

Trends in Poverty and Inequality in the First Nations Communities of Canada (2006-2016)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Objective

The aim of this study is to analyze the extent of poverty and inequality within First Nations communities in Canada, as well as their trends, between 2006 and 2016.

Methodology

The study was carried out by analyzing the data in the master files of the most recent Canadian censuses (2006, 2011, 2016) and the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS). The trends in poverty and income inequality presented in this report were established through low income measures and rates, income quintile distributions and Gini coefficients.

Low income rate

The overall picture of poverty in First Nations communities reveals wide and persistent disparities. The low income rate of on-reserve residents is three times higher than that of the rest of the population. The same gap exists between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals living on reserve. A similar gap exists between Aboriginals living in communities governed by historic treaties and those living in communities with modern treaties.

Income inequality

All reserves are witnessing an increasing trend in income inequality which is affecting the Aboriginal people living on reserve. On the other hand, income inequalities among the off-reserve population and non-Aboriginals living on reserve decreased slightly between 2006 and 2016. Overall, income inequality between the reserves and the rest of Canada has been increasing over time, along with income inequality between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals living on reserve. Similarly, there has been an increase in income inequality within the communities that are the subject to a historic treaty and a significant decrease in inequality among those communities that have signed a modern treaty.

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Although our research and analyses were based on data from Statistics Canada, the views expressed herein do not represent those of Statistics Canada or the Canadian Research Data Centre Network (CRDCN).

INTRODUCTION

Although it is generally recognized that First Nations communities are economically disadvantaged compared to the Canadian population at large (CCDP, 2013; Duhaime, 2009; Fleury, 2002, 2004; Macdonald & Wilson, 2010, 2013, 2016; Noël & Larocque, 2009), the extent of the poverty and income inequality, as well as their trends, have received relatively little attention. Most of the existing research in this area focuses on a particular segment of the First Nations population, and few studies examine the conditions of on-reserve households. Aboriginal people living on reserve have little visibility in the national surveys and secondary analyses that process the available data (Duhaime & Lévesque, 2016).

The Census of Canada, which provides researchers with the variables needed to produce low income measures (LIMs) and other measures of income inequality, is one of the few surveys conducted in First Nations communities. In fact, the census actually counts the entire population living on First Nations reserves. However, Statistics Canada does not produce low income rates (LIR) for on-reserve households (Statistics Canada, 2018), and few studies explore measures of inequality and low income for these communities using the census master files. In order to address these shortcomings, this project aims to analyze the trends in poverty and inequality in First Nations communities of Canada between the years 2006 and 2016.

To study the incidence and persistence of poverty within First Nations communities, we established the low income measures and low income rates for all First Nations communities in Canada from 2006 to 2016. We documented the trends in income inequality by calculating the Gini coefficients and the quintile distributions of after-tax income of First Nations communities for the years 2006, 2011 and 2016. And lastly, we compared these measures using three indicators: 1) place of residence, on- or off-reserve; 2) Aboriginal identity, distinguishing between Aboriginals vs. non-Aboriginals; and 3) the type of treaty signed by each community, historic or modern.

METHODOLOGY

2.1 LOW INCOME MEASURE

The low income measure is defined in terms of a fixed percentage of the median family income within a given population. In this approach, households are considered poor if their income is below a certain proportion of the median household income. In Europe, the LIM is set at 60% of median income (Eurostat, 2010), while in Canada it is set at 50% of median income. Thus, "a family has a low income when its income is less than half of the median income adjusted for all families" (Morasse, 2005, p. 17; our translation). Considering the high proportion of multi-family households and the system of family solidarity which are specific socio-demographic characteristics of First Nations communities, the LIM calculation in this report is based on the total income of the household considered as a single economic unit (Usher, Duhaime, & Searles, 2003). To this end, we calculated the LIM using the proportion of 50 per cent of median after-tax income of all households across Canada.

In order to compare the incomes of households of different sizes, we adjusted the low income measure according to the size of the household. To do this, we divided the household income by the square root of the household size and then attributed the product of that calculation to each person in the corresponding household. In addition, we adjusted negative incomes in accordance with the practice of national and international statistical agencies, i.e. by replacing all negative incomes by zero, so as to avoid the complications related to negative values when establishing low income gaps and income dispersion measures.

2.2 INCOME INEQUALITY

To examine the dispersion of after-tax incomes in First Nations communities over time, we used two measures of income inequality: the income quintile and the Gini coefficient.

"Quintiles allow us to categorize the units of a given population, from lowest to highest income, in order to draw conclusions about the relative situation of people at the bottom, in the middle or at the top of the scale" (Morasse, 2005, p. 40; our translation). To calculate the national quintiles, all households were sorted in ascending order according to their total after-tax income, and then divided into five equal parts. We also created a variable by assigning to each person in the household the quintile number in which they were located. This method uses the income brackets established according to the national quintiles to examine and compare the distribution of incomes among the subpopulations in this study.

