C

INCOME PROFILES AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION:
A STUDY OF TWO INDIAN RESERVES

by

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ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the relationship between household income dimensions -- that is, the amount, size, and kind of income -- and associated household types. The relationship between different types of income and total income is also examined. In addition attention is given to a number of other variables which could affect the basic relationship.

The main argument associates the nuclear family with skilled wage labour; the extended family with kinship controlled resources; and the consanguineal household with unskilled labour and/or welfare dependence. Hypotheses are stated which suggest the relationship between stability of income with different types of households.

Analysis of the household income profiles of two reserves in British Columbia was undertaken in order to test the theory. The two reserves used in the study were Alert Bay Reserve and Skidegate Reserve. Each income source was characterized as being one of six possible types of income: wages, kinship, social services, reciprocity, kind and unearned. Tests consisted of proportion comparisons between households of different types and their associated income profiles. Data was examined separately for each of the reserves.

Support was found for the predicted association between high income totals and extended family households. There was some support for the proposition that nuclear families are high per-capita income families, but no support for the proposition that extended family households are low per-capita income households. While there were only a few cases of consanguineal households there was strong support for the proposition that such households are welfare or pension income dependent households. There was no association between income sector dominance and household type. Because the data available did not allow for an examination of skill level and stability of income it was not possible to do a thorough examination of the argument for income dominance and certain household types.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Scope of the Study

The process of economic adaptation of defined populations has been a subject for analysis by sociologists and anthropologists for decades and numerous studies exist which isolate particular facets of the process. The adaptation of populations of reserve Indians in British Columbia is only one example of the many types of adaptation under study.

The tendency to shift from traditional or pre-contact modes of economic and social life towards contemporary patterns characteristic of urban, industrial society is taking place among British Columbia Indians and is of considerable significance for several reasons. Of major significance is the fact that contemporary economic demands often disrupt, (to a greater or lesser degree), the social and cultural relationships that were traditional in Indian groups on the coast of British Columbia and which may still be deeply imbedded in the normative culture of these Indians. The modern social matrix in which present day Indian populations find themselves may require adjustments including the use of elements from the older cultural forms

as well as the forms adopted from the newer White society.
It is also possible that the situation may require wholly
new social and cultural forms. A second factor that may be
very important is the impact of government policy, (on the
part of the Indian Affairs Branch), on the life style of
reserve Indians.

This study is concerned with two major problems.
First, it is concerned with the degree to which the
composition of reserve Indian households are a response to
economic circumstances. More specifically, it deals with
the household income profiles, (in terms of size and type),
and the associated household types (such as the nuclear
family and the extended family) for two coastal Indian
reserves, Alert Bay and Skidegate.

The major objective, then, is to set forth a theory of
household organization and to test this theory with actual
field data. If appropriate measures can be found to test
the theory then the study will make a small contribution to
the study of social organization. The study is designed as
a deductive analysis. That is, there has been no attempt to
study the data and then to offer a theory to explain
variation observed in the data.

A second objective of the study is to explore the
feasibility of using an already existing body of raw data to
test a new and different set of hypotheses. That is, is it
possible to use a body of data gathered for the testing of

one set of hypotheses to test different though conceptually related hypotheses. The feasibility of using such data is important in terms of the cost of doing social science research. If it is indeed possible to use such data then the scope of individual studies is tremendously increased. For example, data from several studies could potentially be combined to make a study which would be much more extensive. The data used to test the present hypotheses was gathered for the 1954 study directed by Hawthorn concerning the acculturation process of B.C. Indians.[1] The questions pursued in the original study are of course related to the questions in the present study with a different emphasis and concern.

The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with two areas. First is the development of a theoretical framework suitable for the explanation of household composition. Finally, this chapter considers in a general way the Hawthorn data itself and its applicability to the present study.

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[1] H.B. Hawthorn, C.S. Belshaw, and S.M. Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and University of British Columbia, 1958).

B.   The Problem

1. The Foundations

This study is concerned with the degree to which the composition of reserve Indian households is a response to economic circumstances. The purpose of this section is to present a systematic treatment of possible hypothesized conditions to determine household composition. In addition the possible influences of two intervening variables, family life cycle and migratory labour, on household composition are explored.

In general all households perform certain functions, though the structure of organization may vary depending on circumstances. For the purposes of comparison the optimum conditions for the nuclear family household will be used as a base. First, the household is an efficient mechanism for the provision of goods and services necessary to sustain the individual. An individual consumes such services as cooking, housekeeping, and shopping, therefore we will minimally consider a household as a consumption and residence unit. In return for such services one or more individuals can be expected to contribute income that makes it possible for others to provide the services. The household, then, involves an exchange network or relationship between members where the tasks necessary to sustain it are divided among the members.

The alternative in a wage economy requires procuring

all such services from commercial sources. However the cost of obtaining all such services would be beyond the reach for many individuals. Illustrative of this point is that for present day Americans the cost of obtaining services is estimated at $6,000 - $8,000 per person annually.[1] Even allowing for differences in the life styles of B.C. Indians it is not unreasonable to assume that most Indians could not afford such costs. In comparison with the household task organization, the commercial enterprise involves a higher degree of occupational specialization of labour. In addition the commercial operation is centered around the necessity of the operator to ultimately receive payment in cash from his customers, although a credit system may be used for short periods of time. The owner or operator of a store or other commercial establishment is a small part of a large monetary wage economy, and salaries and goods used must be paid for in cash. In the household the situation is quite different; here the person providing the service may be "paid" simply by sharing in the resource of the income provider which may be in cash but may also be in kind. Non-material considerations may also play a significant role in household composition. A wife receives the companionship and affection of her husband.

A second function performed by the household is that of regulating sexual activity and the rearing of children.

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[1] Eric Wolf, Peasants , Foundations of Modern Anthropology Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966) 8 p. 13.

Generally sexual access is restricted or approved only for those who are married in a culturally accepted manner. Additionally the care of children is also expected to be done within the limits of the household. This function of the household limits the number of persons who are eligible members, at least in terms of sex and age.

The most efficient structure for the household is to involve each member in both functional areas. Adult persons are income earners or providers of services as well as sexual partners within the limits of cultural convention. For households where this is true a family exists. In actual fact households may have economic constraints which allow for only an approximation of the model.

The possible compositions of households are largely dependent on the environment and the technology which is used to extract a living from that environment. Historically the extended family households were originally products of the neolithic revolution, that is, when societies began to practice horticulture. Particularly striking examples of this include the extended famiy households of traditional Europe and China.[1] The Indian groups of coastal B.C. Are among the most important examples of hunting and gathering economies that were based on the extended family system for the pre-contact period.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 61.
[2] Marshall D. Sahlins, Tribesmen, Foundations of Modern Anthropology Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 3.

The nuclear family household is common among hunting and gathering societies as well as in industrial society. The reasons for the coincidence are quite distinct. Hunting and gathering societies usually hav e a meagre and fluctuating environment. It could not support a large, dense population. Industrial society has evolved a struc ture where many of the production units need more labour than even a large extended family could muster. Further the ownership of production itself requires a capital investment which is beyond the ability of a family group to supply. Production and family have thus become divorced. The nuclear family exists as a viable form of household organization when individual skills become dominant in providing resources. Paradoxically this situation also exists for the hunting and gathering society – where the hunter is the most efficient unit for exploitation of a resource – with the inclusion of a few others to effectively hunt the animals. The difference in the two economies is the extreme variability of returns for the hunting and gathering society, and the scale of production for the industrial society. [1]

There are conditions of industrial society which result in nuclear family households being the most effective form

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[1]William J. Goode, World Revolution in Family Patterns (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963) p. 169; E.K. Gough, "Changing Kinship Usage in the Setting of Political and Economic Change among the Nayar of Malabar," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute , 82 (1952), pp. 71-88.

of household organization. The nuclear family residence unit is composed of husband, wife, and children of either or both. Such a unit is most likely to function when (1) kinship and access to income are divorced; (2) income provided is adequate to support household members in a manner suitable to the cultural norms of the society; (3) stable enough over a reasonable length of time; and, (4) place of work and residence are in close enough spatial proximity so that the house is the usual or customary place for sleeping and the consumption of other necessary services. As a general proposition it seems reasonable to expect that if all of these conditiions are fufilled then the nuclear family household is the most efficient form of organization to carry out the functions of the household as described above. Conversely if one or more of the conditions are not met then the household composition must be modified to take into account the impinging conditions. The resulting composition of the household would then be in equilibrium as long as the conditions remained constant.

The conditions necessary for the nuclear family household are not always met for reserve Indians. If the conditions are not met then the household composition is modified so as to provide conditions which allow for the performance of basic household functions. For example, if income is unstable for members of a household then new members will be added to provide stability to allow some of the members of the household to regularly provide the

necessary services. For the new members the benefit might be in the form of someone to do the cooking and the washing if the new member is not already married, or it could be simply an economy measure. Conceptually the extended family household and the consanguineal household are treated as occurring when the conditions do not permit the formation of nuclear family households in the context of a wage economy. An extended family household is composed of three or more generations _or_ two generations with an affinal tie in each generation. A consanguineal household is composed of only persons linked by ties of consanguinity.[1]

It is proposed that in the relationship between economic factors and household composition, economic factors are of prime importance. This is true to the extent that one or more of the economic factors is at or below some critical level. Above this level other factors may play an increasing role in determining the composition of households. To refer again to the stability of income, for a given family there is no such thing as a perfectly stable income. However the family may be in a position where it chooses more privacy and independence of action (as a nuclear family household) over the stability that could be achieved by living as an extended family household with

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[1] Nancie Solien de Gonzalez, Black Carib Household Structure, Monograph No. 48 American Ethnological Society (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), pp. 68 - 69, 85, 137; Marvin Robert Munsell, "Land and Labour at Salt River: Household Organization in a Changing Economy" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1967), p. 35.

multiple income earners in different earning cycles. This study will not attempt to estimate such a critical level although it remains a conceptual possibility.

For the purposes of forming testable hypotheses two assumptions are made: (1) a significant shift in one dimension of Indian economic circumstances is sufficient to shift the household composition, and, (2) the preferred form of household composition for B.C. Indians is the nuclear family, supported by the normative structures.[1]

2. Independent Variables

The first dimension of economy that will be considered is resource control. A resource is defined to be anything which produces economic goods either in cash or kind. An economic good is a culturally defined and sought after good or service (wages or moose or a ritual cure) which is in short supply and thus requires effort and sacrifice to obtain. Control by social groups implies that by virtue of the fact that an individual is a member of a group, such as the family, he is allowed access to or participation in the resource that is controlled by that group. The classification of resources which may be controlled by groups extends virtually to any economic activity, and examples include a fishing boat, a farm and a store.

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[1] Hawthorn et al ., Indians of British Columbia, pp. 276-277.

While it is possible to conceive of resources which are group controlled and for which there is no group cooperation in the exploitation the reverse case is the more likely. That is, participants divide the tasks in terms of spatial, temporal, and activity dimensions. Thus on a ranch not all of the participants herd cattle at the same time. Some mend fences, see to the winter feed supply, or be engaged in household service tasks. Where resource exploitation activity and the household maintenance tasks are performed in the same physical space and both may be performed in close conjunction, then the two sectors of work and residence are likely to blend together. Further it is likely that the specialization of tasks within the residence group is capable of some modification at peak periods of the year, such as harvesting operations on a farm.[1] As a formal proposition this is stated as follows:

H-1   Kinship control of a resource
          and close interlocking of the
          exploitation of the resource
          are likely to mean kinship
          cooperation in the consumption
          of the resource which would
          include residence in the form
          of extended family households.

If access to a resource, for the purposes of obtaining employment or income, is not controlled by the kin group then there are two alternatives, each having different

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[1] M.F. Nimkoff and Russell Middleton, "Types of Family and Types of Economy," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (1960), pp. 215-225; William Watson, Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 193; Wolf, Peasants , pp. 65 - 66.

implications. The first is the case where individual skills or talents are important factors in providing income. In this case the individual does not need to rely on his kinship group to obtain employment, and thus is not required to cooperate with them in residence groups. Individual skills such as that of mechanic or logger are in demand by large corporations whose only concern is with efficiency or productivity of the individual, not his lineage. Where individual skills are important then the nuclear family should be the major form of social organization, if the economy is based on wage labour.[1] Stated formally this is as follows:

H-2   In a wage economy the reliance of households on skilled labour leads to the formation of nuclear family households as the primary residence group.

