71.0
Cooperatives	18.6	16.8	11.3	10.0	1.6
Community and Minor- ity Organizations	-	3.5	8.0	5.2	4.8
Educational Institutions	-	-	0.5	-	1.6
Health Institutions	-	-	-	-	1.6
Crown Corporations	2.3	0.7	0.5	-	-
Other	-	0.7	-	0.4	-
Total	100.0	100.1	100.2	99.9	100.0
(Number of cases)	(43)	(142)	(213)	(230)	(62)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.11

EMPLOYER/EMPLOYEE STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ON RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer/Employee Status	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
Owner, Manager	-	0.7	6.1	9.1	6.5
Self-Employed	14.0	5.6	11.7	29.1	51.6
Employee	<u>86.0</u>	<u>93.7</u>	<u>82.2</u>	<u>61.7</u>	<u>41.9</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
(Number of cases)	(43)	(142)	(213)	(230)	(62)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.12

ETHNICITY OF THE EMPLOYER FOR THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ON RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer Ethnicity	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
Micmac Origin	90.7	91.5	90.6	90.4	82.3
Majority Group Origin	<u>9.3</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>9.4</u>	<u>9.6</u>	<u>17.7</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(43)	(142)	(213)	(230)	(62)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.3.13

LOCATION OF WORK FOR THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, BY AGE GROUP, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Work Location	Age Group				
	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 54	55+
On the Reserve	83.9	89.5	87.4	85.7	79.4
In the Immediate Area	9.3	8.4	8.4	10.0	17.5
Other Nova Scotia	<u>7.0</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>3.2</u>
Total	100.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
(Number of cases)	(43)	(143)	(214)	(230)	(63)

Source: IPA Data Base.

3.4 Males and Females: All Nova Scotia Bands

This section presents another set of tables for the on reserve population of all Nova Scotia bands, highlighting in particular the substantial differences that exist in male/female employment patterns. It is a mixed picture that emerges, with women on reserve being less active in the labour force, facing higher year-round unemployment rates, and being restricted to a more narrow range of jobs when they do find employment. The jobs they have, however, exhibit some positive features that will be discussed below.

To the extent that these male/female differences exist, it is difficult to explain them with reference to differences in educational levels. As Table 3.4.1 indicates, the two groups do not differ that much in terms of the level of education achieved by each; if anything, the women have higher levels than the men.

From Table 3.4.2 it is clear, however, that a much lower proportion of the adult women are in the labour force. For all Nova Scotia bands, the difference between women and men in the labour force was in the order of 37 percent versus 89 percent. Whether by choice or as a result of a lack of alternatives, some 51 percent of all adult women were defined as housewives during 1975.

For both men and women, even if they are considered to be in the labour force (which is the group included in Table 3.4.3 and 3.4.4), the chances of being unemployed are higher than those of finding a job. In comparison with men, women were more likely to be unemployed year-round in 1975. For those women living on reserve in 1975, there was a tendency for them either to be steadily employed or to be unemployed year-round; the women had much less irregular (seasonal) employment than the men.

The kinds of occupations that women are found in, in greater numbers than men, are the following (from Table 3.4.5): occupations in community social welfare services such as educational and social counselling; teaching-related positions such as teacher aides; secretarial and bookkeeping occupations; sales work in stores; fabricating/assembling occupations such as handicrafts, and finally, service occupations such as waitressing, hairdressing, or domestic cleaning. They are found in very few numbers in such male-dominated occupations as fishing, logging, construction and transport.¹²

Although far fewer women than men are working, it appears from Table 3.4.6 that the positions the women do hold rank higher, on average, than do those of the men on criteria such as the level of education, prestige, and income usually attached to the occupations. The men are more likely to be found in manual blue collar jobs that in Canada are considered to have low status. The jobs that Micmac women have obtained, on the other hand, are more likely to be white collar jobs in clerical and sales work, or jobs at the lower level of various semi-professional hierarchies (for example, as teacher's aides, social counsellors, nursing assistants).

Looking at the characteristics of the employers of the on reserve population, the picture of male/female employment patterns becomes more clearly defined. The sales occupations, in which women predominate, are carried out largely in food and general merchandise stores. Those in service occupations do their work in hospitals, motels, restaurants, private homes (as domestics), and for community organizations. Women are also overrepresented in public administra-

¹²A very detailed listing of all occupations held by Micmac men and women in Nova Scotia is available upon request.

tion; as will be seen below, this reflects their employment by band councils on the reserves.

The industries that the men are involved in to a greater extent than the women, on the other hand, are forestry, fishing and trapping, construction, and transport (Table 3.4.7). From Table 3.4.8 we learn that it is basically just the men who are employed on the LIP-type construction projects and in the co-operative fishing, sawmill, or furniture-making enterprises that have been established on the various reserves. Women for their part have a larger share of band council employment and are also more heavily represented as employees in private businesses and in community and minority organizations.

Finally, in Tables 3.4.9, 3.4.10, and 3.4.11, there are indications that Micmac women are more likely to work off reserve than are the men and consequently have a lower proportion working for Micmac employers. They are also less likely to be self-employed.

Table 3.4.1

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ADULT POPULATION ON RESERVE
BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, 1976*
(Percent)

Level of Education	Males	Females
Less than Grade 7	29.0	30.6
Grades 7 thru 9	52.6	45.6
Grades 10 thru 13	15.6	20.5
Post Secondary	2.8	3.4
Total	100.0	100.1
(Number of cases)	(916)	(828)
Average Years of Education	7.27	7.32

*The population included in this set of tables are those 15 years of age and over who have left the regular elementary or high school. Post-secondary students and those on vocational courses, however, are included in the data base.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.2

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE ADULT POPULATION ON
RESERVE, BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS,
DURING THE YEAR 1975
(Percent)

Employment Status	Males	Females
In the Labour Force	88.9	36.5
Housewife	-	51.1
Retired	8.0	9.4
Student	1.3	1.9
Disabled	1.8	1.0
Total	100.0	99.9
(Number of cases)	(926)	(838)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.3

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS,
AT ONE POINT IN TIME DURING 1976
(Percent)

Employment Status	Males	Females
Employed	31.9	38.2
Unemployed	<u>68.1</u>	<u>61.8</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(802)	(272)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.4

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS,
DURING THE YEAR 1975
(Percent)

Employment Status	Males	Females
Regular Employment*	22.8	29.6
Irregular Employment**	42.3	22.1
Unemployed Year-Round	<u>34.9</u>	<u>48.2</u>
Total	100.0	99.9
(Number of cases)	(823)	(307)

*Regular employment refers to reasonably steady work through the year, although not necessarily at one job or full-time.

**Irregular employment implies seasonal work or work combined with other activities; e.g., as a student or housewife. It usually involves some reliance on social assistance during periods of underemployment.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.5

OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS,
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Occupational Category*	Males	Females
Managerial, Administrative and Related	6.8	6.9
Natural Sciences, Engineering, Math	0.2	-
Social Sciences and Related	2.3	11.9
Teaching and Related	0.4	11.9
Medicine and Health	-	0.6
Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts and Related	0.8	-
Sport and Recreation	0.4	-
Clerical and Related	1.7	21.4
Sales	2.6	8.2
Service	6.2	21.4
Farming, Horticultural, and Animal Husbandry	0.2	-
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping	9.2	-
Forestry and Logging	9.6	-
Processing	3.6	1.3
Machining and Related	1.1	-
Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	4.2	11.9
Construction Trades	43.4	1.9
Transport Equipment Operating	6.0	1.9
Material Handling and Related	0.2	-
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	0.8	0.6
Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified	0.4	-
Total	100.1	99.9
(Number of cases)	(530)	(159)

*The classification scheme used for occupations is that provided in the Canadian Classification Dictionary of Occupations (Information Canada, 1974).

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.6

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT LABOUR
FORCE ON RESERVE (BLISHEN RANKINGS), BY SEX, ALL
NOVA SCOTIA BANDS, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Blishen Score	Males	Females
001 to 125	10.8	21.9
126 to 250	6.8	26.9
251 to 375	12.6	23.8
376 to 500	<u>69.8</u>	<u>27.5</u>
Total	100.0	100.1
(Number of cases)	(530)	(160)
Average Blishen Score	370	257

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.7

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
IS EMPLOYED, BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA
BANDS, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Industry*	Males	Females
Agriculture	0.4	-
Forestry	9.7	-
Fishing and Trapping	10.2	1.3
Manufacturing Industries	6.4	9.4
Construction Industry	40.7	1.9
Transportation, Communication, and Other Utilities	6.8	1.9
Trade	5.1	10.7
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	-	0.6
Community, Business and Personal Service Industries	8.0	39.6
Public Administration and Defence	<u>12.7</u>	<u>34.6</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(528)	(159)

*Industries are coded and grouped into categories according to the Standard Industrial Classification Manual (Information Canada, 1970).

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.8

TYPE OF EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS,
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Type of Employer	Males	Female
Indian Affairs	0.9	-
Armed Forces	0.2	-
LIP and Related Projects	25.6	3.1
Other Federal Government	0.6	0.6
Provincial Government	0.6	-
Municipal Government	0.2	-
Band Council	11.7	34.0
Private Business	40.2	50.9
Cooperatives	14.8	1.3
Community and Minority Organizations	4.0	9.4
Educational Institution	0.4	-
Health Institution	0.2	-
Crown Corporation	0.2	-
Other	<u>0.2</u>	<u>0.6</u>
Total	99.8	99.9
(Number of cases)	(528)	(159)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.9

ETHNICITY OF THE EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ON RESERVE, BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS,
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer Ethnicity	Male	Females
Micmac Origin	91.3	85.5
Majority Group Origin	<u>8.7</u>	<u>14.5</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(528)	(159)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.10

EMPLOYER/EMPLOYEE STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ON RESERVE, BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS,
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer/Employee Status	Males	Females
Owner, Manager	5.9	4.3
Self-employed	21.8	13.7
Employed	<u>72.3</u>	<u>81.9</u>
Total	100.0	99.9
(Number of cases)	(527)	(160)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.4.11

LOCATION OF WORK FOR THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, BY SEX, ALL NOVA SCOTIA BANDS,
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Location of Work	Males	Females
On the Reserve	89.1	77.5
In the Immediate Area (Off Reserve)	7.0	18.8
Other Nova Scotia	<u>4.0</u>	<u>3.7</u>
Total	100.1	100.0
(Number of cases)	(530)	(160)

Source: IPA Data Base.

3.5 Cape Breton and the Mainland

This section will discuss differences in employment patterns among those living on reserve in Cape Breton and on the Mainland. The Cape Breton reserves are Wagmatcook, Whycocomagh, Chapel Island, Eskasoni and Membertou, while those on the Mainland of Nova Scotia are Afton, Acadia, Bear River, Cambridge, Pictou Landing, Millbrook and Indian Brook.

To set the stage for the discussion of employment patterns, it is helpful to look at Table 3.5.1, which gives figures on the age distribution of the two groups, and at Table 3.5.2 where data on the level of education are presented. There is little difference in level of education, except that the Mainland reserves have a higher proportion of persons who are enrolled in or have completed post-secondary programs. The Cape Breton adult population is younger than the Mainland one, however, with the average age being 36.3 years, compared to 39.4 years for the Mainland.

If the adult populations are compared at one point in time in 1976 on their labour force status (Table 3.5.3) it appears that the more restricted availability of jobs in Cape Breton has meant that more of the adult women are found to be housewives than is the case on the Mainland. This means, then, that a smaller percentage of the population on Cape Breton reserves is defined as being in the labour force. Taking the employed and unemployed together, 59 percent of the adult population is in the labour force on Cape Breton reserves, compared to 64 percent for the Mainland. This pattern is confirmed in Table 3.5.4, which provides similar data for the year 1975.

A closer examination of just those defined as being in the labour force reveals much higher unemployment rates among those living on reserve in Cape Breton (although both rates

are still very high) - 75 percent of the labour force unemployed when the data were collected in the first half of 1976, compared to 52 percent for the Mainland (Table 3.5.5). The gap is not so large when the figures for year-round unemployment are examined in Table 3.5.6; in other words, much of the gap between Cape Breton and the Mainland has to do with the fact that there is little regular employment available to on reserve residents on the Island - only 20 percent of the labour force has regular jobs, compared to 33 percent for the Mainland. The Cape Bretoners have to rely more on seasonal or irregular jobs interspersed with periods of unemployment.