The Gini coefficient is the most widely recognized and most widely used measure of income inequality (Skuterud, Frenette, & Poon, 2004). The coefficient is a relative measure of income distribution within a population that varies from 0 to 1, where 0 represents perfect equality and 1 represents perfect inequality. We calculated the Gini coefficients for First Nations communities and compared them to those for Canada as a whole, as well to the coefficients of the off-reserve population over time. Furthermore, we calculated the Gini coefficients according to the Aboriginal identity of those living on reserve and the type of treaty signed for each community.

2.3 DATA SOURCES

To study the changes in monetary inequalities over time, our analyses were conducted using the master files of Statistics Canada censuses, available from the Quebec Inter-university Centre for Social Statistics (QICSS) (Table 1).

TABLE 1
DATA SOURCES BY YEAR, CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

YEAR	SOURCE OF THE DATA
2006	2006 Census of Population
2011	2011 National Household Survey
2016	2016 Census of Population

In 2011, the long census questionnaire was replaced by the NHS. It is estimated that about 21% of the Canadian population participated in the NHS, or three in ten households, whereas all households living in First Nations communities, Inuit regions, Métis settlements and other remote regions were enumerated (Statistics Canada, 2013). Since the 2016 Canadian Census provides the most recent data for this study, it served as the main data source for our analysis of poverty among First Nations. The 2011 NHS and the 2006 Census were used to measure changes over time.

2.4 POPULATION STUDIED

Not all First Nations communities are included in the sources we employed. In 2011 and 2016, 14 communities were partially enumerated. Some communities refused to participate in the census, and in other cases the survey was interrupted. The quality of the enumeration for certain communities was considered insufficient (Statistics Canada, 2014, 2019). As a result, only those communities that took part in all three surveys that we compared are included in this analysis.

Thus, we therefore excluded reserves that were partially enumerated, subdivisions without people and those which have undergone a change in subdivision type. The specific populations covered by this study correspond to all residents of First Nations communities in Canada. In order to compare the situation of on-reserve residents, we calculated the measures poverty and inequality for Canada as a whole, as well as for the off-reserve population. According to the data of the census master files, 838 reserves were enumerated in 2016. Among these, we excluded 102 reserves for the reasons mentioned above. As a result, 736 reserves are included in this analysis in accordance with the 2016 census subdivisions. The weighted number of people living on these 736 reserves was 350,660 in 2016. Hence, the overall rate of inclusion of the First Nations population living on reserve for the three periods we analyzed in this study is 93.7% (Table 2).

TABLE 2

INCLUSION OF THE POPULATION OF FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES IN CANADA IN THE ANALYSIS BY CENSUS CYCLE, 2006, 2011, 2016

YEAR	INCLUDED		EXCLUDED		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
2006	310,805	94.8	16,925	5.2	327,730	100.0
2011	341,270	94.6	19,380	5.4	360,650	100.0
2016	350,660	92.1	30,410	7.9	381,070	100.0
Total	1,002,735	93.7	66,715	6.3	1,069,450	100.0

2.5 COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO STATUS

In order to compare the populations living on reserve according to the different types of treaty, we assigned to each community a variable corresponding to the pertinent treaty type¹. We distinguished communities according to the following broad categories: historic treaties, modern treaties and no treaty². Among these communities, some are signatories to treaties without having the status of reserve; this is why we introduced an adjusted treaty base, so we could add these communities to our comparative analysis (Tables 3 and 4).

TABLE 3

COMMUNITIES BY STATUS AND CENSUS CYCLE, CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

STATUS	ON RESERVE			OFF RESERVE			TOTAL		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
Modern Treaties	25	19	19	22	24	24	47	43	43
Historic Treaties	328	322	322	4	4	4	332	326	326
No Treaty	409	394	395	0	0	0	409	394	395
Subdivision Total	762	735	736	26	28	28	788	763	764

¹ Treaties signed between First Nations and the Crown are of two broad categories. Historic treaties, i.e. those signed before 1923, and modern treaties, signed between 1975 and the present. There are 70 historic treaties that were signed between 1701 and 1923. These treaties are identified according to the year they were signed and the territories they cover.

² We introduced a variable with 19 values in order to distinguish the different historic treaties, including: the Peace and Friendship Treaties (1725–1779), the Upper Canada Land Surrenders (1764–1862), the Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850), the Robinson-Superior Treaty (1850), the Douglas Treaties (1850–1854), the Williams Treaties (1923), the Numbered Treaties (1871, 1921), the modern treaties (1975–2005), and the communities without a treaty.