If kinship groups do not control access to resources, and an individual possesses no marketable skills of his own, the most common ways of obtaining income are from casual labour and welfare. Casual labour, as the term implies, means that there is limited commitment on the part of the employer to the employee, and the employee has a brief commitment to the job. The casual labourer is hired for

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[1] Goode, World Revolution , p. 169; Gough, "Changing Kinship Usage," p. 86; John H. Kunkel, "Values and Behavior in Economic Developement," Economic Development and Cultural Change , 13 (1965) pp. 275-276; Lynn Robbins, "Economics, Household Composition, and Family Life Cycle: The Blackfeet Case." American Ethnological Society. Proceedings of the 1968 Annual Spring Meeting (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), in passing.

short periods of time and usually for low pay. Because the pool of casual or unskilled labour is large the employer hires on an immediate need basis at wages just large enough to attract persons from the pool. This circumstance produces a situation where income is low and unstable with resulting extreme vulnerability to periods of unemployment and no income. In a wage economy the differences between income and needs may be partially alleviated by welfare payments in cash, goods, or credit for goods. Welfare income flows from such agencies as the Band Council, Indian Affairs Branch, and the provincial government.

Generally the individual has very little control over welfare income. The welfare granting agency does not need the individual in the same sense that an employer needs labour. On the contrary, most welfare agencies have too few funds for too many applicants. Hence continuance of welfare is not a stable factor for the recipient. The individual must defend his position only with the aid of his skills at manipulating the agency, not on any skill that has a commercial value. The fact coupled with a low level of possible or actual commitment to jobs is reflected in patterns favoring males being absent in search of employment. Women tend to remain at home to care for children and also to qualify for welfare support for the children. The women may be semi-employed at a variety of unskilled jobs such as that of domestic or maid. Women thus tend to become the stable focus of such families.

Combinations of women and their children in household units in order to pool income and provide stability is one way of coping with the situation.[1] Hypothesis three is as follows:

H-3   The consanguineal household is a consequence of no access to kin controlled resources and where the income earners have no marketable skills and leave the reserve in search of casual employment.

As discussed above, the position of income earners with few skills and no access to resources is very precarious indeed. Wages are low, periods of unemployment are frequent and may be of extended duration, and the number of jobs which are available fluctuates widely from season to season and year to year. Such a situation would mean that in order to find any sort of employment the individual would have to travel extended distances from his home reserve. That is, he becomes a migrant worker. The implications for this are discussed under Section B,3,b of this chapter.

Size of income is a major component of the economic condition of a household because it defines the extent to which a household is able to purchase goods and services from commercial sources, that is, provide for members some of the necessary functions from outside the household structure. For any social group the amount of income that is necessary for each individual nuclear family household may vary significantly depending on the standard of living

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[1] de Gonzalez, Black Carib, pp. 139 - 140; Munsell, Land and Labour, p. 49.

that is culturally expected. The problem can be considered conceptually as a trade-off between the form of household organization and the standard of living. A family might be willing to forego a high standard of living in areas such as food, quality of housing, and quality of clothing if the resulting economies would permit a separate existence as a nuclear family household, or they may elect to live as an extended family with the resulting more stable income and higher standards of living in other areas. The limits that the size of the income places on individuals is the minimum level of subsistence necessary to sustain the individual. This is the basis from which the standard or level of consumption would be based.

The general strength of the relation between the desire for nuclear family residence and high levels of consumption in other areas may be inferred indirectly from the context of the situation. The hypothesis is as follows:

H-4   If the proportion of low income families living as nuclear family households is higher (when the total number of nuclear families on the reserve is high) as compared with the proportion of low income nuclear families on reserves (with a low frequency of nuclear families), then the conclusion is that there are strong, positive sanctions to living as a nuclear family household.

As an alternative solution to the problem of existence in a situation of economic marginality the use of inter-

household networks of reciprocity could be used. As income for the household decreases the more frequent and pervasive the amount of sharing. At the lowest position most resources including cash, goods, and services (such as baby sitting) would be mobilized. Because cash is a very scarce commodity this would be the first class of exchanged items that would be excluded by virtue of its increasing scarcity as income decreases. As the relative position of a household increases due to a rise in income the fewer the total number of exchanges. Stated formally:

H-5   As income decreases the greater the extent of inter-household borrowing networks. Further, the lower the income the less likely that cash will form part of the exchange system.

Conceptually, the use of multiple household networks is a less efficient means of meeting the demands of existence than extended family households. It is less efficient in a strictly economic sense because there is a less complete coordination between the separate household resources and the demands for the two or more families. For example, two cooking stoves for two separate nuclear family households is clearly less efficient use of resources than one stove shared by the same two nuclear families living as one extended family household.

In either case the pooling of incomes among households or within one extended household is a more even distribution of resources to all members concerned in the system.

Operationally the households which use the extended family form will have a higher total income and per-capita income will be higher than if the households existed as separate entities:

H-6   High income totals are associated with the extended family form of household organization. If the same households were to exist as separate entities then the per-capita income would be lower than if they existed as an extended family.
A combination of lower total income and higher per-capita income are associated with nuclear family households.[1]

The lower limits of income are also significant in terms of what forms of household organization are possible. That is, there is a lower limit or minimum point beyond which no family can exist. Below this point the family form may shift such that the non-productive members may at least temporarily be placed in the households of other kin until the income producers in the first instance can again provide enough income. This problem is closely related to the concept of the stem family. A stem family is a nuclear family with the parents of either or both husband and wife resident with them. Because income available in old age may be severely attenuated the parents may exert pressure on the children to provide them with a home and services when they are no longer able to do so for themselves. This is the converse of the child rearing function mentioned earlier as

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[1] Munsell, Land and Labour, p. 58.

a function of the family. The difference is that all children need care for a number of years, probably at least twelve. But adults may not need such care because of sufficient resources (such as pensions) or because of early death.

The third dimension of income is stability. The income of individuals and consequently of households may vary significantly, particularly over the course of a year. If the pattern of fluctuations is not predictable or if the fluctuations are too great then the form of household organization may adapt to compensate for this situation. The use of the extended family household acts as an insurance mechanism. Persons or nuclear families may combine so that members complement one another in terms of income fluctuations or simply in the expectation that among all of the income producers there will always be some income available to purchase (for the short run) the necessary supplies for all the members.[1]

H-7   If the income of an individual is unstable then the extended family household would be the most efficient form of social organizatiion and therefore is the expected form.

If the income is stable then the nuclear family is the more efficient form and therefore the expected form of household organization.

Having considered three major aspects of income there

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[1] *Ibid* ., p. 56; Robbins, "Economics, Household Composition," pp. 198-200.

is a final dimension that is presented, that of cash or kind income. Logically this form should perhaps be presented first, but since there are few if any Indian groups and indeed few Indian households which obtain most of their yearly income in this form it is included more in the nature of a warning that it may be important in a few cases but it is not expected to be so for the majority. A cash economy means that productivity accrues to the individual in the form of money wages, pensions, rent, or welfare. Consumption is indirect, that is, purchases are made with the money. Cash as a medium of economic exchange has the characteristics of non-perishability, transportability, and convertability. Cash can thus be used at any time, at any place to obtain any products, limited only by the availability and the cost. Money is a store of value to be converted as need dictates. For the individual who possesses cash there is one important drawback, that cash can be used by anyone and since it can be converted or used to satisfy any demands, the demands on the possessor of cash are limitless in relation to supply. For an individual in need, anyone with cash can alleviate the need, not only someone who has in his possession the specific item needed. For persons operating in a cash economy the one way to maintain a high per-capita income under the pressure from others to give them cash, is within the nuclear family residence unit. It offers a means of partially isolating the cash holder from those outside the nuclear family.

A kind economy means that a given resource itself is consummed directly by the producer. Salmon caught for home consumption is an example of the kind economy. Salmon caught while in the employ of a canning company and paid for in wages or shares is an example of a cash economy. This indicates that it is not the product itself that determines cash or kind economy but rather how the labour is paid for. In general a kind economy is more limited. The greater the range of products the greater the number of people needed to support the system.[1] That is, for a closed, kind economy the division of labour is a determinant of the range of products produced. As a parallel structure the household as a consumption unit reflects the structure of the production network. Thus if the production sector is based on the extended family then the household should also be based on the extended family.

As noted above there are probably few groups or individuals who obtain the primary part of their income from a kind economy and the distinction is included for theoretical completeness. However the following hypothesis is generated by the possibility:

H-8   If the exploitation of a resource is based on an extended family system and the products of the resource constitute the primary part of the income of the persons so involved then the extended family household is the expected form of organization

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[1] Wolf, Peasants , p. 66.

for the household.

The above identification of the various dimensions of economic circumstances is postulated on the assumption of economic rationality and does not take into account normative structures such as generosity among kin which may alter the situation.[1] The justification for this approach rests on the notion that for many Indians the ability to generate income is so limited that even maintaining a household, on any basis, is a very real problem. Since many Indians are in a position of economic marginality in a cash economy the limits of reciprocity among kin are very small. Since many if not the majority of items that are considered necessary by Indians must be purchased with cash and cash is a scarce resource then the limits of reciprocity are also very limited. A second problem is that of sharing among households. While this certainly is a factor in household economics the first working assumption is that such aid networks can not provide an efficient distribution of resources over a long time span. Probably most, if not all, such aid is given on an emergency basis. As a major feature of household economics it may operate differentially depending on the resources or needs of the participants.

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[1] Hawthorn, et al ., Indians of British Columbia, pp. 47, 219: Marshall D. Sahlins, "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange," in The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology , ed. By M. Banton. Monographs of the Association of Social Anthropologists, No. 1. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1965), pp. 39-126.

3. Intervening Variables

A. Family Life Cycle

So far the picture of the relationship between economic circumstances and household composition has focused attention on the way in which individuals and hence households respond to various dimensions of economic circumstances. No mention has been made of how individuals change in relation to their ability to generate income. The general approach used here is that of family life cycle analysis. Families, as non-closed systems, have a life or extension through time although the individuals who comprise families have themselves a finite life span. At its simplest the younger generation takes over the roles of the older generation. Birth and death mark the beginning and the end of the process for individuals. The household provides a primary framework within which children are born, reared, socialized, and eventually become productive members of the society. The process can be analyzed in terms of the changing role relationships (with supporting normative structures) leading to the assumption of adult status. The concern in this research is with only one of the many roles which exist within the family, that of income producer. While the picture varies widely from culture to culture and even within cultures the general pattern is that children do not produce significant portions of a household's income. As the child grows older and gains the necessary skills and strengths to take a more active and significant role in the

family production, the comparative position of the family is increased, providing there are opportunities for the children to use their skills.

Starting from the assumption that the nuclear family is the desired form of social organization for the households of B.C. Indians it is possible to see that economic circumstances determine when it is possible and when it is not possible for a new (usually young) nuclear family to separate from the family of orientation. Economically it is a problem of finding the necessary resources to establish a new household. Since it is usual that the peak earning years of the individual are not those at the beginning of the productive or earning years the support of the entire family to establish a separate household may be necessary. Or as a compromise, the young couple may live with in-laws until such time as they are able to accumulate the necessary resources to establish their own separate household. The number of persons who are dependent on the income providers affects the rate at which fission can take place.

While it has been suggested that it is difficult to state exactly the family life cycle of any group without reference to the cultural system, it is possible to indicate three main stages of family life cycle which relate explicitly to the proportion of persons in a household who are economically productive it is important to note that the focus here is on one particular relationship within the family and not to all of the relationships which co-exist at

the same time. The stages are as follows:

(a) Phase of Expansion:
Lasts from the marriage of a man and a woman to the end of the child bearing years. Income is initially the responsibility of the senior generation (especially the husband).

(b) Phase of Dispersion & Fission:
Lasts from the marriage of first child (usually the eldest) until the marriage of the last child. In this phase the responsibility from providing income begins to shift to the younger generation. Also, depending on the length of the child bearing years, the mother may make contributions to the household income in ways which have either a cash or kind value.

(c) Phase of Replacement:
From the marriage of the last child until the death of both parents. At some point during the phase both parents may no longer be economically productive and may depend on the support of their children.[1]

Given the above consideration it would seem that family life cycle is strongly influenced by the economic circumstances of the family.[2] As the economic circumstances of the family declines the length of each stage may be lengthened, and individuals may change the composition of the family household to accommodate the wishes of members.

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[1] Meyer Fortes, "Introduction," in The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups , ed. By Jack Goody, Cambridge Papers in Anthropology No. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1958).

[2] Robbins, "Economics, Household Composition," pp. 204-207.