With this in mind, it is not surprising to find a higher level of social assistance use among the on reserve population in Cape Breton (Table 3.5.7) and more use of UIC payments to round out the time between seasonal jobs (Table 3.5.8). The younger age structure of the Micmac population living in Cape Breton explains the lower proportion using old age and other pensions.

Turning to those who were actually employed during a part or all of 1975, Table 3.5.9 gives an idea of the occupations involved. Cape Breton Micmac are clearly more strongly represented in fishing and forestry-related occupations than is the Mainland population. Trout farms, oyster projects, and other similar ventures make up the bulk of the fishing occupations, while cutting logs in the woods for sale to sawmills and pulpmills of the region represents most of the forestry occupations. The women are more likely to be employed as teacher's aides and as sales clerks in retail outlets than are the on reserve women on the Mainland. The latter are more likely to be involved in clerical occupations and in service work, while the men on the Mainland are more strongly represented in processing work (for example, the

sawmill at Indian Brook). Both Cape Bretoners and those on the Mainland rely heavily on construction employment.

As with other groups discussed in the profile, the occupations can again be ranked on the basis of the income, prestige, and level of education that are generally accorded these occupations in Canada. The Blishen scores, as they are called, give high numbers, close to 500, for occupations with low income, prestige, and level of education. Usually blue collar labouring activities, such as are involved in logging and fishing, receive high numbers on the scale while white collar work and manufacturing positions do better on the ranking. Given the distribution of occupations between Cape Breton and the Mainland discussed above, it is not surprising that the Blishen scores are higher for the population living on the Island (Table 3.5.10).

If the businesses that people work in are coded according to the types of goods or services produced (that is, the industry), the figures reveal a pattern quite similar to that discussed above for occupations (Table 3.5.11).

In Table 3.5.12, three main differences stand out. A higher proportion of the Cape Breton on reserve population is involved in LIP-type projects and in co-operative ventures than is the case on the Mainland, and the latter group has a higher proportion involved in work for community and minority organizations.

The Cape Breton population is more likely to work for Micmac employers, although the difference is not great, and to work on the reserve (Tables 3.5.13 and 3.5.14). It also has a higher proportion of its employed labour force who are self-employed, reflecting in all likelihood the larger number of independent logging and fishing contractors of the Island (Table 3.5.15).

Table 3.5.1

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADULT POPULATION ON RESERVE
CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, 1975
(Percent)

Age Category	Cape Breton	Mainland
15 - 24	29.7	25.1
25 - 34	27.2	22.2
35 - 44	17.0	18.3
45 - 54	10.2	12.9
55 - 64	8.1	10.3
65 and over	<u>7.8</u>	<u>11.3</u>
Total	100.0	100.1
(Number of cases)	(1154)	(613)
Average Age:	36.3 years	39.4 years

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.2

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ADULT POPULATION ON RESERVE
CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, 1976
(Percent)

Educational Level	Cape Breton	Mainland
Grade 6 or less	29.6	30.0
Grade 7 to 9	49.8	48.1
Grade 10 to 13	18.0	17.8
Post-secondary	<u>2.6</u>	<u>4.0</u>
Total	100.0	99.9
(Number of cases)	(1143)	(602)
Average Years of Education	7.3 years	7.3 years

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.3

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE ADULT POPULATION ON RESERVE
 CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, AT ONE POINT IN
 TIME DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1976
 (Percent)

Labour Force Status	Cape Breton	Mainland
In the Labour Force	59.2	64.0
Housewife	28.6	21.4
Retired	8.5	10.9
In School*	1.1	2.0
Disabled	2.0	1.3
Other	<u>0.5</u>	<u>0.5</u>
Total	99.9	100.1
(Number of cases)	(1153)	(613)

*The "in school" category includes students in vocational courses or post-secondary programs. Those enrolled in elementary or secondary schools are not included in the data base.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.4

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE ADULT POPULATION ON RESERVE
CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, DURING THE YEAR 1975
(Percent)

Labour Force Status	Cape Breton	Mainland
In the Labour Force	62.5	66.9
Housewife	26.8	19.6
Retired	7.8	10.3
In School*	1.4	2.0
Disabled	<u>1.6</u>	<u>1.1</u>
Total	100.1	99.9
(Number of cases)	(1153)	(611)

*The "in school" category includes students in vocational courses or post-secondary programs. Those enrolled in elementary or secondary schools are not included in the data base.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.5

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, AT ONE POINT IN
TIME DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1976
(Percent)

Employment Status	Cape Breton	Mainland
Employed	25.3	48.0
Unemployed	<u>74.7</u>	<u>52.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(683)	(392)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.6

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, DURING THE YEAR 1975
(Percent)

Employment Status	Cape Breton	Mainland
Regular Employment*	20.0	33.0
Irregular Employment**	39.5	32.0
Unemployed Year-round	<u>40.5</u>	<u>35.0</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(721)	(409)

*Regular employment refers to reasonably steady work through the year, although not necessarily at one job or full-time.

**Irregular employment implies seasonal work or work combined with other activities; e.g., as a student or housewife. It usually involves some reliance on social assistance during periods of underemployment.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.7

EXTENT OF RELIANCE ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AMONG THE
ADULT POPULATION ON RESERVE, CAPE BRETON
AND THE MAINLAND, 1975
(Percent)

Social Assistance Status	Cape Breton	Mainland
No Reliance on Social Assistance	35.1	37.4
Use of Social Assistance	<u>64.9</u>	<u>62.6</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1150)	(609)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.8

TYPE OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE USED BY THE ADULT POPULATION
ON RESERVE, CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, 1975
(Percent)

Type of Social Assistance	Cape Breton	Mainland
Unemployment Insurance	11.7	3.1
Old Age Pensions	14.3	20.2
Provincial/Municipal Welfare	5.4	5.5
IAB Welfare	65.7	63.5
IAB Educational Assistance	1.1	3.4
Combinations	<u>1.9</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Total	100.1	99.9
(Number of cases)	(746)	(381)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.9

OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE
CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Occupational Category*	Cape Breton	Mainland
Managerial, Administrative and Related	5.9	8.3
Natural Sciences, Engineering and Math	0.2	-
Social Sciences and Related	4.0	5.3
Teaching and Related	4.0	1.5
Medicine and Health	-	0.4
Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts and Related	0.7	0.4
Sport and Recreation	0.2	-
Clerical and Related	4.7	8.7
Sales	5.0	2.7
Service	6.4	15.2
Farming, Horticultural, and Animal Husbandry	-	0.4
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping	10.8	1.1
Forestry and Logging	10.6	2.3
Processing	0.7	6.8
Machining and Related	0.7	0.8
Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	6.4	5.3
Construction Trades	33.3	34.8
Transport Equipment Operating	5.7	4.2
Material Handling and Related	-	0.4
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	0.7	0.8
Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified	-	0.8
Total	100.0	99.8
(Number of cases)	(424)	(264)

*The classification scheme used for occupations is that provided in the Canadian Classification Dictionary of Occupations (Information Canada, 1974).

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.10

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT
LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE (BLISHEN RANKINGS), CAPE
BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Blishen Score	Cape Breton	Mainland
001 to 125	12.9	13.7
126 to 250	8.5	16.4
251 to 375	17.9	11.1
376 to 500	<u>60.7</u>	<u>58.8</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(425)	(262)
Average Blishen Score:	352	330

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.11

INDUSTRIES OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE, CAPE
BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Industry*	Cape Breton	Mainland
Agriculture	0.2	0.4
Forestry	10.6	2.3
Fishing and Trapping	12.5	1.1
Manufacturing Industries	3.6	12.9
Construction Industry	31.1	32.6
Transportation, Communication, and Other Utilities	6.4	4.5
Trade	8.0	4.2
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	-	0.4
Community, Business and Personal Service Industries	10.1	23.5
Public Administration and Defence	<u>17.5</u>	<u>18.2</u>
Total	100.0	100.1
(Number of cases)	(424)	(264)

*Industries are coded and grouped into categories according to the Standard Industrial Classification Manual (Information Canada, 1970).

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.12

TYPE OF EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON RESERVE,
CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND, MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Type of Employer	Cape Breton	Mainland
Department of Indian Affairs	0.5	1.1
Armed Forces	-	0.4
LIP and Related Projects	23.9	14.7
Other Federal Government	0.5	0.8
Provincial Government	0.5	0.4
Municipal Government	-	0.4
Band Council	16.3	17.7
Private Business	39.0	48.7
Cooperatives	14.4	7.2
Community and Minority Organizations	3.8	7.5
Educational Institution	0.5	-
Health Institution	-	0.4
Crown Corporation	0.7	-
Other	<u>-</u>	<u>0.8</u>
Total	100.1	100.1
(Number of cases)	(423)	(265)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.13

ETHNICITY OF THE EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ON RESERVE, CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND,
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer Ethnicity	Cape Breton	Mainland
Micmac Origin	90.8	88.7
Majority Group Origin	<u>9.2</u>	<u>11.3</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(423)	(265)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.14

LOCATION OF WORK FOR THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Location of Work	Cape Breton	Mainland
On the Reserve	88.5	83.0
In the Immediate Area (Off Reserve)	7.7	12.8
Other Nova Scotia	<u>3.7</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Total	99.9	100.0
(Number of cases)	(426)	(265)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.5.15

EMPLOYER/EMPLOYEE STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE ON
RESERVE, CAPE BRETON AND THE MAINLAND
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer/Employee Status	Cape Breton	Mainland
Owner or Manager	3.8	8.3
Self-employed	22.9	15.5
Employee	<u>73.3</u>	<u>76.2</u>
Total	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(423)	(265)

Source: IPA Data Base.

3.6 Micmacs and Other Nova Scotians

So far some differences within the Micmac population on the matter of employment patterns have been examined, but the picture is not complete without a comparison with the non-Indian population of Nova Scotia.

In order to describe non-Indian employment patterns in the province, two sources of data have been used. One is the census for 1971 and 1976, which provides information on all Nova Scotians. Where this is used for the total population, we have added together our information on both the on and off reserve Micmac population living in Nova Scotia in order to make the comparison.

Information similar to that for the Micmac has also been collected in two rural areas of the province. One of these is South-West Nova Scotia, where employment is found in fishing, processing, logging and sawmills, textiles, tourism, a hospital, and small animal farms. Businesses are generally small and locally owned, and while they provide a reasonably high level of employment for the local population, the jobs are generally at low wages. The largest group in the region is English speaking and of European origin, and it is this majority group on which information is presented below, although there are also substantial numbers of Acadians and Blacks in the region.

The second rural area is located along the Eastern Shore area of Halifax County. It is an economically disadvantaged region characterized by very limited employment opportunities. As a result, the young tend to leave the area in search of employment elsewhere, and a number of family heads commute to jobs outside the area on a daily or weekly basis. Those who work in the area are engaged in relatively poor fishing, some logging for the pulp companies, and some

government employment. Virtually all of the population is English speaking and of European origin.

Employment patterns in these two rural areas will be compared with the on reserve Micmac population. While sharp differences will be found to exist in the Indian and non-Indian comparison, the contrasts within the majority group in these two regions are also significant.

Some of the differences between the entire Nova Scotia population and the Micmacs have been discussed earlier. Tables were presented in Chapter 2 that showed how many more young people there are in the Micmac population, how much more rapidly the Micmac population has been growing, and so on. These differences in turn have significant implications for issues such as the level of unemployment and the demand for housing on the reserve.

With respect to the level of education of the adult population, Table 3.6.1 compares the majority group in the two rural regions discussed above with the on reserve Micmac population. The differential is most clearly seen at the secondary school level. Even more striking are the differences revealed in Table 3.6.2, where the entire Nova Scotia labour force is compared on the level of education variable with the total Micmac labour force in the province. While the figures on Micmac educational levels for different age groups (presented in Section 3.3) showed considerable improvement over time, it should be recognized that the educational level of the non-Indian population has also improved substantially in the last two decades, particularly at the post-secondary level.

In Table 3.6.3 the labour force status of the adult population during 1975 is examined. The Micmac on reserve have a higher proportion of their population in the labour force than the majority group in the two rural areas. In

the Eastern Shore sample, a higher proportion of the women are in the housewife category, reflecting perhaps more traditional family patterns and also limited opportunities for female employment. The older age structure of the majority group is reflected in the figures on retirement.