TABLE 4

POPULATION BY COMMUNITY STATUS AND CENSUS CYCLE, CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

TYPE OF TREATY	2006		2011		2016	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Modern Treaties	40,085	12.3	43,480	12.1	45,025	12.3
Historic Treaties	182,055	55.7	201,555	56.3	205,280	56.0
No Treaty	104,560	32.0	112,820	31.5	116,100	31.7
Total	326,700	100	357,855	100	366,405	100

2.6

BIVARIATE ANALYSES

We carried out bivariate analyses by disaggregating low income status and income quintiles by place of residence, Aboriginal identity, and treaty type. We present the results in the form of contingency tables that count the size of the categories for two variables. Chi-square was used to measure the statistical relationship between low income status or income quintiles and the independent variables. All relationships examined are significant with a confidence level of 99.9%.

Gamma and Cramer's V were used to measure the intensity of the observed statistical relationships. Gamma varies between -1 and +1, where -1 is a maximum negative association, 0 an absence of association, and +1 a maximum positive association. An absolute value of Gamma between 0.30 and 0.50 indicates a strong relationship, and an absolute value of more than 0.50 is considered to be very strong. Cramer's V varies between 0 and 1, where 0 is the absence of association and 1 the maximum association. A value between 0.20 and 0.30 indicates a strong relationship, and a value between 0.30 and 0.50 indicates a very strong relationship. The intensity of all the associations examined in this report is strong or very strong.

We have used ratios to simplify the analysis of the differences both among the low income rates and the Gini coefficients. These ratios assign the value of 1 to the reference group, or the lowest value of low income in the independent variables. We also calculated the differences between the populations living on reserve and off reserve, the differences between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations living on reserve, and the differences between the populations living in territories governed by historic and modern treaties in the national quintiles. To do this, we divided the proportion of the group with the highest proportions in the lowest quintile by those of the other group.

RESULTS

3.1 LOW INCOME ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE

The low income rate for Canadian households living off reserve was 13.7% in 2016 (Table 5)³; during the same period, 43.8% of households living on-reserve were below the low income cut-off. This large gap can also be observed in previous periods⁴. The incidence of low income among residents of First Nations communities was 3.4 times higher than among households in the rest of Canada in 2006 and 2011, and 3.2 times higher in 2016.

TABLE 5
LOW INCOME RATE BASED ON THE AFTER-TAX
LOW INCOME MEASURE BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE
AND CENSUS CYCLE, CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	2006*	2011**	2016***
	%	%	%
On-reserve population	46.9	51.4	43.8
Rest of Canada	13.5	15.2	13.7

*p 0.001, G=0.699 **p 0.001, G=0.711 ***p 0.001, G=0.669

3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY QUINTILES ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Compared to the national distribution of income, more than half of those living on reserve are in the lowest income quintile. The top three income quintiles account for 20% of the on-reserve population, while the bottom two quintiles account for 70-80% of that population. For the three periods we studied, there is a significant relationship with a very strong association between the income quintiles and living or not living on a reserve. This relationship shows that people living on reserve are, proportionally speaking, three times more numerous in the lower income quintiles than the rest of the Canadian population, and five times less numerous in the upper quintiles.

TABLE 6
LIMITS OF AFTER-TAX ADJUSTED HOUSEHOLD INCOME
QUINTILES, CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

QUINTILES	2006	2011	2016
	\$	\$	\$
Lowest Limit	19,077	22,330	25,827
Second limit	28,238	33,288	38,070
Third limit	37,752	44,640	50,618
Highest Limit	51,172	60,741	68,538

³ In 2016, the low income rate in Canada on an adjusted basis, calculated for all households living on- and off-reserve, was 14%. If we take into account that on-reserve residents represented 0.9% of the Canadian population in 2016, the difference between the LIR of households living on-reserve and that of Canada as a whole is due to the LIR of households living on-reserve.

⁴ The NHS sampling plan included 20% of the Canadian population with an overall non-response rate of 26.1%, whereas the First Nations reserves participating in the 2011 NHS were enumerated completely. The low income measure and the quintiles in this study are based on a national frame of reference, which is why they need to be interpreted very cautiously.

TABLE 7

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN NATIONAL AFTER-TAX ADJUSTED HOUSEHOLD INCOME QUINTILES BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND CENSUS CYCLE, CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	QUINTILES	2006*	2011**	2016***
		%	%	%
On-reserve population	Lowest quintile	57.4	58.2	52.8
	Second quintile	20.8	19.6	20
	Third quintile	11.1	10.8	12.7
	Fourth quintile	6.9	7.2	9.2
	Highest quintile	3.9	4.2	5.4
Rest of Canada	Lowest quintile	19.6	19.6	19.7
	Second quintile	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Third quintile	20.1	20.1	20.1
	Fourth quintile	20.1	20.1	20.1
	Highest quintile	20.2	20.2	20.2

*p<0.001, G=-0.608 **p<0.001, G=-0.606 ***p<0.001, G=-0.532

3.3 THE GINI COEFFICIENT ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE

As measured by the Gini coefficient, income inequalities are greater in First Nation communities than in the rest of Canada. The Gini coefficient of the on-reserve population is 1.16 times higher than that of the country as a whole (Table 8). This gap demonstrates that income distribution is more unequal in First Nations communities. Moreover, this gap appears to be widening: while income inequalities decreased slightly in Canada over the period, they increased on reserves.