This last possibility would be the case where children live with their parents for some time after they are married.

In terms of other dimensions of economic circumstances presented in the first part of this chapter the most important is control of resources by the kinship group. If the resources are kinship controlled then there is less chance that the nuclear family will divide as the children reach marriagable age. Since most of the productive activities that are owned by families are small in scale there are severe limitations on the number of persons who can be supported on the income. As children reach marriageable age the nuclear family might undergo an expansion and a shift in composition. It might become an extended family household with one or more of the children married and living with the parents. However even if the family does change to an extended family household there is a limit beyond which a given resource could not support additional persons. For example, a given resource might provide sufficient income for an extended family composed of two nuclear sub-units but not for three. The result might be that remaining children must postpone marriage if they wish to continue participation in the resource.[1] This leads to the following hypothesis:

H-9   For kinship controlled
               resources the lower the income
               generated by the resource the
               more likely that the extended

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[1] Hawthorn et al., Indians of British Columbia, p. 220.

family household will be the
form of household as the
children become married.

The stability of the income is also a problem for younger members who are at the beginning of their earning years and have not found a stable source of employment. An example from the North Vancouver Band may illustrate the point. A number of men in this band find wage employment as stevedores, who are divided into two groups. Group A has a guaranteed number of hours per year and a high hourly wage. Entrance into Group A is by seniority. Group B is composed of those who have only recently joined the dock force and members of the group have no guarantee of hours and the hourly wage is much lower than that of Group A.[1] If a family should have a father in Group A and a son in Group B the position of the son is much lower than that of the father not only in terms of the size of the income but also in terms of the stability of income. This lower position might force the son to reside with his parents until he is a member of Group A, even though he might be married. Once he reaches Group A then he would be free to establish his own separate household.

The discussion above is postulated on the assumption that the preferred form of household organization is that of the nuclear family. In other words, that the direction of

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[1] Source for this is a long time observer of the Indian populations in Vancouver A. D. Whitman, personal communication.

the social process is known. If this assumption can not be made then the predicted direction of the household composition would be very difficult to make. The assumption is substantiated by the findings of the study by Hawthorn.[1]

B. Migratory Labour

Earlier in Section I it was suggested that one of the conditions for the existence of the nuclear family was that place of work and residence be close enough spatially so that the home is the customary place for sleeping as well as the consumption of other necessary services. If this condition is relaxed then there are two possibilities. First, the worker may migrate alone, that is without his spouse or children. The second alternative is that the household will move with the worker. In this case, over the life span of the worker he will have a number of different places of residence. This problem is especially important for reserve Indians because of the special significance of the reserve. The reserve acts in the final analysis as a place which has special types of resources which may not be available in other places. Such resources could include kinship support in time of need, welfare income provided through the Indian Affairs Branch, and income from Band funds (which may be welfare or not). Generally, both kinds of income (kinship and welfare) demand the presence of the person on the reserve as a resident for a significant

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[1] Hawthorn, et al. , Indians of British Columbia , pp. 276 - 277.

portion of the year. Yet this type of support may give only partial support or support which is inadequate in itself. In a wage economy employment may come from centers of activity at varying distances away from the reserve, that is the person may participate in migratory labour.

In order to understand the problem of migratory labour better two perspectives are used. First, migratory labour can be considered in terms of the length of time away from the reserve and the pattern of such absences. Second, migratory labour may be considered in terms of the structure of such a labour force and the structure of the demand for such labour.

A minimum definition of migratory labour states that any time a person is absent from his place of residence for an extended period of time for the purpose of obtaining employment he is a migrant labourer.[1] The minimum time is to be defined empirically for each situation. As the period of time increases the more significant will be the potential results for household organization. As the time increases the more pressing will be the need to obtain services usually provided by the household from other sources such as commercial establishments. In the case of cooking the time is very short, at most probably not more than one day. For other sources such as laundry service the time is somewhat

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[1] Nancie Solien, "Family Organization in Five Types of Migratory Wage Labour," American Anthropologist, 63 (1961), p. 1264 - 1280.

longer, perhaps up to one month.

A basic typology of migratory labour includes the following:[1]

    (a) <u>Seasonal Migration</u>:
        Once a year, usually for the purpose of taking part in agricultural operations.
        Who migrates in this type depends on the job requirements in terms of age, sex, and skill. Skill is usually a minor factor in agricultural harvesting.

    (b) <u>Temporary, non-seasonal Migration</u>:
        Usually single young adults. Lasts from one to ten years.
        Delays marriage age and may place a larger burden for home income production on young and old men and all women. It does provide a source of income which may be used for the establishment of new households.

    (c) <u>Recurrent Migration</u>:
        Migration occurs throughout the productive years.
        Depending on employment opportunities whole nuclear families may migrate. If it is only the men then wives and children may live with in-laws or others such as sisters or brothers due to the necessity for home production or the instability of support by the migrant. The consanguineal household is thought to occur in this context.

    (d) <u>Continuous Migration</u>:
        Occurs throughout the productive years and contacts

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 1264-1280.

> with the home village are
> almost non-existent.
>> Usually nuclear families
>> predominate in this type.
>> But elderly parents may
>> join married children and
>> be active rearing the
>> children while the parents
>> work.
> (e) Permanent Removal:
>> Individuals or nuclear
>> families leave the home
>> village with the intent to
>> remain away from the village.

Since this research is concerned with Indians who maintain residence for at least a significant portion of the year on the reserve Continuous Migration and Permanent Removal are included for logical consistency only and will be dropped from further consideration.

A second way to consider migratory labour is in terms of the structure of the market for such labour. Usually migratory labour is considered to involve persons classed as unskilled or semi-skilled. This type will be considered first using the agricultural harvest sector as a typical case. Later there will be comments on the position of the skilled migratory labourer.

At least until the recent California strikes in the grape harvest sector, the agricultural labour market in North America could be classified in the following ways:

> (1) No unions,
> (2) Impersonal relations between employer and employee,
> (3) Labour force must be largely unskilled,
> (4) Payment on a piece rate basis,
> (5) Small capital investment in

the harvesting operation.[1]

For employees in such a situation the result is low cash wages, no job security, and very long hours. Further the term of employment with any one employer is specific for each crop. This means that the demand on the part of employers for such labour varies significantly for each crop. For California it has been estimated that the total demand for such labour varies from a high of 250,000 men in September to a low of 70,000 in March.[1] The above characteristics are from the California agricultural sector of the North American economy but there is strong evidence to believe that the same situation prevails for other unskilled, migratory situations.[2]

The picture presented above certainly does not seem to offer a very attractive alternative as a source of employment. Unless there is very strong evidence that the jobs open to migratory labourers offer tremendous personal satisfaction such as the possibility of travel, work out-of-doors, and variety then the conclusion is that other alternatives for employment must either be lacking, or of even lower return.

In terms of the dimensions of income presented in

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[1] Lloyd H. Fisher, The Harvest Labour Market in California . (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 9.

[1] Ibid .

[2] Harland Padfield and W.E. Martin, Farmers, Workers, and Machines . (Tuscon, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1965), in passing.

Section I it seems plausible that unskilled migratory labour occurs when a wage economy dominates, resources are non-kinship controlled, and occupational skills are lacking. In addition sources of income such as welfare may be low or unreliable.[1] If the jobs in migratory labour are not open to women and children then it is likely that they would remain behind in the home village thus forming for at least part of the year a consanguineal household. If the women as well as the men migrate but children do not then the grandparents or other relatives might care for the children, again forming a consanguineal household.

The situation which occurs when a person does not have special skills and is involved in migratory labour is something open to question. Certainly there are cases where the situation exists for Indians. Mohawk Indians from the area around Montreal have long been employed in the high steel construction trades, with job locations all over North America. There have been enough Mohawks involved in this pattern that they can be said to have developed a stable pattern of such activity. Wives and children remain behind either on the reserve or with other Mohawk families in a particular section of New York City. However the length of employment for such Indians is usually only for a few months. Thus it would not be feasible to bring the children with them because of the necessity that the children remain in school. The women then remain behind to care for the

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[1] Munsell, Land and Labour , p. 47.

children. It is therefore suggested that if the time of employment at any one location is long then it is more likely that the children will move with the father and the mother. Skilled persons in the construction trades working at a large project such as a dam construction project frequently are provided with homes and schools by the construction companies.

It is known that B.C. Indians do participate in the skilled labour market, some of which is migratory in character. But the extent and manner of the alteration this causes in the household is not known. However, the above discussion would lead to the following hypothesis:

H-10   If wages are primarily derived
              from skilled, migratory labour
              and such employment is for
              extended periods of time at
              one location, then the
              expected form of the household
              is the nuclear family.

This is a modification of the general principles presented earlier in this chapter.

C. The Data

The raw data on which the present study is based were collected and arranged by the research group of the University of British Columbia directed by Hawthorn as the field work for a study commissioned by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration surveying "modern Indian life (focusing) on the adjustments of the Indians to the Canadian economy and society."[1] The Hawthorn study make a series of assumptions in order to carry out the study. Of particular importance for that study as well as the present one was the assumption that acculturation has operated in the past and is continuing to take place.[2] In addition the researchers were also aware that acculturation as a process is very much influenced by the starting situation of particular Indian populations as well as the particular experiences of the populations during the process of acculturation.

The Hawthorn group selected twenty-three reserves located over a wide area of the province of B.C. The reserves selected for analysis represented an attempt to sample the extremely varied populations of reserve Indians in B.C., varied with respect to pre-contact social and cultural life, experiences over the last one hundred years, physical environmental variation, and present day patterns of social life.

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[1] Hawthorn et al ., Indians of British Columbia , p. v.
[2] Ibid ., p. 12.

The actual method of study used in the survey varies with each reserve, but the general procedure was to use teams of student investigators to visit each reserve and obtain as much information as possible. To aid in the collection of data a standardized questionnaire[1] for each household was designed. It is the data from responses to the questionnaire that form the backbone of the present analysis. While the questionnaire itself delved into many areas of reserve Indian life, (for example, it gathered information on reading patterns and house condition), some 10 out of 47 questions deal with the specific economic patterns of the household. Another 7 questions deal with the personnel of the household. Consideration of the questionnaire form suggested that the data would provide adequate information for the testing of the hypotheses suggested in the previous section of this chapter.

It is important to note that in addition to the survey of households on the reserve the field workers also compiled detailed information on many aspects of social life on the reserve. Such information was gathered from personal observation and Indian Agency files. This information was then gathered together into one or more essays covering a wide range of topics. Between the two sources (the questionnaire and the essays) it was expected that a well rounded picture of Indian economic life using households as the basic units could be obtained.

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[1] See Appendix A.

Of the twenty-three reserves in the study two were selected for the present study. These were Skidegate Reserve, Queen Charlotte Agency and the Nimpkish reserve located at Alert Bay, Kwawkewlth Agency. The first was studied by P. Pineo and M. Ames for a period of one month each. The second was studied by P. Pineo for five weeks. The actual field work was carried out between May and September of 1954.

On examination of the actual field data it was decided to use all of the households on each reserve for which there was sufficient data. The sample of households interviewed by the researchers was not a random sample statistically speaking, in fact it would be better characterized as an opportunistic sample. Because of this fact it is impossible to generalize beyond the actual population. However when the number of households interviewed is compared with the total number on the reserve then it is safe to suggest that the sample approaches a statistical universe. The problem is that there is no way of knowing if there were significant differences between the households interviewed and not interviewed.

In the final analysis it was found that some of the hypotheses were not testable with the present data. While the form questionnaire would suggest that there was adequate information, in actual fact there were shortcomings in the data which made analysis impossible. Furthermore there were

problems encountered in the data that could not be foreseen without prior examination and hence possibly influencing the theoretical framework. In particular it was to be hoped that in as much as the ancestral populations of the two reserves are reported by all sources to be exclusively composed of extended family households and because the present day communities are in an area of comparative isolation from the impact of urban centres that the pre-contact form of household organization would show a strong persistence in the present day. This was not found to be the case, as extended family households compose less than 20% of the sample populations. This fact made the analysis of the sample an impossible task because cell sizes would become too small to make analysis reasonable.

However the data does present a fairly uniqu opportunity to study several reserves using a uniform data gathering instrument and one which was used at one pont in time.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

A. Conceptual Framework

The dependent variable, household type, was hypothesized to be determined by the following variables which were treated as independent:

      (a) Differential control of access to resources,

      (b) Skill level of household members,

      (c) Dependence on unearned or social services income, and ,

      (d) Dependence on kind resource production.