Table 3.6.4 focuses on those in the labour force during the year 1975, and reveals the sharp differences that exist in the extent of employment (especially regular employment) and in unemployment between the majority and minority groups. The contrast is particularly sharp between Micmacs on reserve and the majority group in South-West Nova Scotia; the latter group has three times the level of regular employment of the Micmac. In Table 3.6.5, the unemployment rate for these groups at one point in time in 1976 has been calculated. The figures show that 66.4 percent of the Micmac labour force on the reserves is unemployed, as compared to 31 percent for the majority group in the Eastern Shore area and 7 percent in South-West Nova Scotia. According to Statistics Canada, the unemployment rate for the labour force for all of Nova Scotia was 8.8 percent in June of 1976, and ranged from 6.3 to 8.9 percent during 1975.

Table 3.6.6 shows that between 36.4 and 49.1 percent of the majority group population relies on social assistance payments in South-West Nova Scotia and in the Eastern Shore area respectively, compared to 64 percent of the on reserve Micmac population. When the use of social assistance is broken down by type, as in Table 3.6.7, it is evident that old age pensions make up the bulk of these payments for the majority group, followed by unemployment insurance receipts. Welfare payments account for less than 7 percent of the total as far as the majority group is concerned, compared to 70.4 percent of all social assistance cases for the Micmac on reserve.

Table 3.6.8 places the occupational distribution of the total Micmac labour force in Nova Scotia (on plus off reserve) next to that of the entire labour force of the province. Although the years are not the same, since the Nova Scotia data are available only for 1971 when the census was taken, a comparison can still be instructive. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the table is the heavy concentration of Micmac in construction occupations, which take up almost a third of the employed labour force, compared with less than 10 percent of the entire Nova Scotia labour force. There is also an overrepresentation in fishing and forestry-related occupations. The relatively high proportion of Micmac in social science/social welfare work is due to the funding for social-problem oriented work that is available from the government (for example, alcohol, employment, and education counselling), while the larger number of managerial and administrative positions can be traced to occupations in minority group organizations, band councils, government, and social welfare agencies.¹³ Indians in Nova Scotia are underrepresented in most professional occupations (for example, engineering, teaching, and medicine) as well as in occupations such as clerical, sales, and service work. Their largely rural location helps to explain the small numbers in these latter occupations.

When the industry distribution of the Micmac labour force in the province is compared with the entire provincial labour force, as in Table 3.6.9, a picture similar to that deriving from the occupational tables emerges. That is, there is again strong overrepresentation in construction industries (29.2 percent versus 8.1) and more than the

¹³There is also a possibility that the census classification is coded more strictly to admit only very high level occupations into the managerial/administrative category.

provincial labour force generally in forestry, fishing and in public administration. There is underrepresentation in industries such as agriculture, mining, manufacturing, transport and communication, finance, insurance and real estate, and in service industries.

One of the most dramatic illustrations of differences in the employment situation of Indian and non-Indian Nova Scotians is captured in Table 3.6.10 where data are presented on the kind of employer the labour force is dependent upon - whether private, cooperative, governmental, community organization, and so on. The contrast between the on reserve population in the province and the majority group is striking, particularly on the dimension of dependence on government employment. For the Micmac on reserve, some 45 percent of employment is directly dependent upon government support. Almost all of this has to do with LIP projects or employment by the band councils and by community/minority organizations. Only about a quarter of majority group employment is government-dependent; the rest is generated by the private sector. To the extent that the majority group is engaged in government employment, it appears to be of a more stable kind that avoids government-sponsored temporary make-work programs.

The final two tables in this series give the ethnicity of the employer and the employer/employee status of the labour force. We find that the majority group in South-West Nova Scotia and along the Eastern Shore is even more likely to work for employers of the same ethnic origin as themselves than are the Micmac on reserve (Table 3.6.11). They are also more likely to be self-employed, around 29 percent compared to 20.1 percent, and, therefore, to have a smaller proportion in the employee category, around 70 percent compared to 74.4 percent, (Table 3.6.12). While these differences are

significant, other minorities such as Black Nova Scotians are much worse off than the Micmac in this respect, because they own or control very few businesses, even as self-employed individuals. Almost all Blacks in the province work for majority group employers.

Table 3.6.1

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ADULT POPULATION, MICMACS ON RESERVE AND MAJORITY GROUP IN TWO RURAL AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1976
(Percent)

Educational Level	Micmacs On Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
Grade 6 or less	29.7	16.4	30.4
Grade 7 thru 9	49.3	37.1	40.2
Grade 10 thru 13	17.9	39.1	26.9
Post-secondary	<u>3.1</u>	<u>7.5</u>	<u>2.5</u>
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1767)	(1298)	(391)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.6.2

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE LABOUR FORCE, ALL
MICMAC IN NOVA SCOTIA AND TOTAL
NOVA SCOTIA POPULATION, 1976
(Percent)

Micmac Labour Force		Nova Scotia Labour Force	
Educational Level	Percent	Educational Level	Percent
Grade 6 or less			19.7
Grade 7 - 9	52.5	Less than Grade 9	18.2
Grade 10 - 13	23.2	Grades 9 - 13	42.5
Post-secondary	<u>4.7</u>	Post-secondary	<u>39.2</u>
Total	100.1	Total	99.9
(Number of cases)	(1217)	(Number of cases)	(326,860)

Source: (1) The Micmac data come from the IPA Data Base. The labour force includes those 15 years of age and over who were either employed or unemployed in 1976. It excludes housewives, the retired, the disabled, students, etc.

(2) Data on the Nova Scotia Labour force come from Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 94-831. The labour force is defined in the census as "non-inmates, 15 years and over, who in the week prior to enumeration worked for pay or profit, helped in unpaid family work, looked for work, were on temporary lay-off, or had jobs from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, vacation, strike, etc. Persons doing housework in their own home or volunteer work only, are excluded from the labour force . . ." (Statistics Canada, Catalogue 94-786).

Table 3.6.3

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE ADULT POPULATION, MICMACS ON
RESERVE AND MAJORITY GROUP IN TWO RURAL
AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Labour Force Status	Micmacs On Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
In the Labour Force	64.0	41.5	48.6
Housewife	24.3	37.1	24.6
Retired	8.7	17.7	24.5
Student	1.6	0.5	0.6
Disabled	<u>1.4</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>1.7</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1762)	(402)	(1385)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.6.4

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE LABOUR FORCE, MICMACS ON
RESERVE AND MAJORITY GROUP IN TWO RURAL
AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Employment Status	Micmacs On Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
Regular Employment*	24.7	41.2	78.2
Irregular Employment**	36.8	41.8	18.4
Unemployed Year-round	<u>38.5</u>	<u>17.0</u>	<u>3.4</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1130)	(165)	(673)

* Regular employment refers to reasonably steady work through the year, although not necessarily at one job or full time.

** Irregular employment implies seasonal work or work combined with other activities; e.g., as a student or a housewife. It usually involves some reliance on social assistance during periods of underemployment.

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.6.5

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE LABOUR FORCE, MICMACS ON RESERVE
AND MAJORITY GROUP IN TWO RURAL AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA
AT ONE POINT IN TIME DURING 1976
(Percent)

Employment Status	Micmacs On Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
Employed	33.6	68.9	93.1
Unemployed	66.4	31.1	6.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1075)	(167)	(652)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.6.6

EXTENT OF RELIANCE ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AMONG THE ADULT
POPULATION, MICMACS ON RESERVE AND MAJORITY GROUP
IN TWO RURAL AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Social Assistance Status	Micmacs On Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
No Reliance on Social Assistance	35.9	50.9	63.6
Use of Social Assistance	64.1	49.1	36.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(1759)	(405)	(1392)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.6.7

TYPE OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE USED BY THE ADULT POPULATION
MICMACS ON RESERVE AND MAJORITY GROUP IN TWO
RURAL AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Type of Social Assistance	Micmacs On Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
Unemployment Insurance	8.8	31.7	14.2
Old Age and Other Pensions	16.3	62.7	75.8
Provincial/Municipal Welfare	5.4	4.0	6.9
IAB Welfare	65.0	-	-
IAB Educational Assistance	1.9	-	-
Combinations and Other	<u>2.6</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	100.0	99.9	99.9
(Number of cases)	(1127)	(199)	(506)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.6.8

OCCUPATIONS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
ALL MICMAC IN NOVA SCOTIA (1975)
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA (1971)
(Percent)

Occupational Group*	Micmac Labour Force in Nova Scotia (1975)	Nova Scotia Labour Force (1971)
Managerial, Administrative and Related	7.6	3.6
Natural Sciences, Engineering, and Math	0.4	2.4
Social Sciences and Related	4.4	0.9
Occupations in Religion	-	0.4
Teaching and Related	2.9	4.8
Medicine and Health	0.8	4.4
Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts and Related Sport and Recreation	0.8	0.8
Clerical and Related	7.3	14.4
Sales	4.1	10.4
Service	9.7	16.9
Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry	0.1	3.2
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related	6.5	2.5
Forestry and Logging	6.6	1.1
Mining and Quarrying	-	1.3
Processing	3.3	4.9
Machining and Related	1.1	2.1
Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	7.0	5.6
Construction Trades	31.2	9.7
Transport Equipment Operating	4.9	5.4
Material Handling and Related	0.3	2.7
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	0.7	1.3
Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified	0.3	1.1
Total	100.0	99.8
(Number of cases)	(789)	(264,000)

*Only stated occupations are included. Classification is according to the Canadian Classification Dictionary of Occupations (Information Canada, 1974).

Source: IPA Data Base; and Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 94-724.

Table 3.6.9

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
IS EMPLOYED, ALL MICMAC IN NOVA SCOTIA
(1975) AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA (1971)

Industry*	Micmac Labour Force in Nova Scotia (1975)	Nova Scotia Labour Force (1971)
Agriculture	0.3	2.7
Forestry	6.7	1.2
Fishing and Trapping	7.4	2.1
Mines, Quarries and Oil Wells	-	2.3
Manufacturing Industries	8.7	15.5
Construction Industry	29.2	8.1
Transportation, Communication, and Utilities	5.9	9.1
Trade	6.8	16.3
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	0.3	3.3
Community, Business and Personal Service Industries	17.2	24.9
Public Administration and Defence	<u>17.6</u>	<u>14.5</u>
Total	100.1	100.0
(Number of cases)	(780)	(266,100)

*Industries are coded and grouped into categories according to the Standard Industrial Classification Manual (Information Canada, 1970).

Source: IPA Data Base; and Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 94-750.

Table 3.6.10

TYPE OF EMPLOYER OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE, MICMACS
ON RESERVE AND MAJORITY GROUP IN TWO RURAL
AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Type of Employer	Micmacs On Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
Dept. of Indian Affairs	0.7	-	-
Armed Forces	0.1	-	0.8
LIP and Related Projects	20.3	-	-
Other Federal Government	0.6	7.4	7.5
Provincial Government	0.4	7.4	4.7
Municipal Government	0.1	-	2.4
Band Council	16.9	-	-
Private Business	42.7	72.5	72.0
Cooperatives	11.6	-	0.2
Community and Minority Organizations	5.3	4.7	0.9
Educational Institutions	0.3	5.4	4.7
Health Institutions	0.1	1.3	4.6
Crown Corporations	0.4	0.7	1.7
Other	<u>0.3</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>0.6</u>
Total	99.8	100.1	100.1
(Number of cases)	(688)	(149)	(636)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.6.11

ETHNICITY OF THE EMPLOYER FOR THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
MICMACS ON RESERVE AND MAJORITY GROUP IN TWO
RURAL AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1975
(Percent)

Employer Ethnicity	Micmacs On Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
Majority Group	10.0	99.3	95.5
Micmac	90.0	-	-
Other	-	0.7	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(688)	(150)	(628)

Source: IPA Data Base.

Table 3.6.12

EMPLOYER/EMPLOYEE STATUS OF THE ADULT LABOUR FORCE
MICMACS ON RESERVE AND MAJORITY GROUP IN
TWO RURAL AREAS OF NOVA SCOTIA,
MAIN JOB IN 1975
(Percent)

Employer/Employee Status	Micmacs on Reserve	Majority Group	
		Eastern Shore	Southwest Nova Scotia
Owner, Co-Owner or Manager	5.5	0.7	4.6
Self-Employed	20.1	30.4	27.5
Employee	74.4	68.9	67.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Number of cases)	(688)	(151)	(654)

Source: IPA Data Base.

4. COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS

In Chapter 3 some figures were presented on the educational levels of the adult out-of-school Micmac population. These figures clearly indicated a substantial gap existing between the Indian and non-Indian populations in Nova Scotia, particularly the much lower proportion of the Micmac population with education in the secondary and post-secondary levels. The very high unemployment rates of young Micmac people in the labour force, as documented in Section 3.3, also suggests that the educational system is not working very well for Micmac students.