TABLE 8

GINI COEFFICIENTS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE
AND CENSUS CYCLE, CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	2006	2011	2016
	GINI	GINI	GINI
On-reserve population	0.383	0.408	0.395
Off-reserve population	0.345	0.341	0.341
All of Canada	0.347	0.343	0.342

3.4 LOW INCOME ON RESERVES

Having demonstrated persistent inequalities between people living on- and off-reserve, we now differentiate among on-reserve residents according to their Aboriginal identity by comparing the LIR of Aboriginal people with those of non-Aboriginals living in the same communities⁵.

The analysis reveals a striking gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people living on reserve (Table 9). In 2016, the low income rate for Aboriginals living on-reserve was 47.1%, whereas only 16.5% of non-Aboriginals living on-reserve were below the low income cut-off. The proportion of Aboriginals living in low income is 2.9 times higher than that of non-Aboriginals living in First Nations communities. Moreover, this gap has widened over time, since the proportion was 2.6 times higher in 2006.

TABLE 9
ON-RESERVE LOW INCOME RATE BY ABORIGINAL
IDENTITY AND CENSUS CYCLE, FIRST NATIONS
COMMUNITIES IN CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

ABORIGINAL IDENTITY	2006*	2011**	2016***
	%	%	%
Aboriginals on reserve	49.9	54.9	47.1
Non-Aboriginals on reserve	19.4	20.7	16.5

*p<0.001, G=0.610 **p<0.001, G=0.647 ***p<0.001, G=0.636

3.5 QUINTILE DISTRIBUTION ON RESERVES

The distribution of on-reserve residents according to the national quintiles shows that the majority of Aboriginal residents are concentrated in the lowest quintile of the national income distribution, with proportions varying between 56% and 61%, depending on the year (Table 10). For non-Aboriginals living on reserve, the gap is smaller, with 29.76% in the lowest quintile. Thus, among all those living on reserve, Aboriginal residents are proportionally twice as likely to be in the lowest quintile as non-Aboriginals. In fact, some 80% of Aboriginal people living on-reserve are restricted to the lowest two quintiles, although this proportion is somewhat less in 2016, at 76%. Regardless of the year, less than a quarter of the Aboriginal population can be found in the top three income quintiles.

⁵ Inuit, Métis and persons with multiple Aboriginal identities make up 2% of the on-reserve population. We did not consider it appropriate to base our analysis on First Nations single identity, excluding from this study multiple Aboriginal identities and other Aboriginal groups.

TABLE 10

ON-RESERVE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN NATIONAL AFTER-TAX ADJUSTED HOUSEHOLD INCOME QUINTILES BY ABORIGINAL IDENTITY AND CENSUS CYCLE, FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES IN CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

ABORIGINAL IDENTITY	QUINTILES	2006*	2011**	2016***
		%	%	%
Aboriginals on reserve	Lowest quintile	60.6	61.6	56.3
	Second quintile	20.3	18.9	19.5
	Third quintile	10.2	9.8	11.9
	Fourth quintile	5.9	6.3	8.1
	Highest quintile	3.0	3.3	4.2
Non-Aboriginals on reserve	Lowest quintile	29.8	28.8	27.2
	Second quintile	24.8	25.0	23.5
	Third quintile	19.1	18.5	19.0
	Fourth quintile	15.3	15.5	17.0
	Highest quintile	11.1	12.2	13.3

*p<0.001, G=0.495 **p<0.001, G=0.509 ***p<0.001, G=0.455

3.6

THE GINI COEFFICIENT ON RESERVES

In 2016, the Gini coefficient of Aboriginals was 1.13 times higher than that of non-Aboriginals living on reserve (Table 11). This demonstrates that income distribution is more unequal among Aboriginal people. The evolution of these coefficients between 2006 and 2016 shows that the distribution of income among non-Aboriginals changed very little, while inequalities affecting Aboriginals have increased.

TABLE 11

GINI COEFFICIENTS ON RESERVES BY ABORIGINAL IDENTITY AND CENSUS CYCLE, FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES IN CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

ABORIGINAL IDENTITY	2006	2011	2016
	GINI	GINI	GINI
Aboriginals on reserve	0.378	0.405	0.393
Non-Aboriginals on	0.343	0.345	0.345

3.7

LOW INCOME ACCORDING TO TREATY TYPE

Bivariate analyses were conducted by disaggregating low income rates according to the type of treaty. These analyses show a significant divide between residents living in a territory covered by a modern treaty and those living in a territory with covered by a historic treaty, or simply not covered by any treaty (Table 12). Compared to the situation of residents living under a modern treaty and throughout the period under study, the low income rate of those without a treaty is about 2.3 times higher; for those with a historic treaty, the LIR is about 2.9 times higher. There was a strong and persistent association during the period under study between low income status and treaty type: communities with modern treaties have the lowest rates of low income.