The following variables were regarded as intervening:

      (a) For kinship controlled resources, the relationship between household and resource task organization,

      (b) Stage in family life cycle,

      (c) Effect of migratory labour, and,

      (d) Employment stability.

Household type refers to the pattern of relationships between household members. There were three types of households which were of concern in this study: nuclear

family households, extended family households, and consanguineal households. While there are other household types which were possible they were not considered in the theoretical framework as presented in Chapter i. The basic questionnaire used in the Hawthorn survey provided information as to the composition of all permanent members of the households. In particular questions 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7[1] gave basic information as to the household members for the sub-units within a household. The Hawthorn survey defined a "family" as:

> A unit which could have conceivably
> lived separately according to White
> notions about the ideal separateness
> of the individual family.[2]

This means that for any one household there was a response sheet for one or more sub-units.

While it might have proved fruitful and interesting to have conducted the analysis using the sub-units as the basic units for the analysis this was not feasible. The majority of response sheets indicated a complete sharing of incoome, goods, and services between sub-units within the same household. Therefore transfers within the same household could not be evaluated. The safer, though less precise, method of analysis was to aggregate the sub-units within the same household.

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[1] All questions cited refer to the questionnaire reproduced in Appendix A.

[2] Hawthorn, _et al._ , _Indians of British Columbia_ , p. 233.

B.   The Independent Variable: Income

The income profile of each household was very difficult
to determine. Because of the theoretical considerations
presented in Chapter I it was necessary to place all sources
of income in one category with respect to the various
degrees of the income variable. The procedure used was to
determine what were all of the sources of income, then to
define whether each source was wage, kinship, social
service, unearned, reciprocity of kind in nature.

The broad plan for analysis was to consider Questions
25 through 33 as providing information on all sources of
income and to allocate such income to only one of the six
sectors listed above. Ideally the assignment would follow
the format shown in Table i.

TABLE I
ASSIGNMENT OF QUESTIONS TO INCOME SECTORS

Income sector	Question
Wages	25, 26
Social Services	28
Unearned	29
Reciprocity	30[1]
Kind	31[1]

[1] Adjusted to reflect 12 month total.

In practice it was found that the information found in
the responses to questions did not always match the
definitions of such income as presented in Chapter I. That

is, a particular income source was sometimes more appropriately included in another sector than the ones defined in Table i. The most common example involved income listed in Question 25 and 26 which was obtained from fishing on a boat owned by a relative but not necessarily co-resident in the respondents own household. A second problem was income again from fishing that was listed under the responses to Question 29. Here the income was included under wage income or kinship income if the information indicated whether or not it was from employment on a boat owned by a relative. The second major decision rule of allocation, then, was to allocate income to sector other than that listed in Table I if specific information in the data warranted it.

Wage income was presumed to be any earned income from employment in which the individual did not own the equipment or business himself, (such as a powersaw or a boat), nor was it owned by a relative of his, according to his own reckoning and so reported in the information sheets. For example, employment by a non-Indian logging company was presumed to be wage employment. It had been anticipated that kinship networks might provide access to employment but there were no such reported cases, nor were there many Indians in employment positions (such as foreman) where this was even a likely possibility. The most difficult problem was in determining whether a particular income figure represented gross or net income (after taxes and

deductions). Gross income was used where indicated and if there was no indication associated with a particular income figure it was presumed to be gross income. The decision to use gross rather than net income is based on the notion that income figures represent actual income potential, whereas net income reflects not only this concept but also differential demands on income, as in the number of children dependent on the income.

Kinship income was presumed to be any income from any source for which the individual owned the capital goods or such goods were owned by a relative. If there was no indication such income was deemed to be simple wage income.

Any income accruing from Family Allowance Payments, welfare, relief, and pensions (old age, company, or blind) was included under the sector of social services income. Question 28 provided all such information. Also included in this category was any information on income obtained through the Unemployment Insurance Commission. While it is true that an individual contributes to this system during the time he is employed the benefits which are possible are not commensurate with the amounts paid. This is particularly true for many Indians whose only source of income is fishing which is a seasonal activity. Occasionally the data indicated an income source without indicating the amount (for example, Family Allowance payments). Where the size of the income could be estimated with accuracy from other

sources it was included.[1]

Reciprocity income was potentially the most difficult income source to estimate for two reasons. First, it is likely to be the most casual sort of income paid or received by a household. It is likely to be in small amounts of money or a customary sharing of equipment and services. While it is possible that such amounts could add up to a considerable figure it was assumed that if it did amount to a sizeable sum that the respondents would at least mention it. If it was not mentioned, then it was presumed to be zero or insignificant. A second source of trouble with respect to reciprocity income is a common norm among Indians of sharing wealth and goods and about which it is considered impolite to convey information to other persons. Against this proposition there is no recourse except to rely on the observational skill of the interviewers to discover such income.

In actual fact the incidence of reported reciprocity income was very low. What was reported were a few examples of loans of money and reduced prices for renting of houses. It is interesting that most persons expected the loans to be repaid though there was no time specified.

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[1] Much of the information was obtained from: Government of Canada, Canada Year Book: Official Statistical Annual of the Resources, History, and Institutions and Social and Economic Conditions of Canada , Published by the Minister of Industry Trade and Commerce, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1954).

Kind income was determined by information provided by responses to Question 31. The most common example of kind income was canned salmon. A somewhat smaller number of households reported preservation of salmon by smoking or salting. However the responses to the questionnaire did not provide any dollar estimate of the value of such kind production; rather the usual practice was to report the number of cases of tins of salmon of different sizes put up by the household. It was thus necessary to translate such physical units of production into dollar units commensurate with the dollar units for other sources of income. For salmon (by far the most common cource of kind production) a figure of 18¢/ 1/2 lb. tin and 36¢ 1 lb. tin of salmon was used.[1] These prices represent the selling price for canned, pink salmon for the year 1954. While the actual species of salmon that was canned was not usually specified, for the purposes of analysis the lower price of pink salmon was used for two reasons. First, the lower price of pink salmon represents the price of the close equivalent economic substitute for any type of salmon. Of course the use of such a figure does not take into consideration the preference which individuals and households may have for a particular types of salmon, but it seems safe to assume that this represents a fairly small consideration. A second reason for using the lowest price for canned salmon refers to the nutritional value. In these terms the nutritional

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[1] Source: G. Petty, B.C. Packers, Vancouver, B.C., personal communication.

value of salmon does not vary appreciably between species.[1]

The second type of kind production was deer meat. In this case it was assumed that an equivalent amount of beef was a reasonable approximation. A general price of 40¢/ lb. was used for the computation of the value of deer meat preserved by households.

The category of unearned income was included to cover the contingency which could affect the total household income in specific cases. It was not expected to be associated with any particular type of household. The number of household incomes placed in this category were actually very few in number. The most out-standing case involved the payment of some $5,000.00 to a householder. The money was from the insurance on a wrecked fishing boat. It was included under the category "unearned" in so far as the boat had been insured only a few years and the premiums did not equal the value of the boat. There were a few cases of income for which there was no labour involved, no kinship associations, etc., and for this reason they were included in this category. To a certain extent the category was used more as a residual category for income that did not fit into any of the other categories.

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[1] Source: K. Loose, Nutrition Consultant, Health and Welfare Canada, Medical Services Branch (Pacific Region), Vancouver, B.C., personal communication.

B.   Income Profiles

Once all income sources were allocated to one of the six sectors the sector totals and household totals were obtained. If there was a suggestion that there was an income source but one for which it was not possible to obtain an estimate of its size then the household total was not computed and that sector was not used. For example, if there was information on a wage income source but no figures then no household total was calculated though the totals for other sectors such as kinship and social services income were calculated and used. The totals so produced were used in a variety of ways.

The first income figure that was calculated was arrived at by dividing up the households into two groups of high and low with respect to each type of income sector for each reserve. That is, wage income was divided into high and low groups using the median as the dividing point. Similar figures were calculated for each sector of income for each reserve. This method permits the analysis of income patterns across income types without regard to the primary dependence of a household.

However the hypothesis outlined in Chapter I require that each household be characterized as being primarily dependent on one type of income. The use of the modal income type was used in this determination. While this could have caused problems if two incomes were approximately

equal in size (i.e., same proportion of total income) there was no case where this was true. The second largest sector of income was usually at least ten percentage points smaller than the largest sector.

In addition to the comparative sizes of incomes and income sectors other measures of income ranking were constructed. Per-capita income was calculated in a number of ways:

(a) Total household income / total permanent household membership,

(b) Total household income / total adult household membership,[1]

(c) Total household income - family allowance payments / total adult household membership.

The calculation of household per-capita income on the basis of adult membership gives a measure of the income potential of the household, disregarding the effect of the number of children. By calculating the per-capita income without regard to family allowance payments at least one major source of child generated income is removed.

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[1] Adult was defined as being 15 years of age or more.

C.   Other Variables

The original intention as specified in Chapter I was to consider a series of other variables that were thought to be important in the determination of household composition. The variables that are outlined in this section were proposed but the limitations of the data did not permit their use or else they were found to have too small a variation to be used as variables.

Skill for use in the analysis of wage labour income was to be measured in three ways:

(a) Number of years of schooling (Questons 1, 4, 6, and 7),

(b) Vocational training (Question 19), and,

(c) Informal on the job training.

In practice the data obtained from the responses to the above questions relating to level of education were so small that it is extremely doubtful that it is a relevant variable. Many of the income earners who reported significant amounts of wage income also reported less than Grade 8 level of education. For those wage jobs that consider level of education important such a low level of education would be insignificant. Question 19 showed only a very few cases of individuals who had received any vocational training, other than one or two week fishing schools conducted by the major fish packers in B.C. On the

job training could not be evaluated in any meaningful way. Job descriptions which could be used as an indication of such training at least in terms of experience were in no way adequate to construct an index of job skill and experience.

Migratory labour was expected to be shown by responses to Questions 25 and 40. However there was little information in Question 40 and which persons had worked or visited in which communities was usually not specified. Nor was it possible to determine any time pattern where places were specified. With respect to Question 25 there was no indication that many of the members of the households actively worked at the present time in communities other than the home reserve. A few persons in each community did find employment outside the reserve but they were gone only a few days at a time - usually returning to their families each weekend. According to the specifications presented in Chapter I this did not constitute a pattern of migratory labour.

Family Life Cycle was not feasible to use as a variable. The best estimate that could be found for this variable was the age of the household head. It was expected to be of particular use in the analysis of extended family households but there was found to be no association with household type nor with the income patterns.

Stability of household income was another variable that was considered to be potentially important. However it was

found to be impossible to infer from the data how much of the time during the year an individual was employed. It was only in the case of social service income that the duration of the flow of income could be estimated. A further complication was the inability of the data to show what was the potential earning time for a particular wage employment or a particular capital good such as a fishing boat. Some fishing boats (usually smaller and less costly) are suitable for actual use only during the generally calmer weather summer months, others (usually larger and more costly) can be used the year around for a variety of types of fishing instead of the summer salmon season.

E. Data Processing

When the data had been collected and arranged it was processed through the use of a computer software package program. The particular program that was used throughout the analysis was SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.) later the analysis was cross checked through the use of an independent program utilizing the Scientific Subroutinesassociated with the PL/1 programming language.

CHAPTER III

DATA PRESENTATION

A. <u>Traditional Kwakiutl Society</u>

Alert Bay is located in the heartland of the Wakashan province of the Northwest Coast culture area.[1] The area extends south from the Northern province of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimsham of the same culture area. The Kwakiutl and the Nootka together with the Bella Coola are the primary linguistic and cultural groups of the area.

The Wakashan province extends specifically from Cape Mudge and Bute Inlet to the North as far as Douglas Channel. Alert Bay itself is a modern day community composed primarily of descendents of the Nimpkish speaking groups who inhabited the area in pre-contact times. As such, their ancestors shared the general pattern of traditions and institutions of the Northwest Coast culture area as well as those traits restricted to the more limited Wakashan province.

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[1] Philip Drucker, <u>Indians of the Northwest Coast</u>, American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Handbook No. 10 (New York: McGraw Hill Company, Inc., 1955, Reprinted by Natural History Press, 1963), p. 15; A.L. Kroeber, <u>Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America</u>, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), pp. 28 - 31.