There is clearly an incentive, then, to examine the figures on those currently or recently enrolled in the formal school system to see whether these educational inequalities are continuing at the present time or reflect only the legacy of the past in the older, out-of-school population. From the Department of Indian Affairs and the Union of Nova Scotia Indians' Education Liaison Office, figures have been obtained on the enrolment of Micmac students by grade level for the period 1972/73 through 1979/80. Comparable information on the enrolment by grade level of all students in Nova Scotia has been made available by the Nova Scotia Department of Education.

While the enrolment figures are helpful in providing a picture of educational achievement and inequalities, and are suggestive of drop-out rates among the student population, we have also collected figures on the percentage of Grade 12 students who actually graduate from high school. Again, graduation rates for Micmac and all Nova Scotia students are compared.¹⁴

¹⁴Data Sources and Methodolgy are discussed in Chapter 1 of this report.

As mentioned above, this report deals only with province-wide patterns. The enrolment and graduation figures have, however, been broken down at least to the county level to allow a comparison in patterns between Micmac students from a particular reserve and non-Indian students from the same county.¹⁵ It should be kept in mind that there is considerable variation from one reserve to the next in the degree of success Micmac students are having in the educational system. One or two reserves have enrolment figures almost comparable to those of the majority population while at the other extreme are found two or three communities who have not had any students reach grade twelve in the eight recent years for which data are available.

Since the early 1960s, there has been a concerted effort to have Micmac students educated off the reserves in the regular provincially-operated schools. ^{such as with the} The infamous residential school at Shubenacadie has been closed down, as have most of the on reserve schools in the province.¹⁶ For the

¹⁵As an example, the enrolment of Micmac students in the city of Sydney, who would come largely from the Membertou reserve, is compared to the enrolment of non-Indian students in Sydney and in Cape Breton County.

¹⁶It should be pointed out again that the main concern in this report is to make available some basic and contemporary figures on the demography, employment, and education of the Micmac population in the province. For a historical perspective on educational matters, the reader may wish to consult one or more of the following sources. Ralston [4], for example, traces the history of Micmac education from 1605 to 1872, emphasizing the influence of religious instruction carried out by Roman Catholic priests, and the very limited and sporadic interest of public authorities in the matter during this period. Changes in the first half of the twentieth century are discussed by Wallis and Wallis [7]. Other useful sources include Steen [5], Elliott [2], and the work of the Micmac Institute of Cultural Studies.

most part, then, the figures presented here include Micmac students enrolled in provincial schools across the province. Four bands, however, have federally-operated schools located on their reserve: Eskasoni, Wagmatcook, Whycocomagh and Indian Brook. In the latter case, schooling does not go beyond the kindergarten stage on the reserve, but in the other three cases it is not until the junior or senior high school years that Micmac students begin to attend the provincial schools adjacent to the reserve. Both "federal" and "provincial" Micmac students are included in the following tables, which incorporate those living off as well as on the twelve reserves in the province.¹⁷

4.1 Enrolment of Students by Grade Level

Enrolment figures by grade level, for all Micmac and all Nova Scotia students, are presented below. Tables have been constructed for each year from 1972/73 through 1979/80. For each of these years, the information is given in three different forms: first, the percentage of students enrolled in each individual grade; secondly, the percentages grouped in three categories (elementary, junior high and senior high school); and, finally, a graph of the percentage enrolled at each grade level. Tables 4.1.1 through 4.1.8 and Figures 4.1.1 through 4.1.8 provide this information.

These are not historical tables in which a given group of students is followed over a 12-year period in order to establish how many drop out of the school system over that period of time. The figures provide simply a cross-section

¹⁷More precisely, the figures include all Micmac students who live on reserve, as well as those living off reserve to whom the Department of Indian Affairs provides financial assistance.

of the numbers enrolled at each grade level in a given year. If there are fewer students in Grade 12 on average than there are in Grade 11, for example, it probably indicates that many Grade 11 students "drop out" (i.e., leave the secondary school system to seek their fortunes in the labour market, get married, etc.), but some of those who leave may be transferring to a vocational or post-secondary program, or moving to another school system outside the province.

This having been said, it is clear from the tables and graphs that the Micmac students are leaving the elementary and secondary school system in Nova Scotia at a much higher rate than non-Indian students. This provides at least indirect evidence of a much higher drop-out rate, particularly when combined with data in previous chapters on the low educational level of the out-of-school population. Tables 4.1.1 through 4.1.8 indicate that the proportion of all Nova Scotia students enrolled in Grades 10 to 12 ranges between 17.7 and 21.2 percent. For Micmac students, the range is between 6.6 and 9.7 percent; thus the proportion of students in the higher grades is two to three times lower for the Micmac population.¹⁸ The graphs also show a much steeper decline in the percentage of Micmac students enrolled as one moves to the higher grades.

A close examination of the graphs also reveals at what

¹⁸The figures for all Nova Scotia students are distorted somewhat by the fact that the baby boom of previous decades has created a population bulge in the late elementary and junior high school grades. Thus there are more students in those grades than at earlier levels. Nevertheless, during junior and senior high school the proportion of students in each successive grade declines substantially, and this has less to do with the age structure of the populations than with the fact that students are leaving the school system.

grade level the school leaving rate appears to accelerate sharply. For Micmac students, this occurs near the beginning of junior high school, especially around Grade 7. Why this is so remains to be determined. It may be that a number of Micmac students reach the legal school leaving age at this point, having failed previous grades. The transition that Micmac students make to larger junior high schools may also have something to do with the accelerated rate of leaving the school system. For the students at three relatively large reserves, this has also been the period of transition from attending elementary schools on the reserve to going to provincial junior high schools in neighbouring communities.

In the case of all Nova Scotia students, on the other hand, the percentage enrolled turns more sharply downward at higher grades, usually after Grade 9 and in the senior high school period.

Thus, the enrolment data are certainly suggestive of a high drop-out rate among Micmac students. The picture would of course be more clearly defined if a group of students could be followed over a period of time in order to determine where they go, when they leave the school system, and for what reasons they terminate their studies.

It is also worth asking whether the data indicate any improvement in the situation over the time period for which data are available. The answer is yes if one looks at the number of Micmac students enrolled at the higher grade levels. In 1972/73, for example, there were 89 students (or 7.0 percent of all Micmac students) enrolled in Grades 10 to 12. By 1979/80, the number had climbed to 142 students, or 9.7 percent of the total. There is also independent evidence of a substantial increase in recent years in the number of Micmac university students. On the negative side, however, is the fact that the ratio of Micmac students enrolled at

higher grades is not moving much closer in relative terms to the non-Indian ratio; the latter has also improved in the 1970's, so that the gap remains much the same.



Table 4.1.1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS
BY GRADE LEVEL, 1972-73

Grade Level	Indian Students		All N.S. Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>A. By Individual Grades</u>				
Primary (K5)*	166	13.1	14,587	7.0
Grade 01	117	9.3	15,371	7.4
02	147	11.6	17,143	8.2
03	119	9.4	17,532	8.4
04	121	9.6	18,061	8.7
05	113	9.0	18,165	8.7
06	123	9.7	17,863	8.6
07	118	9.3	18,927	9.1
08	79	6.3	17,470	8.4
09	70	5.5	16,096	7.7
10	39	3.1	14,853	7.1
11	36	2.9	12,608	6.1
12	<u>14</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>9,355</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Total	1,262	99.9%	208,031	99.9%
(Other)**	(6)		(3,231)	
<u>B. By Grouped Categories</u>				
Primary to Grade 6*	906	71.8	118,722	57.1
Grades 7 - 9	267	21.2	52,493	25.2
Grades 10 - 12	<u>89</u>	<u>7.0</u>	<u>36,816</u>	<u>17.7</u>
Total	1,262	100.0%	208,031	100%
(Other)**	(6)		(3,231)	

*An additional 137 Indian students were enrolled in K4.

**The "Other" category includes special, commercial, and auxiliary students whose grade level is not specified.

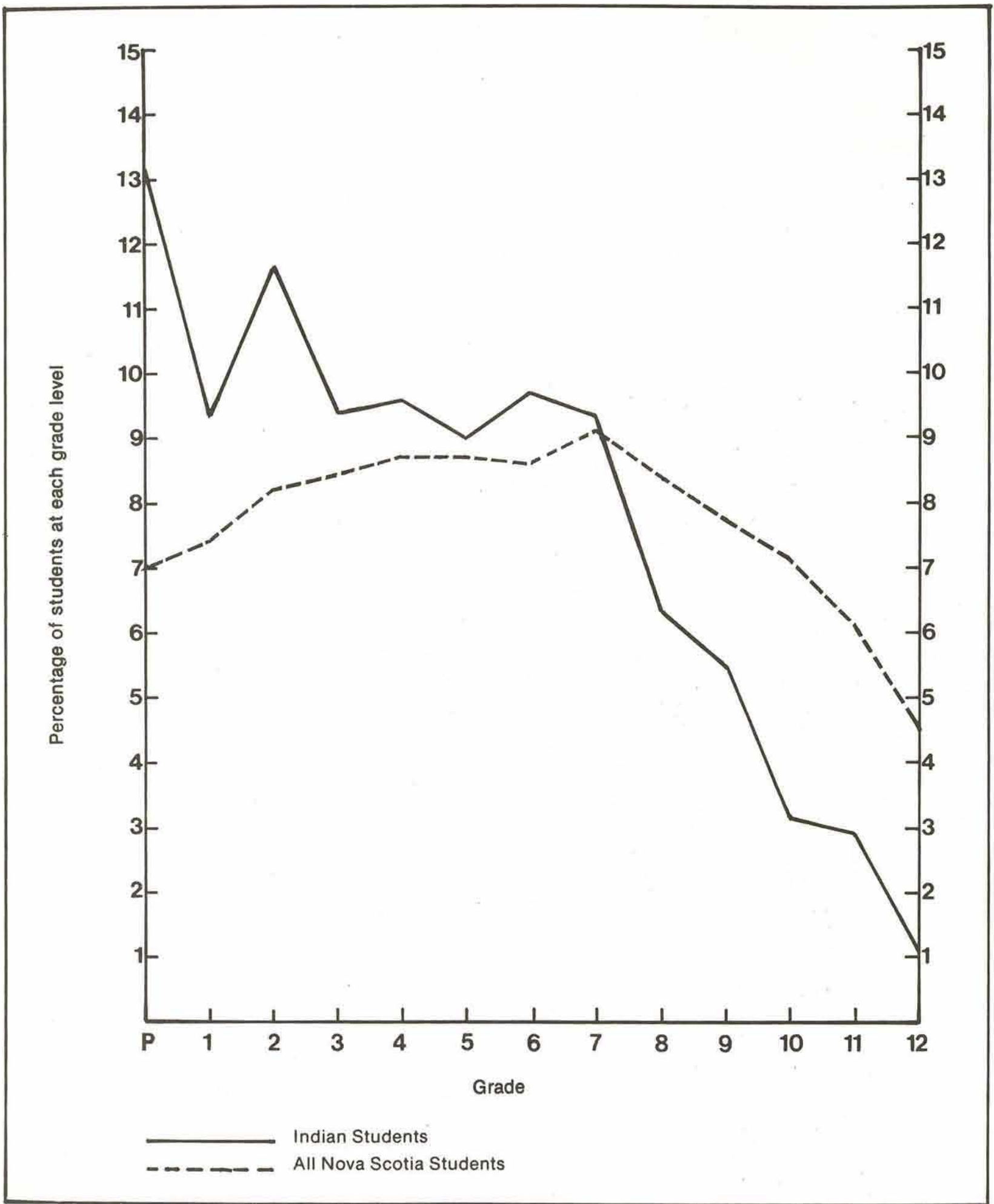


Figure 4. 1. 1
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND ALL NOVA
 SCOTIA STUDENTS, BY GRADE LEVEL, 1972-73

Table 4.1.2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS
BY GRADE LEVEL, 1973-74

Grade Level	Indian Students		All N.S. Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
A. <u>By Individual Grades</u>				
Primary (K5)*	144	11.6	14,370	7.0
Grade 01	133	10.7	14,468	7.1
02	119	9.6	15,619	7.6
03	129	10.4	17,041	8.3
04	127	10.2	17,604	8.6
05	109	8.8	17,995	8.8
06	110	8.8	18,123	8.9
07	132	10.6	18,677	9.1
08	95	7.6	18,096	8.9
09	52	4.2	16,145	7.9
10	47	3.8	14,606	7.1
11	27	2.2	12,580	6.2
12	<u>19</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>9,202</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Total	1,243	100%	204,526	100%
(Other)**	(5)		(3,125)	
B. <u>By Grouped Categories</u>				
Primary to Grade 6*	871	70.1	115,220	56.3
Grades 7 - 9	279	22.4	52,918	25.9
Grades 10 - 12	<u>93</u>	<u>7.5</u>	<u>36,388</u>	<u>17.8</u>
Total	1,243	100%	204,526	100%
(Other)**	(5)		(3,125)	

*An additional 188 Indian students were enrolled in K4.