TABLE 12

LOW INCOME RATE BASED ON THE AFTER-TAX
LOW INCOME MEASURE, FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES
IN CANADA BY STATUS AND CENSUS CYCLE, 2006,
2011, 2016

STATUS	2006*	2011**	2016***
	%	%	%
Modern Treaties	19.1	20.8	15.8
Historic Treaties	52.8	58.6	51.4
No Treaty	43.1	45.3	37.6

*p<0.001, V=0.217 **p<0.001, v=0.247 ***p<0.001, V=0.239

3.8

QUINTILE DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO TREATY TYPE

The distribution of the population by quintiles does not contradict this analysis (Table 13). Indeed, in communities with a modern treaty, the distribution is close to that observed for Canada as a whole (Table 7), and the gap tends to narrow over time. But the situation is quite different in communities with a historic treaty or without a treaty, where a large proportion of the population is concentrated in the two lowest quintiles; and this concentration is even greater in communities governed by a historic treaty.

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTS OF FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES IN NATIONAL AFTER-TAX ADJUSTED HOUSEHOLD INCOME QUINTILES BY STATUS AND CENSUS CYCLE, 2006, 2011, 2016

STATUS	QUINTILES	2006*	2011**	2016***
		%	%	%
Modern Treaties	Lowest quintile	26.8	26.1	21.8
	Second quintile	23.0	20.8	20.4
	Third quintile	19.3	18.7	19.2
	Fourth quintile	16.7	18.3	20.9
	Highest quintile	14.3	16.1	17.7
Historic Treaties	Lowest quintile	63.7	65.2	60.6
	Second quintile	19.3	17.6	18.9
	Third quintile	9.3	8.9	10.3
	Fourth quintile	5.1	5.4	6.7
	Highest quintile	2.6	2.9	3.5
No Treaty	Lowest quintile	53.6	52.7	46.8
	Second quintile	22.0	22.4	21.5
	Third quintile	12.4	12.2	14.7
	Fourth quintile	7.5	8.0	10.4
	Highest quintile	4.5	4.8	6.5

*p<0.001, V=0.203 **p<0.001, V=0.218 ***p<0.001, V=0.216

3.9

GINI COEFFICIENT ACCORDING TO TREATY TYPE

The Gini coefficient is higher among communities with a historic treaty than in other communities (Table 14), which means that income inequalities are higher there. Furthermore, the Gini coefficient increased between 2006 and 2016 from 0.379 to 0.403, showing that existing inequalities in these communities increased over time. Similarly, the Gini coefficient is high in communities with no treaty, although it varies less from year to year. On the other hand, the Gini coefficient in communities with a modern treaty is even lower than that of the rest of Canada (Table 8). There was a downward trend between 2006 and 2016, which is consistent with the results we obtained in our analysis of the low income rates and quintiles. Indeed, when the poverty rate falls and the distribution of income over the quantiles evens out, the Gini coefficient decreases as a result.

TABLE 14

GINI COEFFICIENTS IN THE FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES OF CANADA BY STATUS AND CENSUS CYCLE, 2006, 2011, 2016

STATUT	2006	2011	2016
	GINI	GINI	GINI
Modern Treaties	0.336	0.324	0.309
Historic Treaties	0.379	0.416	0.403
No Treaty	0.372	0.385	0.374
Off-reserve with no treaty	0.345	0.341	0.341

3.10

SIGNIFICANCE AND TRENDS IN INEQUALITIES ON RESERVES

Our analysis of the low income rates of households living on reserve shows that 44-51%, or almost half the people living on reserve, were below the low income cut-off between 2006 and 2016 (Table 5). These rates are three times higher than those of the rest of the population (Table 15). On average, Aboriginals living on reserve are, proportionally speaking, 2.7 times more numerous below the low income cut-off than non-Aboriginals living on reserve. Despite a reduction over time in the disparities of low income between residents living on- and off-reserve, these gaps between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals living on reserve are widening within First Nations communities. Lastly, an examination of the ratios of the LIR gap according to treaty type shows that in 2016 the poverty rate was 3.3 times higher among residents living in an area covered by a historic treaty than it was for residents living in communities with a modern treaty; moreover, the analysis shows that this gap increased between 2006 and 2016.