Like the Haida, the Kwakiutl were endowed with a varied and rich environment.[1] Fishing was the mainstay of the economy, with particular emphasis on salmon fishing. In addition there were several other species of fish which added greatly to the total resources of the Kwakiutl. These included the Olechan fish as well as herring.[2] In the contemporary world of the Kwakiutl, while fishing remains as one of the primary foci for the community economy, much of the traditional culture has disappeared. Rhoner found that the Gilford Island community (located near Alert Bay but more isolated) retained only fragmentary knowledge of past patterns.[3] In terms of language only 25% of those between the age of 21 and 61 years of age spoke predominately Kwakwala and an additional 42% spoke both English and Kwakwala. In contrast, a full one-third spoke predominately English. While the figures just quoted refer to another reserve community than the one under consideration comparable figures could undoubtedly be produced for Alert Bay. In fact there is good reason to suspect that the

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[1] The area surrounding the traditional homeland of the Kwakiutl is part of the Coast Forest Biotic Area: Ian McTaggart Cowan and Charles J. Guiguet, The Mammals of British Columbia , British Columbia Provincial Museum, Handbook No. 11, (Victoria: Queens Printer in Province of British Columbia, 1964), pp. 27 - 28.

[2] Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast , pp. 35 - 42; Philip Drucker and Robert F. Heizer, To Make My Name Good: A Reexamination of the Southern Kwakiutl Potlatch , (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), in passing.

[3] Ronald P. Rhoner, The People of Gilford: A Contemporary Kwakiutl Village , National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 225, Anthropological Series, No. 83 (Ottawa: The Queens Printer, 1967), pp. 9 - 10.

figures for Alert Bay would reveal even less retention of the traditional language. Alert Bay has been an administrative centre for the Indian Affairs Department of the Federal Government for many years as well as being a locus of intense interaction of Whites and Indians.[1]

Additional evidence of the deterioration of traditional culture can be seen in the lack of knowledge concerning the traditional social structure. Again referring to the community of Gilford, Rhoner found that most of his informants were unable to tell him their own numiot (lineage). This by itself is convincing evidence for the profound disruption of traditional culture and the consequent acculturation of the Indians. Whether one accepts the notion that the Kwakiutl were rank-stratified or class-stratified the numiot was the most important social classification traditionally speaking. It determined the person's rights and prerogatives in the potlatch which was the most important social ceremonial for the Kwakiutl.

While much has been made of the tremendous abundance of food resources for all of the Northwest Coast the converse notion is not without considerable evidence. Suttles[2] and Piddocke[3] present considerable evidence and logic for the

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[1] Drucker and Heizer, To Make My Name Good , pp. 22, 26, and 30.
[2] Wayne Suttles, "Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish," American Anthropologist, 62, pp. 296 - 305.
[3] Stuart Piddocke, "The Potlatch System of the Southern Kwakiutl: A New Perspective," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology , 21, pp. 244 - 264.

hypothesis that the entire region surrounding Georgia Straight was subject to fluctuations by season and year coupled with an uneven distribution of the more important species of flora and fauna. The mainstay item, salmon, ran only in certain streams, seasons, and years. This last point is extremely important. The various species of salmon do not spawn every year but rather only in two to four year cycles depending on the particular species.[1] Thus a group would need to control a vast array of fishing stations and probably berry picking locations in order to maintain complete independence. Moreover these fishing stations would be located at considerable distance from the winter village. The cost of obtaining such a high degree of stability of resources would likely have been more than most tribes were ever capable of paying in terms of the manpower that it would have taken to garrison the different locations. It is little wonder that Boas[2] and Curtis[3] record the common recurrence of conflict over fishing stations, berry patches, etc.

The failure of resources is not an uncommon occurrence. Boas, Piddocke, and Hawthorn all mention famine as a common

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[1] Drucker and Heizer, To Make My Name Good , p. 137. The generic name for the salmon is Oncorhynchus . There are in addition a number of sub-species, for a complete list of the sub-species see: Cicely Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage , (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1969), pp. 22.
[2] Franz Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, based on Data Collected by George Hunt , Annual Report, No. 35 (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnography, 1921), pp. 1345 - 1348.
[3] E.S. Curtis, The Kwakiutl , Vol X of The North American Indian , (Seattle: Norwood, 1915), p. 22.

theme in the myths and tales of all of the coastal groups. While Drucker and Heizer[1] discount famine and its threat as a major variable in determining the function of the Potlatch the reverse seems to be more likely but remains unproven. The testing of the hypothesis regarding the significance of famine in determining social organization awaits a more complete examination of the ecology of the region. Only when the aboriginal pattern of resource productivity (i.e., before the advent of commercial fishing) has been described will it be possible to come to any hard and fast conclusions concerning this question. While there existed a number of alternatives to salmon and other fish as components in the diet it is difficult to imagine an entire extended family household subsisting on sea-gulls and similar foods which must have required the expenditure of considerable amounts of labour per unit of energy derived and which, in any event, did not occur in numbers comparable to salmon. If the aboriginal population had developed so as to rely on a _general_ level of productivity then it would be a modest famine indeed which could be relieved by a few seagulls! As Piddocke says:

> The evidence can only lead, I think,
> to the conclusion that the abundance
> of the resources of the Kwakiutl has
> been somewhat over estimated.[2]

The conclusion reached by both Suttles and Piddocke suggests that the Potlatch was a mechanism of major significance for

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[1] Drucker and Heizer, _To Make My Name Good_ , p. 149.
[2] Piddocke, "The Potlatch System," p. 247.

the redistribution of resources to overide the natural imbalance of environmental productivity with respect to region, season, and species.

The entire system of production of the Kwakiutl began to be changed from about 1792 (the arrival of Capt. Vancouver among the Nootka.) From that time until 1849 the Kwakiutl had a limited and indirect access to Western (i.e. , White) trade goods. In 1849 the Hudsons Bay Company founded a trading factory in the territory of the Kwakiutl at Fort Rupert and thus provided "... a direct non-traditional source of wealth..."[1] Concurrent with, and in fact produced by, the contact with Whites, was a dramatic decline in population for the Kwakiutl.[2] The potlatch in the period showed a marked change. Particularly important were the attempts by persons who in pre-contact times would have held no or minor potlatch positions to validate themselves in suddenly inherited positions. The result of these two processes was an "intensification of status rivalry and an increase in the frequency and volume of potlatching..."[3] What had in pre-contact or traditional times been a highly visible ceremonial now become a highly invisible (at least to agents) ceremonial.[4]

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[1] Ibid ., p. 245.
[2] Helen Codere, Fighting with Property , American Ethnological Society, Monograph No. 18 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1950), pp. 41 - 61; Drucker and Heizer, To Make My Name Good , pp. 23 - 26.
[3] Piddocke, "The Potlatch System," p. 245.
[4] Drucker and Heizer, To Make My Name Good , p. 48.

As Codere points out, since the 1830's the Kwakiutl have with varying intensities, been directly involved in the cash economy (or wage economy) of the larger and more pervasive White society.[1] However such participation has not been uniform across the board with respect to skill and industrial sector. Judging from the summary of data presented by Codere, the principal income earning activities have been concentrated in the primary industries of British Columbia, logging, fishing, etc. One of the significant tendencies in this pattern of acculturation to a wage economy is the decreasing reliance on the traditional lineage controlled resources. The decimation of the population in conjunction with the administrative policies of the Canadian Government to allocate resources on the basis of band (residential) membership rather than lineage affiliation probably accelerated or at least mirrored the process of increasing the significance of the nuclear family household as the primary residence pattern.

The above summary while mentioning only a few of the details of the acculturation of the Kwakiutl has attempted to make two basic points. First, the entire range of traditional social activities and groups in Kwakiutl society have been subject in the last century and a half to new pressures. Second, that a great deal of acculturation has already been accomplished and has affected major areas of traditional life and culture, including language and such

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[1] Codere, _Fighting with Property_ , pp. 31 - 33.

basic social structures as the resource production units and
the Potlatch.

B. The Contemporary Situation

This section will devote itself to a close examination of the contemporary economic activities and the household composition of the residents of the Alert Bay Reserve.[1] The sample included 18 households for which there was sufficient data to be usable in the total analysis. There were however a grand total of 38 households on the reserve. Of the households sampled there was a considerable demographic variety as evidenced by the range in Table II.

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[1] Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Report of the Royal Commission: Indian Affairs , Vol II, (Victoria: Acme Press, Limited, 1916), pp. 385 - 386.

TABLE II
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF HOUSEHOLDS
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

	Range	Mean
Number of Residents/ Household	1 - 16 persons	7.2 persons
Age of Household Head	23 - 73 years	43.8 years
Number of Children Living at Home Less than 15 Years of Age	0 - 12 Child.	3.7 Child.
Number of Children Less than 15 Years of Age	0 - 12 "	3.9 "
Number of Children Living at Home 15 or More Years of Age	0 - 4 "	.7 "
Number of Children 15 or More Years of Age	0 - 9 "	1.9 "
	(N = 21)	

The figures in the table would suggest that there is a considerable variation in the size of the families in Alert Bay and that there is a marked pattern of raising fewer children than was customary in pre-contact times and that children are raised in the homes of their natural parents whenever possible. There is little evidence to show of adopting children into the households. There is a difference of proportion of .2 between the number of

children less than 15 years of age living at home and the
total number of children less than 15 years of age. This
difference may be attributed to children who are away from
the reserve for purposes of attending school or for hospital
treatment.

Alert Bay revealed five types of households (see Table
III). Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the
distribution and a measure of the degree to which
acculturation is an accomplished fact is the high percentage
of nuclear family households relative to extended family
households. In pre-contact times the extended family
household was the usual form of organization (i.e., 100% of
the village). By 1954 extended family households accounted
for only about 28% of all households and nuclear family
households accounted for 39% of all households. In addition
it should be noted that while the extended family household
has not disappeared as a form of social organization it has
changed considerably. The average number of persons living
in an extended family household in pre-contact times was
reported to be upwards of 30 persons. The largest extended
family household found in 1954 contained 18 permanent
members.

TABLE III
TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS
WITH ASSOCIATED FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

Household Type	Frequency	Percentage
Nuclear Family	7	38.9 %
Single Person[1]	2	11.1
Extended Family	5	27.8
Families with non-kin boarders[1]	2	11.1
Undefinable[1]	2	11.1
Total	18	100.0 %

[1] For the purposes of analysis these categories are collapsed into one category ("other").

Alert Bay Reserve shows participation by households in a wide variety of income generating activities (see Table IV). Eight households reported income from fishing, direct kind production, and family allowances. Eight households report income from logging, and seven households report income from inter-household reciprocity. The figures taken by themselves would suggest a significant continuation in the traditional patterns of economic activity. However this conclusion would be incorrect for two reasons. First, as will be shown later in this section, while there is considerable participation in activities that have analogues to pre-contact economic pursuits their significance in terms of contribution to the total household income is very minor. However such activities may have tremendous symbolic value. A second caution to be kept in mind when considering the figures is that the question of control of access to such

resource activities has not been considered.

TABLE IV
INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES
WITH ASSOCIATED FREQUENCIES
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

Activity	Frequency Reported[1]
Fishing	12
Family Allowance Payments	12
Direct Resource Production	12
Logging	8
Exchange between Households	7
Relief (welfare)	4
Pension (including blind pension)	4
Unearned Income	3
Fishing Boat Cook	2
Plumber's and Mechanic's Helper	2
Carpenter	1
Domestic	1
Church Sexton	1
Truck Driver	1
Trapline Operator	1
Workmen's Compensation	1

[1] A source is reported only once for a given household.

At least suggestive of the degree to which Indians in Alert Bay have been acculturated to the prevailing economic system are the seven persons who reported income from trade specilities as shown in Table IV. New work specialities such as plumber's or mechanic's helper, truck driver, church sexton, etc. are certainly not tasks which have a long tradition reaching back prior to the time of contact.

When income is placed in a category with respect to control of access to resources and the actual amounts of income are considered then a very different picture is

obtained. Table V shows that on the average nuclear family households obtain almost one-half of their household income from wages, but this is not significantly different from extended family households which obtain slightly more than one-half of their total income from wages. The figures actually suggest that there is counter factual evidence for the hypothesis that nuclear families are wage dependent and extended families are kinship income dependent. The numbers of households in question and the inadequacies of some of the data make this conclusion too risky to do anything more than suggest its plausability.[1]

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[1] There was a particular problem in the income reports for fishermen in that there was some question as to whether the figures reported were gross or net income.