**The "Other" category includes special, commercial, and auxiliary students whose grade level is not specified.

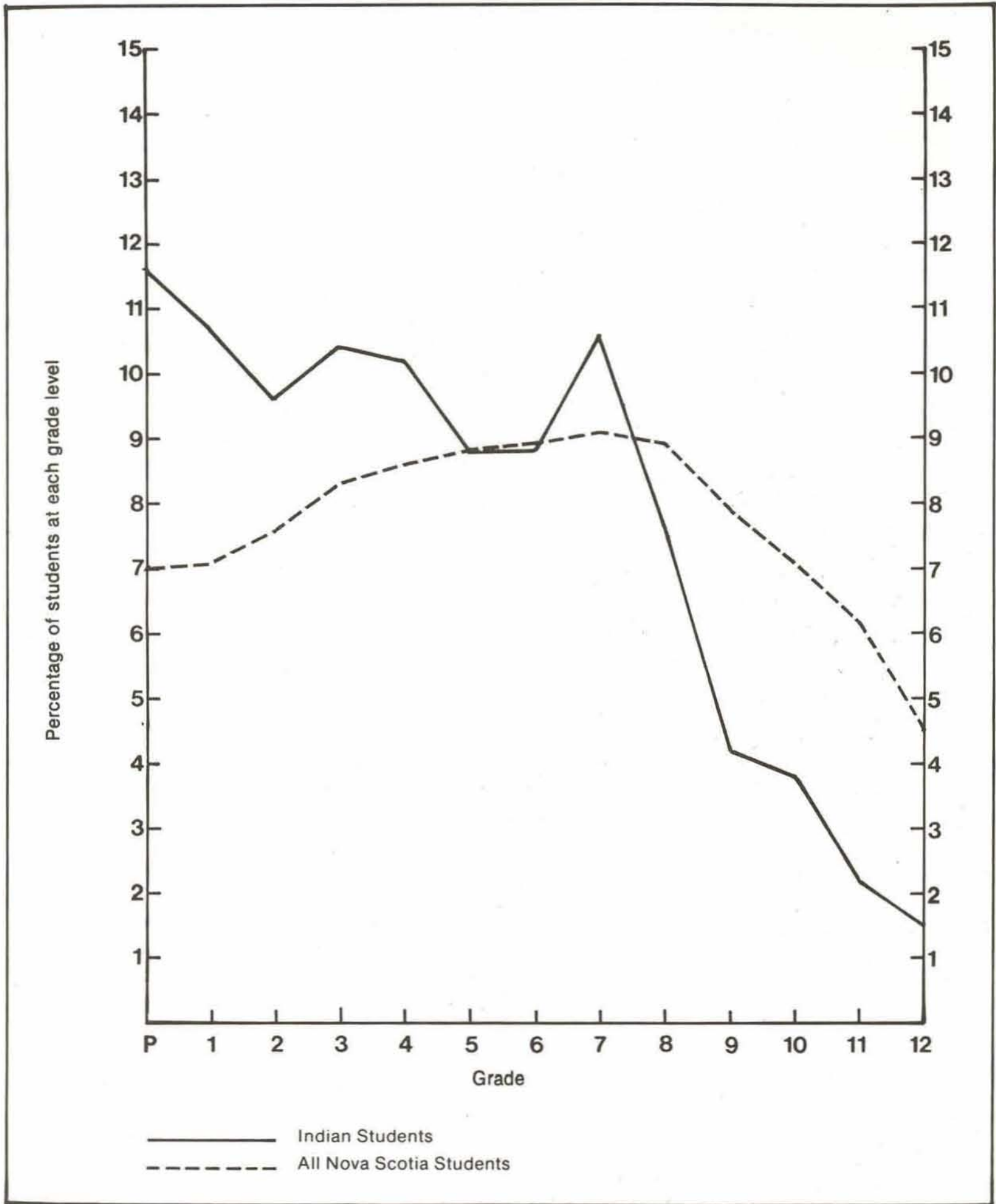


Figure 4. 1. 2
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS, BY GRADE LEVEL, 1973-74

Table 4.1.3

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS
BY GRADE LEVEL, 1974-75

Grade Level	Indian Students		All N.S. Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>A. By Individual Grades</u>				
Primary (K5)*	163	12.1	14,307	7.1
Grade 01	169	12.5	14,301	7.1
02	141	10.4	14,736	7.3
03	120	8.9	15,568	7.7
04	133	9.8	16,888	8.4
05	129	9.5	17,516	8.7
06	118	8.7	18,076	9.0
07	122	9.0	18,887	9.4
08	100	7.4	17,899	8.9
09	60	4.4	16,606	8.3
10	42	3.1	14,542	7.2
11	37	2.7	12,224	6.1
12	<u>17</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>9,598</u>	<u>4.8</u>
Total	1,351	99.8%	201,148	100%
(Other)**	(32)		(3,132)	
<u>B. By Grouped Categories</u>				
Primary to Grade 6*	973	72.0	111,392	55.4
Grades 7 - 9	282	20.9	53,392	26.5
Grades 10 - 12	<u>96</u>	<u>7.1</u>	<u>36,364</u>	<u>18.1</u>
Total	1,351	100.0%	201,148	100%
(Other)**	(32)		(3,132)	

*An additional 153 Indian students were enrolled in K4.

**The "Other" category includes special, commercial, and auxiliary students whose grade level is not specified.

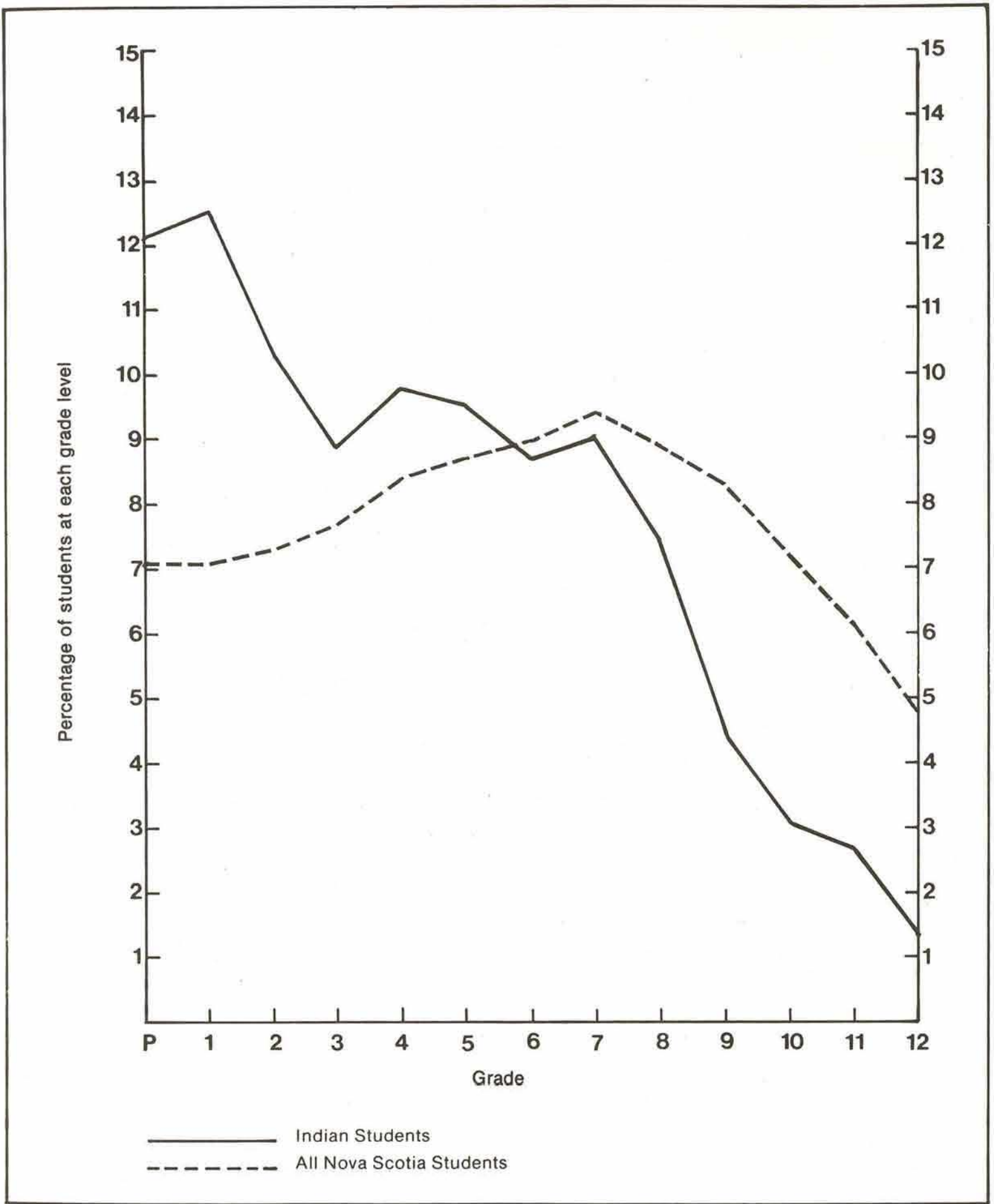


Figure 4. 1. 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS, BY GRADE LEVEL, 1974-75

Table 4.1.4

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS
BY GRADE LEVEL, 1975-76

Grade Level	Indian Students		All N.S. Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>A. By Individual Grades</u>				
Primary (K5)*	125	9.1	14,629	7.3
Grade 01	165	12.0	14,113	7.1
02	150	10.9	14,406	7.2
03	137	10.0	14,726	7.4
04	116	8.4	15,636	7.8
05	133	9.7	16,999	8.5
06	118	8.6	17,743	8.9
07	140	10.2	19,003	9.5
08	119	8.7	18,168	9.1
09	80	5.8	16,881	8.5
10	38	2.8	15,061	7.5
11	33	2.4	12,478	6.3
12	<u>20</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>9,817</u>	<u>4.9</u>
Total	1,374	100.1%	199,660	100%
(Other)**	(23)		(3,233)	
<u>B. By Grouped Categories</u>				
Primary to Grade 6*	944	68.7	108,252	54.2
Grades 7 - 9	339	24.7	54,052	27.1
Grades 10 - 12	<u>91</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>37,356</u>	<u>18.7</u>
Total	1,374	100%	199,660	100%
(Other)**	(23)		(3,233)	

*An additional 127 Indian students were enrolled in K4.