TABLE 15

LOW INCOME GAPS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, ABORIGINAL IDENTITY, STATUS AND CENSUS CYCLE,
CANADA AND FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES IN CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

POPULATION	SUBPOPULATION	2006 RATIO	2011 RATIO	2016 RATIO
All of Canada by place of residence	Off reserve	1.00	1.00	1.00
	On reserve	3.50	3.40	3.20
All reserves by Aboriginal identity	Non-Aboriginal	1.00	1.00	1.00
	Aboriginal	2.60	2.70	2.90
All First Nation communities by treaty type	Modern Treaties	1.00	1.00	1.00
	Historic Treaties	2.76	2.82	3.25
	No treaty	2.26	2.18	2.38

In the form of ratios, Table 16 presents the differences between on- and off-reserve residents, the differences between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals living on reserve, and the differences between communities that have signed modern and historic treaties. According to these calculations, residents living on reserve are proportionally 2.7 to 3 times more numerous in the lowest income quintile compared to people in the rest of Canada. Similarly, in all the census periods we examined, Aboriginals were twice as numerous in the lowest income quintile as non-Aboriginals living in the same communities. The same structure characterizes the situation of residents of communities with historic treaties. They are 2.4 to 2.8 times more numerous in the lowest income quintile.

These results confirm the deep and persistent gaps in low income that we have previously established: the gaps between people living on- and off-reserve, between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals living on reserve, and between territories covered by historic and modern treaties. Based on the national income quintiles, the gaps between communities with a historic versus a modern treaty are increasing over time in the highest quintile, but are decreasing in all the other income quintiles. This result is consistent with the evolution of the low income gaps between these communities. For the period from 2006 to 2016, the trend is for the gaps between people living on- and off-reserve to decrease, while the gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people living on reserve tend to increase. Although Aboriginals living on reserve were fewer in the lowest quintile in 2016 than in 2006, a part of the reduction in the gaps between people living on- and off-reserve would appear to be attributable to the non-Aboriginals living on reserve, which had the effect of increasing income averages.

TABLE 16

DIFFERENCES WITH NATIONAL AFTER-TAX ADJUSTED HOUSEHOLD INCOME QUINTILES BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, ABORIGINAL IDENTITY, TREATY TYPE AND CENSUS CYCLE, CANADA AND FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES IN CANADA, 2006, 2011, 2016

DIFFERENCES	QUINTILES	2006 RATIOS	2011 RATIOS	2016 RATIOS
Differences between on-reserve and off-reserve population (off-reserve = 1)	Lowest quintile	2.92	2.97	2.68
	Second quintile	1.04	0.98	1.00
	Third quintile	0.55	0.54	0.63
	Fourth quintile	0.34	0.36	0.46
	Highest quintile	0.19	0.21	0.27
Differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population living on reserve (non-Aboriginal = 1)	Lowest quintile	2.04	2.14	2.07
	Second quintile	0.82	0.76	0.83
	Third quintile	0.53	0.53	0.63
	Fourth quintile	0.39	0.41	0.48
	Highest quintile	0.27	0.27	0.32
Differences between people living in areas under historic and modern treaties (modern treaties = 1)	Lowest quintile	2.38	2.50	2.77
	Second quintile	0.84	0.84	0.93
	Third quintile	0.48	0.48	0.54
	Fourth quintile	0.31	0.29	0.32
	Highest quintile	0.18	0.18	0.20

Another way of capturing the trends in inequalities is to use 2006 as the reference year (Table 17). According to these calculations, income inequality among Aboriginals living on reserve increased when we compare 2006 and 2016. Meanwhile, the income distribution of off-reserve households

changed very little during the period in question. The increasing trend in inequality appears to be greater among the communities covered by a historic treaty, while the largest decline in inequalities is found in the communities that have signed a modern treaty.

TABLE 17

CHANGES IN THE GINI COEFFICIENT BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, ABORIGINAL IDENTITY AND TREATY TYPE,
CANADA AND FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES IN CANADA, 2006, 2016

POPULATION	SUBPOPULATION	2006	2016	2006	2016
		GINI	GINI	RATIOS	RATIOS
All of Canada by place of residence	Off-reserve population	0.345	0.341	1.00	0.99
	On-reserve population	0.383	0.395	1.00	1.03
All reserves by Aboriginal identity	Non-Aboriginal	0.343	0.345	1.00	1.01
	Aboriginal	0.378	0.393	1.00	1.04
All First Nation communities by treaty type	Modern Treaties	0.336	0.309	1.00	0.92
	Historic treaties	0.379	0.403	1.00	1.06
	No treaty	0.372	0.374	1.00	1.01

The comparison can also be made using the Gini coefficient of off-reserve households as the reference category (Table 18). The results indicate an increase in income inequality between households living off reserve and those living on reserve between 2006 and 2016.

Regarding the income inequality gaps between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals living on-reserve, the trend is the same as that observed on- and off-reserve. Income inequalities among non-Aboriginals living on reserve are comparable to those of households living off reserve. However, the gap in

inequalities increased between 2006 and 2016 both between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals living on reserve and between Aboriginals and households living off reserve. The change in this gap is greater among communities with a historic treaty; the gap between these communities and households living off-reserve increased. Over the same period, however, the Gini coefficients of communities with a modern treaty declined more rapidly than among households living off reserve. The Gini coefficient in these communities went from 0.336 to 0.309 between 2006 and 2016, while the coefficient for the rest of Canada decreased from 0.345 to 0.341 (Table 17).