TABLE V
MEAN PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME
BY INCOME SECTOR AND HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

| Household Type | Income Sector[1] | | | | | | Total[2] | (N) |
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Nuclear Family Households	.47	.37	.12	0	.02	.02	1.00	(6)
Extended Family Households	.53	.26	.14	0	.07	.07	1.00	(5)
Consanguineal Households				(not present)				
Other Households	.31	.01	.36	.23	.07	.01	1.00	(6)

[1] Income Sectors are:

    1 = Wages   4 = Unearned
    2 = Kinship   5 = Reciprocity
    3 = Social Services   6 = Kind

[2] Totals have been rounded to 1.00.

The category of "other households" includes equal numbers of single person households, nuclear family households with foster (but non-related) children, and households with undefinable structures. The pattern for this category is considerably different from the other two discussed in the preceeding paragraphs. Most interesting is the almost total absence of kinship income, the reduced importance of wage income and the consequent significance of social services income. Persons in this residual category

showed some unique sources of income such as Blind Pension, old age pensions, etc.[1]

Table VI shows that both nuclear family households and extended family households are in the high income bracket with respect to all households on the reserve, with the residual category ("other household types") showing only one-third the proportion of households in the high income bracket. This is probably due to the pensions which make up virtually the entire household income for some of the households listed in the category. It had been predicted that extended family households would show greater amounts of total income than nuclear family households but this is not shown to be the case. However with respect to low total incomes extended family households show a much smaller proportion than do nuclear family households (a difference of proportion of .125).

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[1] The mean proportion of .23 for unearned income is spurious in its significance as it is due entirely to the presence of $5,000.00 paid to one person from an insurance policy for a wrecked ship.

TABLE VI
PROPORTION OF
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

Household Types	Low Income[1]	High Income[1]
Nuclear Family Household	.375 (3)[2]	.429 (3)
Extended Family Household	.250 (2)	.429 (3)
Other households	.375 (3)	.143 (1)

[1] The division between high and low income was the median ($2923.00 per year).
[2] Figures in parentheses for all tables refer to frequencies.

As predicted by the hypothesis all measures of per-capita income (Tables VII, VIII, AND IX) show a very strong association between high per-capita income and nuclear family households, and correspondingly a strong association between low per-capita income and extended family households. It might be argued that the extended family household represents the coming together of a number of adult (income earning) persons. However if the total income for the household is divided by the number of persons resident and over fifteen years of age then the effect of associating adults should be apparent. However the trend shown in Table VII is not altered in Table VIII. Nor is the basic picture altered by computing per-capita income for adults but not including Family Allowance payments in total income.

TABLE VII
PROPORTION OF
PER-CAPITA INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

Household types	Low Income[1]	High Income[1]
Nuclear Family Household	.286 (2)	.500 (4)
Extended Family Household	.571 (4)	.125 (1)
Other households	.143 (1)	.375 (3)

[1] The division between high and low income was the median ($559.00 per year).

TABLE VIII
PROPORTION OF
ADULT PER-CAPITA INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

Household Types	Low Income[1]	High Income[1]
Nuclear Family Household	.125 (1)	.714 (5)
Extended Family Household	.625 (5)	0 (0)
Other households	.250 (2)	.286 (2)

[1] The division between high and low income was the median ($1047.00 per year).

TABLE IX
PROPORTION OF
ADULT PER-CAPITA INCOME LESS FAMILY ALLOWANCE PAYMENTS
BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

Household Types	Low Income[1]	High Income[1]
Nuclear Family Household	.125 (1)	.724 (5)
Extended Family Household	.625 (5)	0 (0)
Other households	.250 (2)	.286 (2)

[1] The division between high and low income was the median ($1001.00 per year).

The final and perhaps most important test of the theory presented in Chapter I concerns the association between nuclear family households and wage labour, and between extended family households and kinship income. The data is presented in Table X. Each household for which there was complete data available was rated with respect to the largest sector of income. If the hypothesis was true then it would be expected that there would be a strong association between wage labour and nuclear family households, and a strong association between income from kinship controlled resources and the extended family household. The data in Table X shows that the reverse is actually the case. That is, kinship dominant households are more commonly nuclear family households, and wage dominant households are more commonly extended family households. However there were no households of these two categories which showed a reliance on social services income. Reliance

on social services income was confined to the residual category.

TABLE X
DOMINANT INCOME SECTOR
BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(ALERT BAY RESERVE)

Household	Wages	Kinship	Dominant sector Social services	Unearned
Nuclear Fam.	.38 (3)	.75 (5)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Extended Fam.	.50 (4)	.25 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Other	.13 (1)	0 (0)	1.0 (1)	1.0 (1)
	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

The reason for the lack of association as suggested by the hypotheses may be due to the inability of the data to provide clues to two other variables which were hypothesised to be significant, namely skill level of the wage income earner and the proximity of the place of work and residence and interchangeability of household and task personnel for kinship controlled resources. It was hoped that without these intervening variables there would be at least a weak association. However the strength of the association as empirically determined does not bode well for the theory.

One of the most interesting statistics generated by the analysis is the number of income sources which an individual

household is likely to have. The range of income sources per household ranged from one (one case only) to nine sources (two cases) of income with a mean, median, mode of 5.0. Consideration of the data showed that as would be expected most households reported Family Allowance payments, but what was more interesting is the combination of kinship income in conjunction with wage income. Thirty-five percent of all households reported income from both wage and kinship sources, and another thirty-five percent reported kinship income with zero wage income. These figures would suggest the lack of ability to generate sufficient income from kinship sources alone. In the case of Alert Bay the most common form of kinship owned resource is a fishing boat and/or net. From consideration of the field notes attached to the file the impression is gained that the large outlay of capital required to purchase and maintain a competitive fishing boat is beyond the resources of many fishermen in Alert Bay.

C.   Traditonal Haida Society

The term Haida has been traditionally applied to the aboriginal inhabitants of the Queen Charlotte Islands and the southern end of the Prince of Wales Archipelago. The aboriginal populations of this area spoke the same language and shared both material and social culture. The Haida language is believed to be related to the Athabasca linguistic stock and has two major sub-divisions, Masset and Skidegate, named for two of the major communities of the Haida in the post contact period.[1]

The Queen Charlotte Islands are a major land mass off the west coast of British Columbia between 52° and 54° North latitude and 130° and 134° West longitude. The specific reserve to be considered in this section of the analysis is Skidegate Reserve located on the southern end of Graham Island.[2]

The traditional Haida territory has considerable diversity in topography as well as well as flora and fauna. It is sufficiently different from the mainland and Vancouver Island that biologists assign it to a separate biotic area.[3] Although the islands range in altitude from sea level to

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[1] Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast , p. 12. The Alaska Haida are believed to have spoken the Masset dialect (Drucker, Ibid). However since this analysis is concerned only with the B.C. Haida, the Alaska Haida are not considered here unless specifically noted.

[2] Royal Commission on Indian Affairs , Vol III, pp. 729 - 730.

[3] Cowan and Guiguet, Mammals of British Columbia , pp. 27 - 28.

over 2,500 feet the essential character of the land is that
of a temporate climate owing to the strong influence of the
Japanese current.

The weather pattern of the islands is characterized by
moderation due to the previously mentioned current. The
temperatures range from a mean monthly low of 35° in January
to 57° in August.[1] Even during the winter months the
temperatures do not remain below freezing for extended
periods of time. The ever present Japanese current does
bring a generous supply of rain, averaging well over 100
inches per year in some parts of the Queen Charlotte
Islands. The environment of the islands is sufficiently
different from that of the Kwakiutl area to warrant a more
detailed description rather than relying on the description
presented in the previous section.

The Haida, like the Kwakiutl, were first and foremost a
people of the sea and the resources of the area were rich
and varied. The waters surrounding the Queen Charlotte
Islands supplied numerous types of fish including the
salmon, halibut (Hippoglossus stenolepis), sablefish
(Anoplopoma fimbria), cod (Gadus macrocephalus), and herring
(Cludea pallasii).[2] These food sources formed the major
portion of the Haida diet. However the salmon runs were

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[1] George Peter Murdock, Our Primitive Contemporaries ,
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p. 221.
[2] All of the taxonomy for various species of fish are
taken from the following source: Lyons, Salmon , pp. 22,
565, 575, 590.

more restricted than those of the Kwakiutl. There are three main runs on Graham Island and perhaps five major runs on the southern island (Moresby Island.)[1] Hewes has characterized these salmon runs as "relatively small, short streams ...."[2] A major consequence of this situation is the increased significance of halibut and sablefish in the total catch of the Haida. Hewes suggests that halibut was of even larger significance in the total take than the salmon. However the excellent preserving qualities of the chum or dog salmon (O. keta) made this item the main fish resource preserved for the winter season.

Salmon fishing is restricted to the summer months (May to October) and it is preserved by smoking and/or drying for winter consumption. Halibut fishing overlapped the salmon fishing season, but was of longer duration and was not restricted to the same localities as was true of salmon fishing. Hewes states that the immature halibut were taken in the area northeast of Masset in the area of McIntyre Bay. Although it is not expressed explicitly it appears that the immature halibut fishing was carried on only in the early part of the season perhaps from March to May. In May the primary halibut area was the inshore fishery on the east coast of Graham Island. This fishing location would have been particularly important for the aboriginal villages

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[1] Gordon Winant Hewes, "Aboriginal Use of Fishery Resources in Northwestern North America" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1947), p. 148 and map in Appendix.
[2] Ibid.

located in and around the present day community of Skidegate. From November to March (the beginning of the new fishing season) the halibut could be fished in Dixon Entrance and Hecate Strait.[1]

Although many fish resources exploited with a primitive technology can be considered a territorial resource, this is particularly true of the Pacific salmon which is most easily caught from land stations. While the salmon spends much of its mature life in the open sea (too far out to be obtained by the limited technology of the aboriginal Haida) it must return to freshwater rivers and streams which flow into the Pacific in order to spawn. This biological necessity meant that in pre-contact times control of the rich salmon resource could be controlled by controlling rivers and river banks where salmon spawn. Elaborate systems of traps, weirs and nets were used by the Haida for such fishing.[2] among the Haida the rights to positions on salmon spawning rivers were the property of the individual lineages and were among the most valued posessions of the group.

In contrast to salmon fishing the halibut fishery is an entirely different activity. The halibut does not spawn in fresh water and must be caught in the open sea through the use of hooks. However halibut fishing by virtue of the size

[1] Ibid., p. 148.
[2] Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast, pp. 35 - 37. The Haida are thought to have acquired the use of nets for fishing from the mainland Niska in precontact or very early historic times (Drucker, Ibid.)

to which the species commonly grows (200 pounds or more for females) was not a simple operation. Large bent wood hooks, sometimes several on a line, were the common devices used. Even in the case of the halibut fishery the activity required the cooperation of several individuals. It is perhaps not insignificant that because of the overlapping of seasons for both major types of fishing (salmon and halibut) and the necessity for a high degree of task specialization of labour that the lineage made an efficient social unit to organize the labour force and to own the capital goods necessary in both cases.

For the Haida it is possible to define a series of increasingly more inclusive social units to which the individual belonged. The smallest unit was that of the nuclear family consisting of a man, his wife (or wives) and their young children. Elder male children were generally reared in the household of their maternal uncles as the Haida were a strongly matrilineal society. The rearing of children in an avunculocal pattern seems to have been universal among the Haida.[1]

The large extended family household consisting of matrilineally related males, wives and young children was the next largest social unit and was the most important task unit for the purposes of most resource activities. Such a unit consisted of perhaps ten or twelve nuclear families

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[1] David F. Aberle, personal communication.

with a total population ranging from a low 30 to a high of 50 individuals.

The extended family household was, therefore, composed of individuals from two different moieties. The women and children of the women came from one moiety, the husbands from the other. However, the Haida, like so many matrilineal societies, were confronted with the principle of inheritance through the female line, but with authority vested in the males of the group. In the light of these restrictions the extended family household functioned as an economic and political entity. The mother's brother - sister's son relationship functioned as a strong factor in the development of interpersonal relations. This situation has caused Murdock to designate this social unit a compromise kin unit (the avuncuclan). Membership is determined partly on the basis of descent and partly on the basis of residence. The lineage overlapped in its membership with the avuncuclan about one-half.