**The "Other" category includes special, commercial, and auxiliary students whose grade level is not specified.

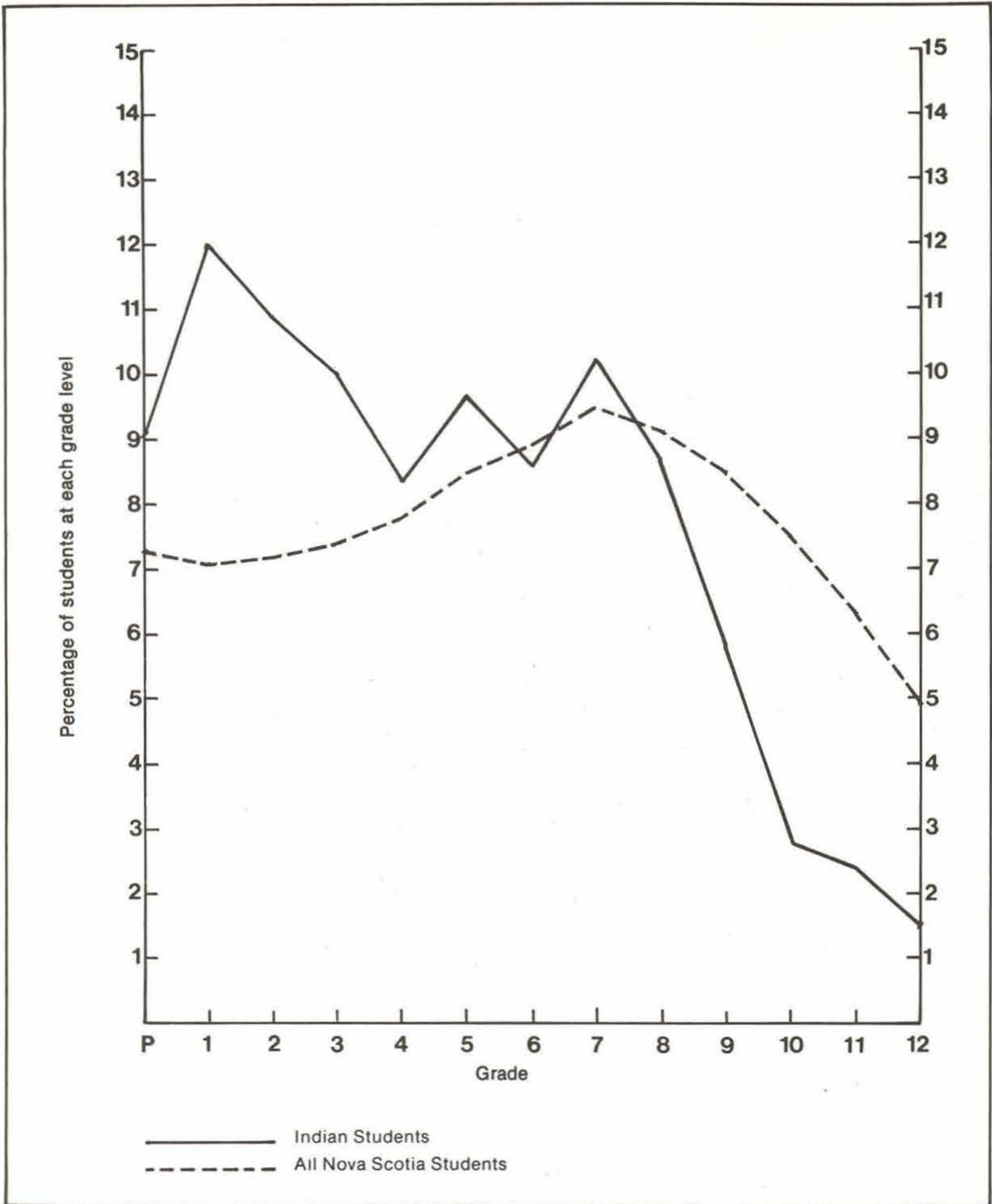


Figure 4. 1. 4
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND ALL NOVA
 SCOTIA STUDENTS, BY GRADE LEVEL, 1975-76

Table 4.1.5

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS
BY GRADE LEVEL, 1976-77

Grade Level	Indian Students		All N.S. Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
A. <u>By Individual Grades</u>				
Primary (K5)*	153	10.7	15,099	7.7
Grade 01	147	10.2	14,286	7.2
02	176	12.3	14,088	7.1
03	122	8.5	14,349	7.3
04	147	10.2	14,786	7.5
05	111	7.7	15,699	7.9
06	119	8.3	17,140	8.7
07	161	11.2	18,838	9.5
08	99	6.9	18,262	9.2
09	102	7.1	17,200	8.7
10	52	3.6	15,335	7.8
11	21	1.5	12,399	6.3
12	<u>26</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>10,000</u>	<u>5.1</u>
Total	1,436	100%	197,481	100%
(Other)**	(27)		(3,791)	
B. <u>By Grouped Categories</u>				
Primary to Grade 6*	975	67.9	105,447	53.4
Grades 7 - 9	362	25.2	54,300	27.5
Grades 10 - 12	<u>99</u>	<u>6.9</u>	<u>37,734</u>	<u>19.1</u>
Total	1,436	100%	197,481	100%
(Other)**	(23)		(3,791)	

*An additional 111 Indian students were enrolled in K4.

**The "Other" category includes special, commercial, and auxiliary students whose grade level is not specified.

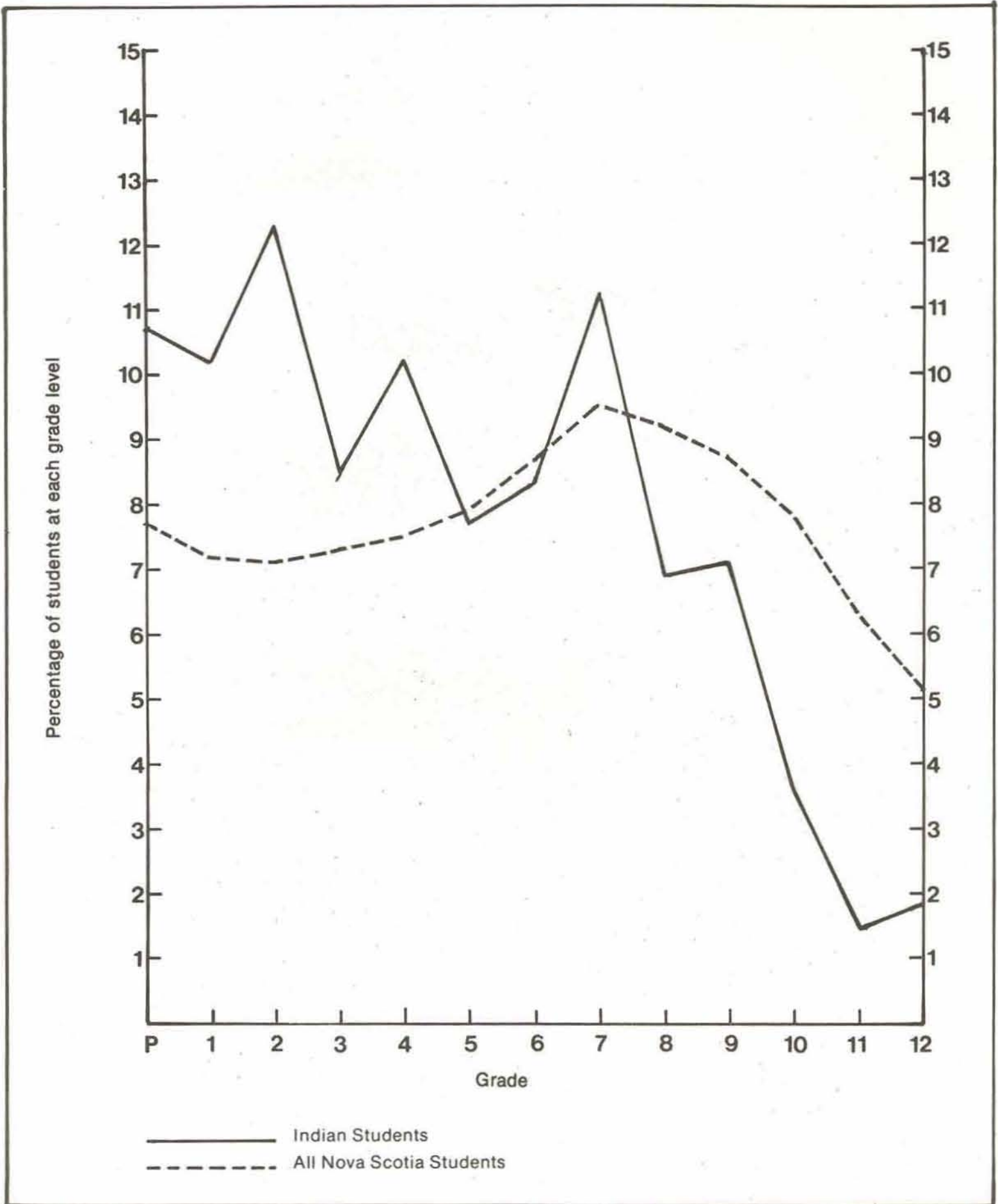


Figure 4.1.5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS, BY GRADE LEVEL, 1976-77

Table 4.1.6

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS
BY GRADE LEVEL, 1977-78

Grade Level	Indian Students		All N.S. Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>A. By Individual Grades</u>				
Primary (K5)*	134	9.2	14,300	7.4
Grade 01	168	11.5	14,757	7.6
02	151	10.3	14,195	7.3
03	171	11.7	14,178	7.3
04	151	10.3	14,409	7.4
05	136	9.3	14,672	7.5
06	106	7.2	15,646	8.0
07	148	10.1	18,360	9.4
08	105	7.2	18,088	9.3
09	82	5.6	17,171	8.8
10	63	4.3	15,529	8.0
11	33	2.3	12,978	6.7
12	<u>15</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>10,264</u>	<u>5.3</u>
Total	1,463	100%	194,547	100%
(Other)**	(35)		(3,472)	
<u>B. By Grouped Categories</u>				
Primary to Grade 6*	1,017	69.5	102,157	52.5
Grades 7 - 9	335	22.9	53,619	27.6
Grades 10 - 12	<u>111</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>38,771</u>	<u>19.9</u>
Total	1,463	100%	194,547	100%
(Other)**	(35)		(3,472)	

*An additional 105 Indian students were enrolled in K4.

**The "Other" category includes special, commercial, and auxiliary students whose grade level is not specified.

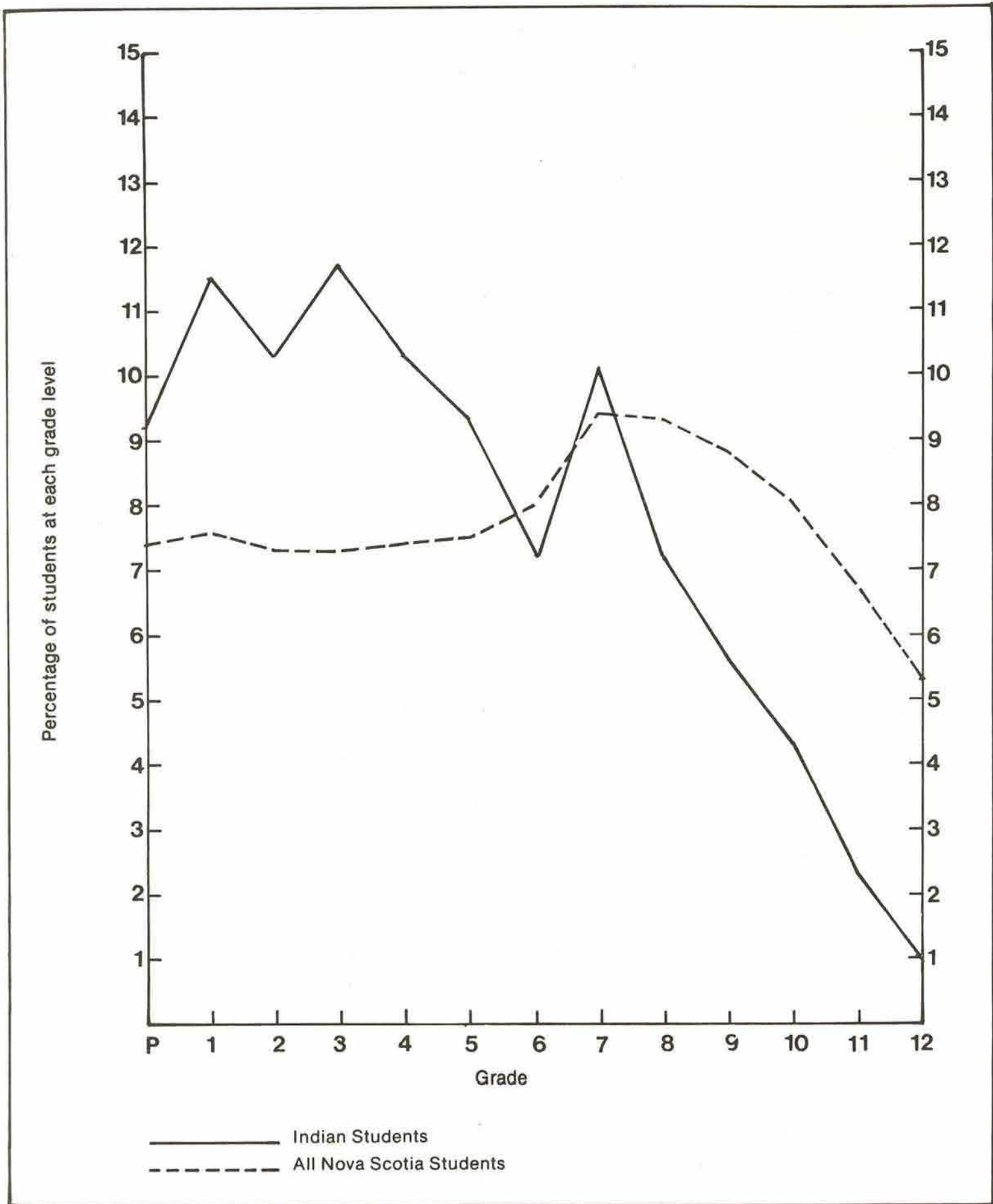


Figure 4. 1. 6
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS, BY GRADE LEVEL, 1977-78

Table 4.1.7

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS
BY GRADE LEVEL, 1978-79

Grade Level	Indian Students		All N.S. Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>A. By Individual Grades</u>				
Primary (K5)*	160	10.6	13,952	7.3
Grade 01	123	8.1	14,047	7.4
02	139	9.2	14,716	7.7
03	186	12.3	14,209	7.5
04	141	9.3	13,962	7.3
05	126	8.3	14,322	7.5
06	151	10.0	14,762	7.8
07	138	9.1	16,826	8.8
08	132	8.7	17,684	9.3
09	88	5.8	16,832	8.8
10	72	4.7	15,590	8.2
11	33	2.2	13,147	6.9
12	<u>25</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>10,453</u>	<u>5.5</u>
Total	1,514	100%	190,502	100%
(Other)**	(23)		(3,565)	
<u>B. By Grouped Categories</u>				
Primary to Grade 6*	1,026	67.8	99,970	52.5
Grades 7 - 9	358	23.6	51,342	26.9
Grades 10 - 12	<u>130</u>	<u>8.6</u>	<u>39,190</u>	<u>20.6</u>
Total	1,514	100%	190,502	100%
(Other)**	(23)		(3,565)	

*An additional 88 Indian students were enrolled in K4.