TABLE 18

DIFFERENCES IN GINI COEFFICIENTS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, ABORIGINAL IDENTITY AND STATUS,
CANADA AND FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES IN CANADA, 2006, 2016

POPULATION	SUBPOPULATION	2006 RATIOS	2016 RATIOS
All of Canada by place of residence	Off-reserve population	1.00	1.00
	On-reserve population	1.11	1.16
All reserves by Aboriginal identity	Non-Aboriginal	0.99	1.01
	Aboriginal	1.10	1.15
All First Nation communities by treaty type	Modern Treaties	1.10	1.18
	Historic treaties	0.97	0.91
	No treaty	1.08	1.10

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the trends in poverty and inequality among First Nations communities in Canada between 2006 and 2016. To that end, we established measures and rates of low income, income quintile distributions, and Gini coefficients based on the most recent census data. This enabled us to analyze the changes that have occurred since 2006 in the income gaps that exist between all First Nations reserves and the rest of Canada, as well as between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people living on reserve.

Our results show that low income rates are three times higher for people living on reserve: they affect some 42% of these residents, half of whom find themselves in the lowest income quintile. In fact, despite a slight decrease in the on-reserve LIR, the deep disparity between those living on- and off-reserve continues to persist in Canada. Moreover, there is an upward trend in inequality on the reserves. In addition, the gaps in income inequality between households living off reserve and those living on reserve appear to have widened between 2006 and 2016.

By disaggregating the on-reserve population according to Aboriginal identity, we have brought to light gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents. In 2016, Aboriginals living on reserve were proportionally 2.7 times more numerous below the low income cut-off than non-Aboriginal residents on the reserves. As well, Aboriginals were twice as numerous in the lowest income quintile compared to non-Aboriginals living in the same communities. Despite a slight decrease in the LIRs of Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals on the reserves, the gap between these two groups increased between 2006 and 2016. Hence, the gap in inequality between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals living on reserve tends to be widening with time.

Our study also shows that measures of poverty and inequality in those communities that have signed a modern treaty are significantly lower than in the communities that are signatories to a historic treaty. In fact, the poverty rate is 3.3 times higher among people living in an area covered by a historic treaty than it is in an area with a modern treaty. This gap also increased between 2006 and 2016. In communities with a historic treaty, income inequality has increased, whereas in communities with a modern treaty, income inequality declined.

In conclusion, the overall structure of income inequality among First Nations communities is characterized by major disparities when compared to the situation in the rest of the country, and these increasing gaps in income inequality may well constitute a trend. The situation is slightly different in communities with a modern treaty, where the gaps are less pronounced and where a decrease was observed between the beginning and the end of the period we examined.

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APPENDIX 1

Communities that are signatories to a modern treaty included in the analysis, according to the subdivisions of the 2016 Canadian census

APPENDIX 2

First Nations communities living in a historic treaty area included in the analysis and their subdivision codes, according to the 2016 Canadian census

APPENDIX 1

COMMUNITIES THAT ARE SIGNATORIES TO A MODERN TREATY INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSIS, ACCORDING TO THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE 2016 CANADIAN CENSUS

1	Aklavik – 6101025	23	Nisga'a – 5949035
2	Anacla 12 – 5923803	24	Old Crow – 6001043
3	Behchokò – 6103031	25	Oujé-Bougoumou – 2499818
4	Burwash Landing – 6001039	26	Pelly Crossing – 6001041
5	Carcross – 6001048	27	Sechelt (Part) – 5929803
6	Carmacks – 6001012	28	Sioux Valley Dakota Nation – 4606040
7	Chisasibi – 2499814	29	Sliammon 1 – 5927802
8	Colville Lake – 6102012	30	Tagish – 6001036
9	Dawson – 6001029	31	Teslin – 6001006
10	Déline – 6102003	32	Teslin Post 13 – 6001007
11	Eastmain – 2499810	33	Tsawwassen – 5915802
12	Fort Good Hope – 6102009	34	Tsiigehtchic – 6101010
13	Fort McPherson – 6101015	35	Tsinstikeptum 9 – 5935802
14	Gamètì – 6103049	36	Tulita – 6102005
15	Haines Junction – 6001018	37	Waskaganish – 2499806
16	Houpsitas 6 – 5924806	38	Waswanipi – 2499802
17	Inuvik – 6101017	39	Wekweètì – 6103052
18	Ittatsoo 1 – 5923807	40	Wemindji – 2499812
19	Kawawachikamach – 2497806	41	Whapmagoostui – 2499816
20	Lake Laberge 1 – 6001010	42	Whatì – 6103034
21	Mistissini – 2499804	43	Yukon, Unorganized – 6001045
22	Nemaska – 2499808		