The lineage itself, usually comprising a village and consisting of one or more extended family households was the basic property owning group.[1] It controlled access rights to all of the important resource locations, including fishing stations, berry patches, and hunting grounds. While every house in the village had its hereditary chief the highest

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[1] Over and above the lineages existed the moiety system which divided the tribe into two distinct groups and served to regulate marriage for all of the Haida groups.

ranking chief was also the chief of the village. The above summary is based on Drucker, Murdock, Spencer and Swanton.[1]

In an earlier section of the chapter it was suggested that the Kwakiutl did not in all probability have constant resource production with respect to seasonal as well as year to year production levels. Suttles has attempted to extend his ecological studies to include the full scope of the Northwest coast culture area. His overall comparison suggests that the more northerly tribes (including the Haida):

> Rely on fewer places and for shorter times during the year, but in greater concentration, and with consequent greater chance of failure.[2]

Further Drucker suggests that inclement weather was a more severe constraint for the Nootka on the west coast of Vancouver Island than for many of the Kwakiutl living on the eastern side of the island with its more sheltered location. Suttles further argues that weather and its variability was a constant threat to the productivity of the Queen Charlotte groups as well. The Haida unilineal system of descent with

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[1] Drucker, _Indians of the Northwest Coast_ , Chapter xxf Murdock, _Our Primitive Contemporaries_, Chapter XI; Robert F. Spencer, "The Northwest Coast," Chapter V, in Robert F. Spencer, Jesse D. Jennings, _et al._ _The Native Americans: Prehistory and Ethnology of the North American Indians_ , (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 168 - 212; John R. Swanton, _Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida._ Memoir 8, (New York: American Museum of History, 1909), in passing.
[2] Wayne Suttles, "Variation in Habitat and Culture in the Northwest Coast," _Akten des 34 Internationalen Amerikanestinkongresses_ (Wien: Verlag Ferdinand Berger, 1962), p. 533.

its strong preference for avunculocal residence and cross-cousin marriage tended to make residential groups rigid in their composition and, further, to unite the entire population into a large redistribution system (the Potlatch). Unlike the Kwakiutl who allowed some measure of individual choice with regard to residential location, the Haida allowed for almost no variation in residence rules. The system of cross-cousin marriage assured that a kinship network was geographically dispersed over the entire resource area. While Suttles' speculations must remain just that for the present time they can at least be used to suggest that the common belief of sustained and abundant production for the Northwest coast culture area is dubious at best and perhaps quite false.

As has been noted by several writers the fortunes of the Indians of the Northwest coast and the men of New England are closely connected in the period from about 1780 to mid-nineteenth century.[1] However the history of contact with White traders differed markedly for the Haida in comparison with that of the Kwaliutl. The first contact with Whites was probably the visit of the Spanish explorers Perez and Bodega in 1774 and 1775. However, within a few years the northwest coast became an important link in the

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[1] Drucker, _Indians of the Northwest Coast_, p. 30; Wilson Duff, _The Impact of the White Man_, Vol I of _The Indian History of British Columbia_. In _Anthropology in British Columbia_ Memoir No. 5, (Victoria: Provincial Museum, 1964); Murdock, _Our Primitive Contemporaries_, p. 261.

far east trade. By 1793 the Queen Charlotte Islands were
important centres for the lucrative sea otter pelt trade
with "Boston Men." Joseph Ingraham, for example, obtained
two hundred pelts during one summer (1791 [?]).[1] In the next
few years the demand for sea otter pelts soon outstripped
the capacity of the animals to reproduce and the Haida began
to find alternative products to sell to the White traders.
The products which were offered were of two different types.
First, the Haida undertook the cultivation of garden crops,
especially potatoes, to sell to traders. This in itself is
remarkablable as the Haida had not been cultivators in the
pre-contact period. Secondly, the Haida turned their
talents for artistic creation to substantial profit. They
excelled particularly in the areas of argileite and wood
carving and silver working.[2] Interestingly, silver working
was not an aboriginal craft and was apparently learned from
the Russians in Alaska.

In association with White contact came a decline in
population, a ubiquitous aspect of contact. White diseases
including venereal disease, T.B., and small pox took a
drastic toll of life among the Haida in British Columbia.[3]

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[1] Samuel Eliot Morison, The Maritime History of
Massachusetts: 1783-1860, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company,
1921, reprinted 1961, Sentry editions), pp. 49, 57.
    [2] The large collections found in the Essex
(Massachusetts) County Museum and the Peabody Museum of
Harvard University as well as numerous other museums attest
to this productivity.
    [3] It is perhaps worth noting that at least for the
early ships of the Boston men alcohol was not part of the
cargo manifest. (Morison, Maritime History, p. 57.)

8

The aboriginal population of the Haida in the precontact
period as determi by Mooney and corrected by Kroeber is set
at about 9,800 people.[1] By 1841 the population was in a
state of decline. Murdock sets the population figures at
about 8,000 people in 1841.[2] However Duff's figures based on
careful consideration of the records of the Hudson's Bay
Company suggests that the population decline was even more
drastic with a total population of only 6,000 people in
1835. In any event the decline continued until 1915 with a
recorded pooulation of only 588 persons.[3]

The above summary of traditional Haida culture and
society as presented in the standard works of reference has
led to two conclusions. First that the Haida (like the
Kwakiutl) have been subjected to severe pressures since the
time of contact. The pre-contact situation presented a
picture of large, avunculocal extended family households as
the only form of residence and also the social unit
producing the bulk of production for home consumption. The
main activities concentrated on the salmon and halibut
fisheries. Second, the initial period of contact introduced
new and very different economic activities among the Haida.
Fur trapping and craft work took on new dimensions of
importance hitherto unheard of. Finally the Haida made a
drastic change in so far as they undertook the cultivation
of foodstuffs for sale to White traders.

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[2] Murdock, <u>Our Primitive Contemporaries</u>, p. 261.
[3] Duff, <u>Impact of the White Man</u>, pp. 38 - 46.

D. Contemporary Haida Society

This section will devote itself to a close examination
of the contemporary economic activities and the associated
household types found on the Skidegate Reserve. The present
sample included forty households although there were
sufficient data for the analysis of only thirty-five
households. There were in 1954 46 households on the reserve
with a total resident population of 273 persons. Of the
households included in the sample there was considerable
demographic variety as evidenced in Table XI. The figures
in the tables would suggest that there is considerable
variation in the size of the families of Skidegate. However
the pattern is sufficiently clear to note that families at
Skidegate are considerably smaller than those at Alert Bay
in both range and size (see Table II). Further there is
very little evidence of the aboriginal pattern of male
avunculocal residence as reported in the literature. A
difference of proportion of .2 is not large enough to
suggest even the remnants of the pattern as some of the
children less than 15 years of age and not living at home
are at an Indian residential school located at a
considerable distance from the reserve. There is however
some evidence to suggest that adult children (i.e., those 15
years of age or more) continue to live at home for some
period of time.

TABLE XI
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF HOUSEHOLDS
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

	Range	Mean
Number of Residents/ Household	1 - 10	5.7 persons
Age of Household Head	21 - 90 years	51.0 years
Number of Children Living at Home Less than 15 Years of Age	0 - 7 Child.	2.3 Child.
Number of Children Less than 15 Years of Age	0 - 8 "	2.4 "
Number of Children Living at Home 15 or More Years of Age	0 - 5 "	1.2 "
Number of Children 15 or More Years of Age	0 - 14 "	2.7 "
	(N = 40)	

Skidegate revealed seven categories of households (see table XII). Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this distribution and a strong measure of acculturation is the decline in the importance of the extended family household and the rise in significance of the nuclear family household. There are more than four times as many nuclear family households as extended family households. Further the ethnographic evidence suggests that such households

would have contained at least 30 persons while the maximum
for the present extended family households was ten.

TABLE XII
TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS
WITH ASSOCIATED FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

Household Type	Frequency	Percentage
Nuclear Family	19	47.5 %
Extended Family	4	10.0
Consanguineal	3	7.5
Stem Family[1]	1	2.5
Single Person[1]	4	10.0
Families with non-kin boarders[1]	1	2.5
Undefinable[1]	8	20.0
Total	40	100.0%

[1] For the purposes of analysis these categories are
collapsed into one category ("other").

Table XIII suggests the degree to which the Haida have
become acculturated. While 34 households reported some type
of kind production an almost equal number (30) reported
family allowance income, a very recent income source. In
fact the impact of social services income among the Haida
has been very significant indeed. Seventy-one out of a
total of 176 income sources are in the social services
income category.

TABLE XIII
INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITES WITH FREQUENCIES REPORTED
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

Activity	Frequency Reported[1]
Kind production	34
Family allowance	30
Fishing	28
Logging	21
Relief	19
Pensions	12
Unemployment Insurance	9
Reciprocity	8
Borders (non-kin)	3
Carpenter	3
Unearned	3
Boat charter	2
Cannery work	2
Carver of totem poles	2
Barber	1
Fruit growing	1
Janitor	1
Nurse/Post mistress	1
Radio repairman	1
Rental of a power saw	1
Tax expert	1
T.B. Allowance	1
Trapping	1
Laundry/housekeeping	1
Unspecified	2

[1] A source is reported only once for a given household.

An examination of the control of access to resources makes the picture somewhat clearer. On the average nuclear families obtain 41% of their income from wages (see Table XIV). That is, wage income is in fact the largest sector of income. However, it is also true that extended family households are wage income dependent and in fact the average for extended family households is measurably larger that for nuclear families (51%). Again counter-factual evidence has

been found that nuclear families are not primarily wage dependent families. As is true for all of the figures presented in this section the conclusions, by force of the scantiness of the data, remain only suggestive of trends.

Evidence to support the hypothesis that consanguineal households are not primarily dependent on wage income is found. On the average consanguineal households obtain only 8% of their income from wage employment. This confirms at least part of the hypothesis that consanguineal households are not wage dependent. This conclusion can be explained by the absence of migratory labour as a source of income for Skidegate. The category "Other" shows a pattern more in keeping with what would be expected for nuclear families. The two largest sub-groups comprising this category are single person households and undefinable households. The data did not reveal any significant pattern which could be used to describe this category. Therefore these households remain something of a mystery.

TABLE XIV
MEAN PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME
BY INCOME SECTOR AND HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

Household Type	Income Sector[1]						Total[2]	(N)
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Nuclear Family Households	.41	.32	.22	0	.03	.03	1.00	(16)
Extended Family Households	.51	.18	.24	.04	.01	.03	1.00	(4)
Consang- uineal Households	.08	.47	.43	0	0	.03	1.00	(2)
Other Households	.40	.24	.33	.00	.01	.03	1.00	(13)

[1] Income Sectors are:

    1 = Wages   4 = Unearned
    2 = Kinship   5 = Reciprocity
    3 = Social Services 6 = Kind

[2] Totals have been rounded to 1.00.

Table XV examines the association between size of total household income and household type. Here the predicted relationship did obtain. One-half of all low income households are nuclear families; while a proportion of .235 of all high income households are extended families. In contrast there are no extended families in the low income categories and a proportion of .412 of all high income households are nuclear. While the predicted relationship is not as clear as could be desired the evidence seems strong

enough to confirm the hypothesis. Of interest is the continuing relationship between the category "other" and nuclear family households.

TABLE XV
PROPORTION OF
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

Household Types	Low Income[1]	High Income[1]
Nuclear Family Household	.500 (9)	.412 (7)
Extended Family Household	0 (0)	.235 (4)
Consanguineal Household	0 (0)	.118 (2)
Other households	.500 (9)	.235 (4)

[1] The division between high and low income was the median ($2595.00 per year).

Contrary to what was expected, relationships between nuclear families and high per-capita income and conversely between extended family households and low per-capita income were not found to be clearly demonstrated. Comparing nuclear families with extended families with respect to straight per-capita income evidence was found to demonstrate the opposite conclusion (see Tables XVI, XVII, AND XVIII). One-half of all low income families were nuclear while one-half of all high income families were extended family households. By both calculations of per-capita income the picture is not changed.

TABLE XVI
PROPORTION OF
PER-CAPITA INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

Household Types	Low Income[1]	High Income[1]
Nuclear Family Household	.500 (9)	.412 (7)
Extended Family Household	.111 (2)	.500 (2)
Consanguineal Household	.056 (1)	.059 (1)
Other households	.333 (6)	.412 (7)

[1] The division between high and low income was the median ($541.00 per year).

TABLE XVII
PROPORTION OF
ADULT PER-CAPITA INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

Household Types	Low Income[1]	High Income[1]
Nuclear Family Household	.294 (5)	.611 (11)
Extended Family Household	.118 (2)	.111 (2)
Consanguineal Household	.059 (1)	.056 (1)
Other households	.529 (9)	.222 (4)

[1] The division between high and low income was the median ($898.00 per year).