**The "Other" category includes special, commercial, and auxiliary students whose grade level is not specified.

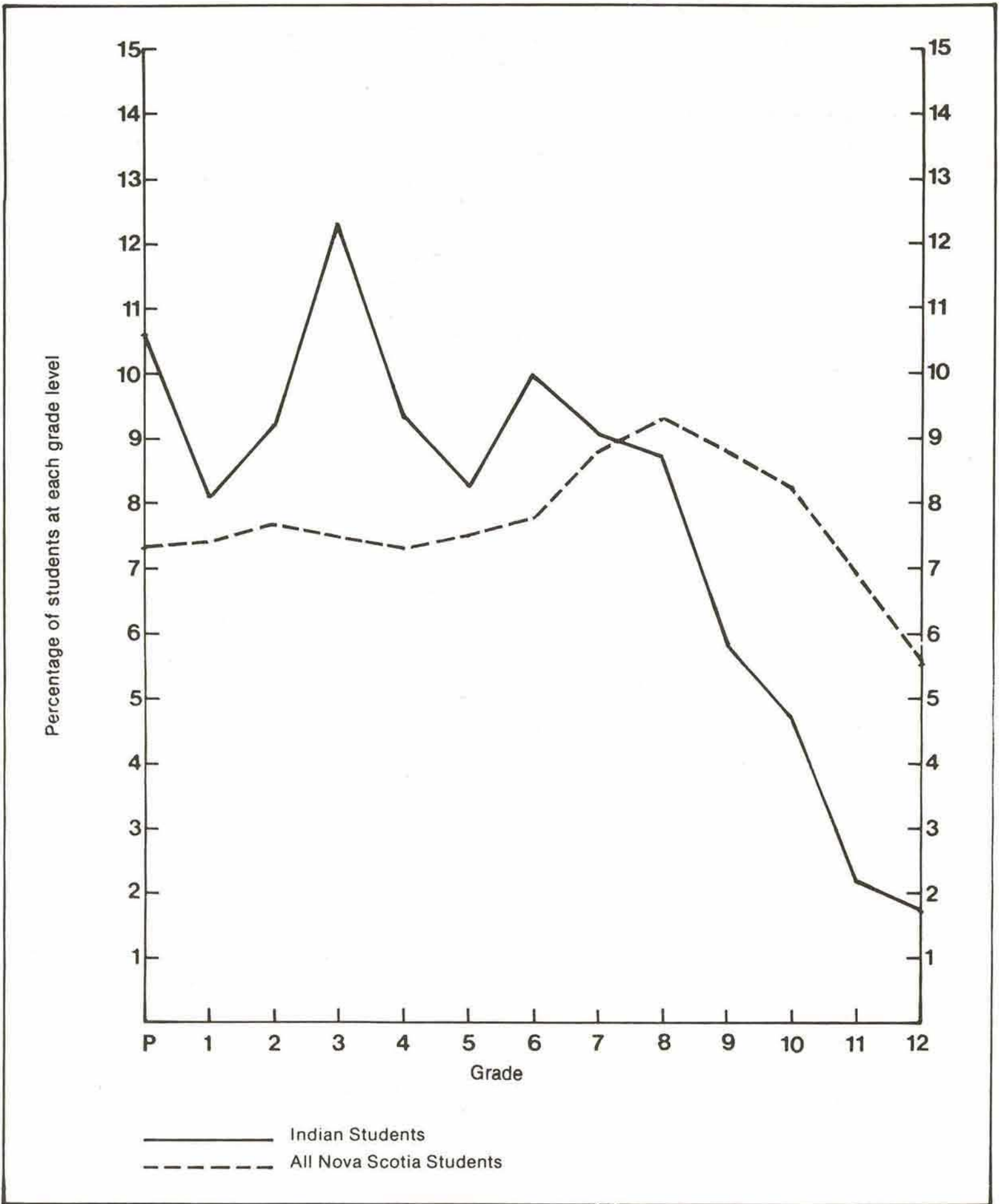


Figure 4. 1. 7
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND ALL NOVA
 SCOTIA STUDENTS, BY GRADE LEVEL, 1978-79

Table 4.1.8

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN
AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS
BY GRADE LEVEL, 1979-80

Grade Level	Indian Students		All N.S. Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>A. By Individual Grades</u>				
Primary (K5)*	116	7.9	13,314	7.2
Grade 01	125	8.5	13,605	7.3
02	117	8.0	14,021	7.5
03	144	9.9	14,631	7.9
04	178	12.2	14,100	7.6
05	121	8.3	14,026	7.5
06	128	8.8	14,258	7.7
07	160	11.0	15,794	8.5
08	138	9.4	16,329	8.8
09	92	6.3	16,439	8.8
10	77	5.3	15,323	8.2
11	37	2.5	13,338	7.2
12	<u>28</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>10,777</u>	<u>5.8</u>
Total	1,461	100%	185,955	100%
(Other)**	(33)		(3,303)	
<u>B. By Grouped Categories</u>				
Primary to Grade 6*	929	63.6	97,955	52.7
Grades 7 - 9	390	26.7	48,562	26.1
Grades 10 - 12	<u>142</u>	<u>9.7</u>	<u>39,438</u>	<u>21.2</u>
Total	1,461	100%	185,955	100%
(Other)**	(33)		(3,303)	

*An additional 103 Indian students were enrolled in K4.

**The "Other" category includes special, commercial, and auxiliary students whose grade level is not specified.

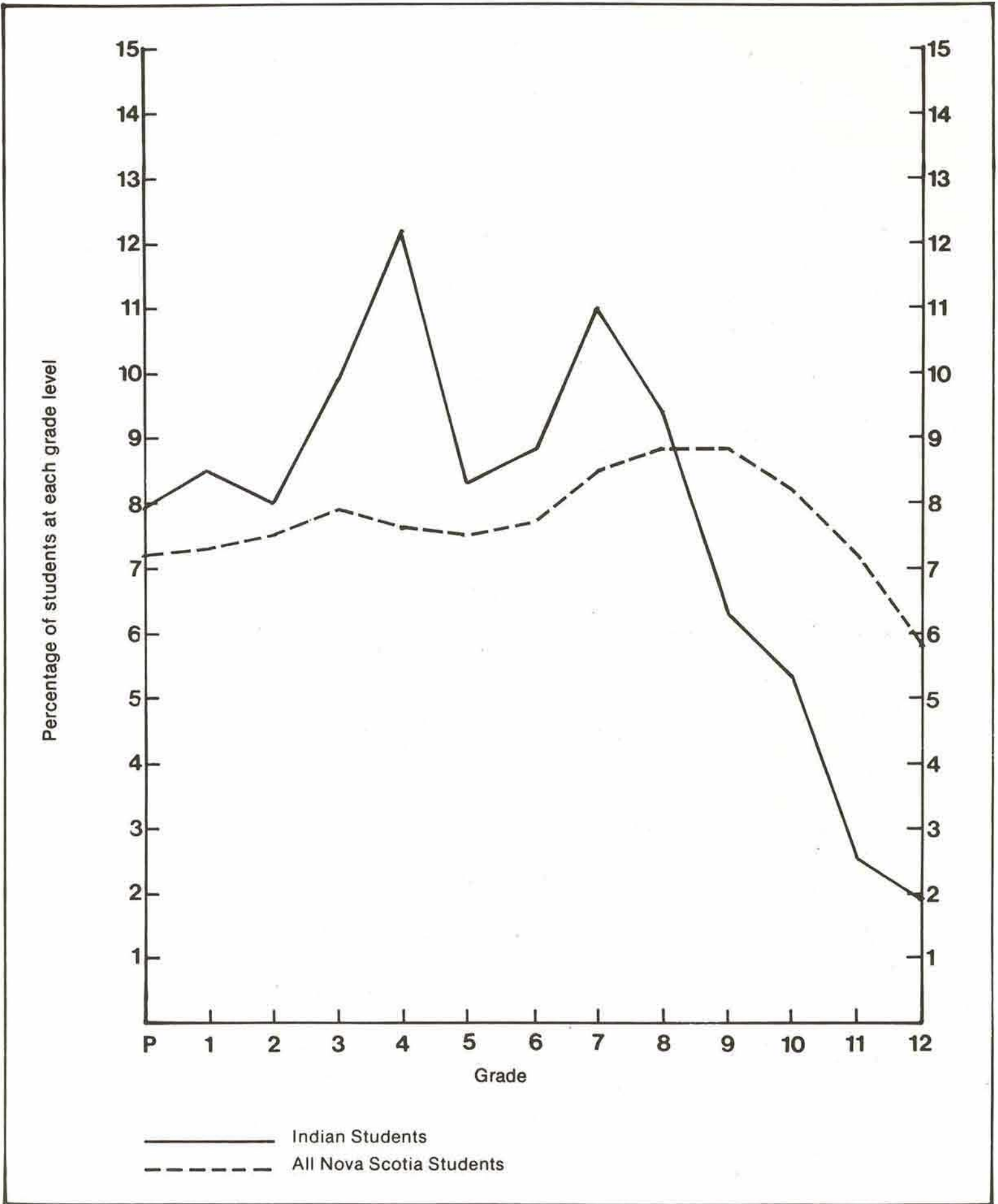


Figure 4. 1. 8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS, BY GRADE LEVEL, 1979-80

4.2 Graduation From High School

One could argue that the few Micmac students who do reach Grade 12 are the survivors, the select few who have best adapted to the educational system. Thus it might be expected that a high proportion of those enrolled in Grade 12 would actually graduate.

This turns out not to be the case, however. Information was collected on the graduation status of all Micmac students in the province enrolled in Grade 12 between 1970/71 and 1978/79. For the same schools that the Micmac attended (that is, for certain high schools located near the reserves) the graduation rate of all students in attendance was also determined. These figures are given in Table 4.2.1, and indicate that on average only 60 per cent of the Micmac students enrolled in the last high school grade actually graduated, compared to a figure of 84 per cent for the total Grade 12 population in those schools. While the Micmac graduation percentages fluctuate somewhat over the period in question, there is no suggestion that the situation is improving in a systematic fashion.

The educational picture suggested by the enrolment and graduation figures is not a very satisfactory one. Clearly, new approaches to Micmac education need to be implemented, and successful models indicating how this can be done need to be examined. What is urgently required is a strategy not only to provide a more meaningful educational experience, but also to develop the capacities that will lead to rewarding employment in an education/credential oriented society.

Table 4.2.1

GRADUATION RATES FROM GRADE 12, MICMAC STUDENTS AND
ALL NOVA SCOTIA STUDENTS IN CORRESPONDING
HIGH SCHOOLS, 1970/71 to 1978/79*

Year	Micmac Students			All N.S. Students		
	Number Enrolled	Number Graduating	Percent	Number Enrolled	Number Graduating	Percent
1970/71	12	9	75.0	1,608	1,349	83.9
1971/72	7	4	57.1	1,729	1,529	88.4
1972/73	14	6	42.9	1,699	1,405	82.7
1973/74	19	13	68.4	1,610	1,361	84.5
1974/75	17	13	76.5	1,736	1,475	85.0
1975/76	20	13	65.0	1,689	1,418	84.0
1976/77	26	15	57.7	1,886	1,515	80.3
1977/78	15	6	40.0	1,888	1,576	83.5
1978/79	25	15	60.0	<u>1,874</u>	<u>1,584</u>	84.5
Total	155	94	60.6	15,719	13,212	84.1
Average/Yr.	17.2	10.4		2,619.8	1,468.0	

*The Micmac students were enrolled in the following high schools: St. Peter's, Riverview, Mabou, Antigonish Regional, Sydney Academy, Cobequid Education Centre, East Hants Rural, Central Kings, Middleton, Springhill, Trenton, New Glasgow, East Pictou Rural, Duncan MacMillan, Antigonish East, and Breton Education Centre. The last eight schools listed have only a very few Micmac students enrolled in each; consequently they are not included in the "all students" column.

Source: Department of Indian Affairs; Association of Nova Scotia School Boards; and Social Counsellors for each Reserve.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

With so many tables having been presented in the preceding chapters, it would not be difficult to lose sight of some of the main points that have emerged from the data. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to review some of the more important results and to bring this report to a rousing conclusion.

It will be recalled that the discussion began with information on the basic population characteristics and trends of the Micmac. What was particularly striking about the province-wide figures was, first of all, the rapid population growth that has occurred, at least over the past decade. It was found that the Micmac population was growing at a rate between 2 and 3 percent annually, compared to 0.5 to 1.5 percent for the Nova Scotia population as a whole. This has meant that a very high proportion of the Micmac population, particularly the on reserve portion of it, has been in the 0-14 age range, reaching a peak of 46.6 percent in 1970 when all bands in the province are considered. The comparable figure for the entire Nova Scotia population was 30.5 percent. A further implication is that there has been tremendous pressure on many reserves to find housing, jobs, recreation, and other services for this young but gradually maturing population. That this challenge has been impossible to meet, given the limited resources available, is indicated by the extremely high degree of unemployment among the very young elements of the labour force.

The figures indicate, however, that this high rate of population increase is beginning to decline, and indeed the population projections that are included in Chapter 2 assume

that in a very short time the rate of increase will be in the vicinity of 1 to 1.6 percent annually. As the birth rate declines, one can expect to see a change in the age structure of the population. This change is already becoming evident in the form of a declining proportion in the 0-14 age group and increasing proportions in older age categories such as those between 15 and 34 years. Clearly the band councils and staff will increasingly have to pay attention to the needs of a more mature population and, in a few years time, to a large group of retired people.

It was probably a combination of large population increases on the reserve and few job opportunities there that led to a period of considerable movement off the reserves during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Since 1972, however, the trend has been in the opposite direction, toward staying on or moving back to the reserve, perhaps in response to less favourable employment and living conditions in other locations. If all Nova Scotia bands are considered, 1972 marked the high point in the proportion of the population living off the reserve, at 30.6 percent, and the figure has declined very gradually since then to a 1976 level of 28.5 percent off reserve. What has also been noticeable in recent years is a higher proportion of women leaving the reserves than men, a reversal of the pattern that was common in the mid-1960s.

It is also possible to say something about the age at which people leave the reserves. Young children by and large are raised on the reserve, but the proportion off reserve climbs for those in their 20s and is between 40 and 50 percent for those in their 30s and 40s. It declines again for the 50-64 year age group, but shoots up for those in the oldest age categories when old age homes and hospitals located off reserve come into the picture.

Only about a quarter of the population who leave the reserves stay in Nova Scotia; the remainder take up residence

outside the province, particularly in New England and other parts of the United States rather than in other Canadian provinces.

Turning now to the employment patterns of the on reserve population, one notices first of all the relatively high proportion of the population that was considered to be in the labour force on most reserves in the province - that is, either employed or unemployed - as reported by those who provided the information. Unfortunately it is the unemployed who greatly outnumber those who have jobs, rather than the other way around. At the time when the information was collected, in the first half of 1976, fully two-thirds of those in the labour force were unemployed. The figures indicated that on a year-round basis close to 40 percent of the labour force were unemployed for all of 1975, another 37 percent had irregular work (usually seasonal employment), and only 25 percent had what could be described as regular employment for the full year. As a result, close to two-thirds of the adult population on reserve had to rely on some form of social assistance to make ends meet in 1974-5, and welfare payments were the most frequent form of social assistance used, in addition to old age pensions and UIC payments.

For those who had jobs in the province, a third of the employed labour force was in construction occupations, while substantial numbers were also found in clerical work, service occupations, in fishing and forestry activities, and in administrative occupations. When the type of employer was examined, it was found that LIP grants to the reserves, which were particularly important, accounted for 20 percent of all jobs in 1975. Band council employment added another 17 percent, and work for community/minority organizations a further 5 percent. In all, almost half the total number of jobs held by the on reserve population in 1975 were directly

tied in to government support, and the figure would be much higher if those private and cooperative ventures that also depend upon governmental funds for their development were added.

It is also remarkable how self-contained the reserve communities are, in the sense that almost all reserve residents work on the reserve if they have a job at all, and in 90 percent of the cases their immediate employer is of Micmac rather than of non-Indian origin.

In Section 3.2 of this profile, it was concluded that those Micmac in the province who moved off the reserve but who did not leave the province were not comparable to those who stayed on the reserve. Although the age distribution of the adults was similar, the off reserve group had considerably higher levels of education - an average of 8.8 years for the adult population, compared with 7.3 years for those on reserve. Their employment situation, as far as could be determined, was better. Those off reserve in the province had much lower unemployment rates (17 percent compared with 66.4 percent), much more regular employment, less seasonal work, and so on. They used social assistance less, and when they did, old age pensions rather than welfare was the most significant category. They had different occupations than those on reserve and different kinds of jobs and employers - not LIP-type jobs, nor construction, forestry, or fishing occupations but rather, more regular public sector jobs and positions with community and minority organizations. Just over half worked for Micmac employers, however, even though they were living off reserve.

Thus, moving off the reserve has had its employment rewards for a relatively small, select group of the Micmac population. It must not be quickly concluded, however, for reasons given in Section 3.2, that government policy should

encourage this trend as the answer for those who remain on the reserves.

Much of the remainder of the analysis dealt only with the on reserve population. Section 3.3 looked particularly at the employment patterns for five different age groups among those living on the reserves in the province. The pattern that came through clearly was one of very high unemployment among those 15-19 years of age; the figure stood at 85 percent unemployed among the labour force in this age group. Those who did have jobs tended to work in positions with easy access and low skill requirements such as are found in the service sector and in forestry and fishing. For those in their 20s, 30s, and 40s, a number of patterns were found to be changing. More were married, so that housewives became a significant part of these populations. The unemployment rate also dropped sharply for those in the labour force, although it never did go below 55 percent unemployed, even for the middle age groups. The nature of the jobs also changed - more regular employment, a wider range of jobs, increasing employment on LIP projects, for the band councils, and for community/minority organizations.

The age group 55 years and over, on the other hand, gradually withdraws itself from the more physically demanding occupations and then from the labour force entirely as retirement takes over. The employment that they do have indicates how things were a few decades ago, when the government-funded jobs were not as readily available and work had to be found in the private sector and often off the reserve with non-Indian employers. As an indication of the extent to which the self-reliance of the past has been lost, it is worth noting that among those in the 55 and over category who were working in 1975 more than half (51.6 percent) were self-employed. This compares at the other extreme with less than 6 percent self-employed among the 20-24 year age group.

The employment patterns of males and females were also compared, and it was not surprising to find that, as in the non-Indian society, Micmac women were much less likely to be in the labour force than the men. A little over a third of all adult women on reserve in Nova Scotia were in the labour force at some point during 1975, compared to around 89 percent for the males. Being classed as a housewife, whether by choice or because of a lack of employment opportunities, is of course the main alternative to being in the labour force. Those women in the latter category were more likely to be unemployed year-round, than the men (48 percent to 35 percent), but if they did find work it tended to be somewhat more stable and regular than that for the men who are, as has been seen, often found in the seasonal occupations of construction, fishing, and logging.

More specifically, a good proportion of the women's jobs had to do with band council and community/minority organization employment in occupations such as clerical work, providing social welfare services in educational and social counselling, and serving as teacher-aides. Sales work in stores, handicraft production, and service occupations such as waitressing, domestic cleaning, and cooking were also important. Micmac women are more likely to work off reserve than are the men, and to work for non-Indian employers.

Section 3.5 provided a comparison between the Cape Breton Island and Mainland on reserve populations. While the educational levels of the two adult populations were found to be similar, the Cape Breton reserves have a higher proportion of young people than the Mainland. Relative unemployment rates among those in the labour force reflects the more limited job opportunities available on the Island, where 75 percent were unemployed when the data were collected in the first half of 1976, compared to 52 percent for the Mainland.

Some of this difference can be explained by a higher proportion of irregular work on Cape Breton, where seasonal unemployment resulting from lay-offs from construction, fishing, and logging work weighs heavily on the labour force. Year-round unemployment rates are not so very different for the two groups - 40.5 percent for those on the Island and 35.0 percent for the Mainland. The Cape Breton on reserve population is more likely to work on reserve for Micmac employers, and to have a higher proportion of their employed labour force among the ranks of the self-employed.

Finally, Section 3.6 reveals the largest differences between groups, this time between the employment patterns of Micmacs and of other Nova Scotians. Suffice it to say here that the figures reveal major gaps still remaining on matters such as the educational level of the adult population or the amount of regular employment that is available to each group. Only a quarter of the Micmac labour force had regular jobs in 1975, for example, compared to two or three times that many among the majority group in rural Nova Scotia. On the issue of unemployment rates, the level of unemployment for the majority group labour force in the first half of 1976 ranges between 7 and 31 percent in two rural areas of Nova Scotia, while the figure is at 66 percent for Micmacs on reserve. Almost 40 percent of the Micmac labour force living on reserve is unemployed year-round. These differences carry over, then, to the extent and types of social assistance payments that are used by the minority and majority groups.

Comparisons are also made between the two populations on the occupations and industries of employment. The extent to which construction-related positions are significant among the Micmac becomes clear (almost a third of all Micmac jobs compared to less than 10 percent for the entire Nova Scotia labour force). The original inhabitants of the province are

also overrepresented in forestry, in fishing, and in social welfare type occupations if the Nova Scotia labour force is used as a standard. There are relatively few Micmacs in professional occupations (although more in administrative positions) and in industries such as agriculture, manufacturing, and finance.

Earlier it was indicated that about half of all Micmac jobs were dependent upon government funds. For the majority group in two rural areas of the province, only about 25 per cent of employment is government-dependent; the rest is generated by the private sector. The government jobs that are held appear to be of a more stable, long-term nature than is the case for the jobs provided by the large number of make-work projects found on the reserves.

In concluding this summary of employment patterns, one could argue that things have changed since 1975/76 - some would say for the better, others for the worse. In our opinion, it is doubtful how fast the basic patterns reported here will change, except superficially as when LIP grants are replaced by Canada Works. Information that serves to update the employment data to the 1980/81 period has recently been collected. Thus, it can soon be established to what extent these patterns have been modified, and what the trends appear to be for the future. It may also be possible to say something about what strategies are more successful than others in improving the employment position of the population.

One area that clearly warrants priority attention from policy makers is the educational field. ^{with just cause} Members of the Micmac community often speak of the problems faced by Micmac students, and the figures confirm their fears about the extent to which young Micmac students are leaving the formal educational system without graduating. There are not nearly as many Micmac students in Grade 12 as there should be, and

even this small, select group is less likely to graduate than their non-Indian counterparts. It was possible to establish that the decline in Micmac enrolment becomes particularly sharp at the junior high school level, while for all Nova Scotia students it is at the senior high school level that most of the drop-outs occur. While the number and proportion of Micmac students at the senior high school level has improved in the last seven years, the same has occurred for non-Indian students and thus the degree of inequality remains about the same.

The education data brings to an end this profile on the contemporary socioeconomic position of the Micmac, especially those living in Nova Scotia. A large body of information about population, employment, and educational patterns has been introduced. The emphasis has been upon presenting the figures in a usable and understandable form at this stage, rather than upon carrying out extensive analysis or making judgements or policy recommendations. It is hoped that the information can be used by those elected at the reserve and provincial level, their staffs and those in the organizations of the community, to plan for and further develop their communities. The challenge for social science research of this kind is to provide a means, even if limited, whereby these leaders and their staff obtain the information that they need in order to take additional practical steps towards assuming greater control over their own affairs.

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