TABLE XVIII
PROPORTION OF
ADULT PER-CAPITA INCOME LESS FAMILY ALLOWANCE PAYMENTS
BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

Household Types	Low Income[1]	High Income[1]
Nuclear Family Household	.353 (6)	.556 (10)
Extended Family Household	.118 (2)	.111 (2)
Consanguineal Household	.359 (1)	.056 (1)
Other households	.471 (8)	.278 (5)

[1] The division between high and low income was the median ($846.00 per year).

Consanguineal households showed no association and were evenly split with regard to per-capita income measurements. Other households did show an association with low per-capita income by all measures.

The final and perhaps most important test of the hypothesis concerning the association between nuclear family households and wage labour is presented in Table IXX. Each household was rated with respect to the largest sector of income. If the hypothesis were true then it would be expected that there would be a strong association between wage labour and nuclear family households, and also a strong association between income from kinship controlled resources and the extended family household form. However the hypothesis was not confirmed by the data. Approximately one half of both wage dominant and kinship dominant households

was nuclear. Only about 9% of all kinship dominant households were ones where resources were kinship controlled. The suggestion is, then, that wages account for the overwhelming amount of income for all households. The summary field notes suggest possible clues to the reason for this state of affairs. First, the suggestions in the file notes is that the fishing boats in Skidegate (the largest type of kinship controlled resource) reqiuire more skilled crew members than can be supplied from the available labour pool. Second, the fishing industry in Skidegate was in 1954 in somewhat of a depression in comparison with the years encompassed by the second world war and for some time after. In addition the war years presented a tremendous demand for labour on various military construction projects in the area of the Queen Charlotte Islands. This may have drawn many men away from the fishing industry never to return. The presence of a depression in the economy of Skidegate is evidenced by the presence of a significant number of people on the reserve who are dependent on welfare income. At least 12.5% of all households are so dependent.

TABLE IXX
PROPORTION OF DOMINANT INCOME SECTORS
BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE
(SKIDEGATE RESERVE)

Household Type	Wages	Dominant Sector Kinship	Social Services
Nuclear Family	.50 (8)	.54 (6)	.25 (2)
Extended Family	.12 (2)	.09 (1)	.12 (1)
Consanguineal	---	.09 (1)	.12 (1)
Other	.38 (6)	.27 (3)	.50 (4)
	1.00	1.00	1.00

The data did not allow for a close comparison between skill

level and household composition.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY

This chapter recapitulates some of the general theoretical orientations which have guided this research and summarizes the findings. Several variables not examined are discussed and suggestions for future research are made.

A. Theoretical Framework

This study takes as its starting point the assumption that economic constraints are the primary determinants of household composition in order to most efficiently provide individuals with the goods and services that are necessary to sustain their daily lives. The theory hypothesizes that there are at least four aspects or types of constraints:

(a) Access to resources,
(b) Size of income,
(c) Stability of income over time, and,
(d) Interchangeability of resource and household personnel.

Other studies on reserve Indians suggest some variables which are thought to influence the composition of households. They include the control of access to resources by kinship groups, the need for skilled labour in a modern industrial society, and the impact of unskilled migratory labour. A more general position considers the history of adjustments by the reserve community to the demands of

Western culture as very important. The composition of households, thus, would seem to involve the possibility of a number of alternatives through time in which numerous variables may intervene, often with an interlocking effect on each other.

The main focus of this present study has been on some of the characteristics of individual incomes as they are aggregated to form household incomes. The study has attempted to consider the characteristics of any income source under one of six possible categories:

(a) Kinship income,
(b) Wage income,
(c) Social service income,
(d) Unearned income,
(e) Reciprocity income,
(f) Kind income.

The theory chapter has tried to consider the characteristics of each income source and how it could best be used to supply the needs and wants of individuals in terms of cooking, cleaning, shopping, sexual access, and child rearing.

Throughout the study it has been assumed that all income generated by individuals can be equally consumed in the short run by members of the household. Of course this assumption is not plausible for children and some adults but such income could, conceivably, be used for a variety of personal as well as extra-household purposes. For example, surplus income could be used to further the political goals of a household member. Kinship obligations in the context

of traditional norms of Indian society have been considered only in so far as they are reflected in the category of income derived from other households related by ties of consanguinity or affinity. On inspection of the data this procedure seems justified, in so far as the significance of kinship income accounts for a very small portion of household income for any household.

B. Findings

Evidence was found on both reserves to support the proposition that extended family households have high total incomes. However, on the Alert Bay Reserve there was a small negative association between high total incomes and nuclear family households, while Skidegate Reserve showed only a small positive association between the same variables.

Considering all measures of per-capita income Alert Bay Reserve showed stong support for the proposition that nuclear families are high per-capita income households. With respect to Skidegate Reserve there was a strong association between nuclear family households and high per-capita income. But there was either a small negative association or no difference between extended family households and per-capita income.

There were a number of hypotheses which made specific reference to the consanguineal household. Unfortunately there were no such households on the Alert Bay Reserve and

only three on the Skidegate Reserve (accounting for only 7.5% of the population of the reserve.) While t8e data are inadequate to allow for more than speculation, none of the hypotheses concerning consanguineal households was validated. This may be due in part to the impact of governmental policy which may provide sufficient income so that consanguineal households are not necessarily as destitute as had been predicted. The absence of a significant number of consanguineal households may also be due to the impact of governmental policy which promotes the growth of nuclear family households.

The second major approach to the analysis of household economics was in terms of primacy of one of the six major income types. Perhaps one of the most expected results of the study is the small significance of reciprocity and kind income in the total budget of any of the households on the two reserves. No nuclear family household or extended family household on either reserve received the primary portion of its total household income from either reciprocity or kind sources. Further, it did not even account for the second largest sector of income for a household. This perhaps more than any other measurement suggests the degree of social and cultural change that reserve Indians have undergone in the last one hundred years.

The theory that was proposed in Chapter I had suggested that there would be 1n association between extended family

households and kinsh9p income dominance and between nuclear family households and wage income dominance. On the Alert Bay Reserve there was negative support for both propositions. On the Skidegate Reserve there was no association between one type of household and income primacy. In the case of the few consanguineal households on the Skidegate Reserve there was a slight association with social service income dominance. Since all forms of pensions were included within the category "social service" and further because such pensions are usually large in comparison to other sources of income on the reserve there is some explanation as to why consanguineal households are not low income households.

C. Limitations of the Study

This study was limited in its explorations of household economics by the inability to measure differential income earning potential with respect to stability of income for the individual and for the household. That is, it was impossible to determine whether or not an individual was realizing the total potential from a given resource or job. This is crucial when attempting to measure stability of income. While it is reasonable to assume that employment in an office is a full time job (i.e., twelve months of the year) the same assumption cannot be made with respect to many jobs in primary resource exploitation. For example, commercial fishing is limited not only by governmental regulation but by the size and type of gear that is carried

on board. Some fishing boats are suitable only for the summer salmon season while others are suitable for the winter herring fishing as well. Because such limitations are related to the capital costs and to the potential returns on capital that can be derived from a boat stability cannot be determined without knowing these factors. Similarly, logging operations are not year round operations and at this distance in time it is impossible to determine what proportion of the year a person could have been employed.

A second limitation of the study concerns the field work technique that was used to gather the data in 1954. The research design relied on the single "depth" interview for each household. The experience gained in this study would indicate that there are serious limitations in this approach. The single interview technique when used to elicit information about the past carries with it the problem of "selective recall" on the part of the informants. The data sheets used in the present study frequently gave only rough approximations of the different incomes, and sometimes it was difficult to judge whether such income was gross or net income. Further research might be more accurate and fruitful if the "panel" technique were used.[1]

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[1] This would involve setting up a series of representative informants who would be interviewed periodically for an extended period of time (perhaps one year). Each time they were interviewed information on sources of income would be obtained so that a total picture through time could be obtained.

This should eliminate the problem of selective recall. In particular it might pick up some reciprocity income which because of the casual manner in which it would be received in a household might be easily forgotten.

A third limitation was the failure to predict the magnitude and variety of social service income for all households. On the Skidegate Reserve the mean proportion of social service income to total income for all households ranges from 22 to 43%; on the Alert Bay Reserve it was somewhat less, 12 to 36%. Included in this figure are such diverse types of income as Family Allowance payments, blind pensions, welfare, and retirement penisons. While all of these sources are somewhat similar many of them vary tremendously with respect to size and stability. A finer breakdown of such income might prove more revealing of patterns of income and household type.

A fourth limitation was the failure to account for a large proportion of households on each reserve. The category "other" accounted for 33% and 35% of all households on Alert Bay and Skidegate reserves respectively. A closer examination of these households and their income sources showed that a sizeable proportion were single person households dependent primarily on pensions and semi-skilled wage labour. A close examination of the data might show patterns and types of households not considered in this analysis.

D.   Final Comment

In view of the small size of the sample and the inability to judge its representativeness, the findings of this study cannot be generalized beyond these particular groups of reserve Indian households. Within these limits, however, the theoretical framework suggested seemed to have some power in analysing different patterns of household composition and also to suggest some plausible explanations for them.

With appropriate data as suggested earlier in this chapter, the model might be useful in understanding how and why other reserve Indian groups respond to different economic constraints. In particular it might be useful in understanding the impact of governmental policy on a specific reserve situation. Every policy for economic development, no matter what its merits, will be evaluated by the Indians in the light of their own experience and in terms of all the other alternatives that are open to a given individual and his household. If there was some understanding of the positive and negative aspects of existing resources then new policies might be designed which are more compatible with these aspects. The result could well be a more efficient utilization of development funds and a greater acceptance of governmental programs by the Indian peoples themselves.

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APPENDIX A

<u>QUESTIONS.</u>

1. Name of household or family head   Age   School
    leaving grade

2. Whose house is he/she living in?

3. Relationship to house owner (and to household head, if
    different)

4. Name of wife   Age   School leaving grade Date of
    marriage or co-residence

5. Residence of wife

    (Note: Wife is here the woman recognized by man as
    such)

6. Names   of   all   living   children.
    Age   Residence   School leaving grade
        (Include children of 4, who are not children of 1)

7. Names of all present adopted children Age School
    leaving grade

8. Name of wife where legally different from 4.
    Residence Date of marriage
    name of 4's husband where legally different from 1.
    Residence Date of marriage

10. Names of separated wives of 1.   Resddence   Dates of
    marriage or setting up co-residence

119 names of separated husbands of 4. Residence   rdates
    of marriage or setting up co-residence

12. Names of deceased wives of 1. Dates of marriage

13. Names of deceased husbands of 4. Dates of marriage.

14. Name of deceased children of 1.

15. Name of deceased children of 4.

16. List fathers of 6 and 15.

17. List mothers of 6 and 14.

18. What schools did adults and children attend?

19. Did any receive other education? (university extension, army specialist, first-aid, etc.)

20. What size is the house (cu.ft.)? How many rooms? How are they used

21. Has it running water? Electricity?

22. What kind of sanitation?

23. What are main articles and condition of furniture? Beds and bedding? Cupboards?

24. What children's toys are there - types, use, expense.

25. What are occupations of family members? (i.e. Those resident in household)

26. What is their individual wage income? Weekly, and over past year?

27. Does the family operate a business? Describe, and estimate net income.

28. What cash income accrues from social services, allowances, pensions?

29. What is their income from other sources, fishing, rent, contract, timber royalties, for past year if possible. Distinguish sources.

30. What income in cash or kind is known to have come from kinship sources recently - say past siz or nine months?

31. What food was produced or gathered? Fish, game, fruit, etc.

32. What kinship disbursements have been made, over similar period?

33. What capital does the family own? e.g. Transport, farm buildings, tools, shot guns, cameras, fish nets, sewing machines, washing machine.

34 how is food stored - open shelves, cupboards, refrigerator?

35. What animals does the family own?

36. What Indians made artifacts does the family own? e.g. Baskets, fishing gear, canoes, dance-costumes.

37. What Church, if any, were family members baptized in? Do they attend and how regularly?

38. What contributions do they give to the Church and its organizations?

39. What organizations, including youth clubs, Canadian Legion, P.T.A., sports, Brotherhoods, Trade Unions, etc., do people belong to, and what contributions are required? What offices have been held?

40. What other localities have family members visited or worked in?

41. What languages can they speak or hear?

41. What languages can they speak or hear?

42. What books do they own? (list any significant titles, and classify remainder by subject)

43. What magazines are evident?

44. Is there a library membership?

45. (if rapport is suitable) what sums are in investments, bank and savings accounts, etc.?

46. What money is owed to the family and by whom?

47. Are there any accounts with stores or firms, and how do they stand?