APPENDIX 2

FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES LIVING IN A HISTORIC TREATY AREA INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSIS
AND THEIR SUBDIVISION CODES ACCORDING TO THE 2016 CANADIAN CENSUS

1	1101050 Morell 2, IRI – 1101050	31	1310034 Devon 30, IRI – 1310034
2	1102030 Rocky Point 3, IRI – 1102030	32	1311005 Woodstock 23, IRI – 1311005
3	1102057 Scotchfort 4, IRI – 1102057	33	1312007 Tobique 20, IRI – 1312007
4	1103035 Lennox Island 1, IRI – 1103035	34	1313020 St. Basile 10, IRI – 1313020
5	1202040 Yarmouth 33, IRI – 1202040	35	1314010 Eel River 3, IRI – 1314010
6	1203009 Bear River (Part) 6, IRI – 1203009	36	1314026 Indian Ranch, IRI – 1314026
7	1204015 Wildcat 12, IRI – 1204015	37	1315010 Pabineau 11, IRI – 1315010
8	1207002 Cambridge 32, IRI – 1207002	38	2406804 Listuguj, IRI – 2406804
9	1207027 Glooscap 35, IRI – 1207027	39	2488802 Pikogan, IRI – 2488802
10	1209019 Cole Harbour 30, IRI – 1209019	40	3514027 Alderville First Nation, IRI – 3514027
11	1209037 Beaver Lake 17, IRI – 1209037	41	3515008 Hiawatha First Nation, IRI – 3515008
12	1209038 Sheet Harbour 36, IRI – 1209038	42	3515019 Curve Lake First Nation 35, IRI – 3515019
13	1210003 Millbrook 27, IRI – 1210003	43	3518022 Mississaugas of Scugog Island, IRI – 3518022
14	1212019 Fisher's Grant 24, IRI – 1212019	44	3519076 Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation, IRI – 3519076
15	1214010 Pomquet And Afton 23, IRI – 1214010	45	3528035 New Credit (Part) 40A, IRI – 3528035
16	1216014 Chapel Island 5, IRI – 1216014	46	3529021 New Credit (Part) 40A, IRI – 3529021
17	1217008 Membertou 28B, IRI – 1217008	47	3538025 Sarnia 45, IRI – 3538025
18	1217020 Eskasoni 3, IRI – 1217020	48	3538056 Kettle Point 44, IRI – 3538056
19	1218003 Wagmatcook 1, IRI – 1218003	49	3541057 Saugeen 29, IRI – 3541057
20	1303013 Oromocto 26, IRI – 1303013	50	3541060 Neyaashiinigmiing 27, IRI – 3541060
21	1307014 Fort Folly 1, IRI – 1307014	51	3543050 Mnjikaning First Nation 32 (Rama First Nation 32), IRI – 3543050
22	1308003 Buctouche 16, IRI – 1308003	52	3543069 Christian Island 30, IRI – 3543069
23	1308015 Richibucto 15, IRI – 1308015	53	3548073 Nipissing 10, IRI – 3548073
24	1308020 Indian Island 28, IRI – 1308020	54	3549072 Shawanaga 17, IRI – 3549072
25	1309023 Red Bank 4, IRI – 1309023	55	3549073 Parry Island First Nation, IRI – 3549073
26	1309034 Big Hole Tract 8 (South Half), IRI – 1309034	56	3549076 French River 13, IRI – 3549076
27	1309035 Eel Ground 2, IRI – 1309035	57	3549077 Dokis 9, IRI – 3549077
28	1309044 Burnt Church 14, IRI – 1309044		
29	1309047 Tabusintac 9, IRI – 1309047		
30	1310019 Kingsclear 6, IRI – 1310019		

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58	3549078 Magnetewan 1, IRI – 3549078	87	3558067 Ginoogaming First Nation, IRI – 3558067
59	3551040 Whitefish River (Part) 4, IRI – 3551040	88	3558068 Long Lake 58, IRI – 3558068
60	3551041 Sucker Creek 23, IRI – 3551041	89	3558069 Rocky Bay 1, IRI – 3558069
61	3551042 Sheguiandah 24, IRI – 3551042	90	3558076 Aroland 83, IRI – 3558076
62	3551044 Sheshegwaning 20, IRI – 3551044	91	3558080 Ojibway Nation of Saugeen (Savant Lake), IRI – 3558080
63	3551045 M'Chigeeng 22 (West Bay 22), IRI – 3551045	92	3558085 Osnaburgh 63A, IRI – 3558085
64	3551100 Zhiibaahaasing 19A (Cockburn Island 19A), IRI – 3551100	93	3558097 Whitesand, IRI – 3558097
65	3552051 Whitefish Lake 6, IRI – 3552051	94	3559026 Manitou Rapids 11, IRI – 3559026
66	3552052 Mattagami 71, IRI – 3552052	95	3559051 Big Grassy River 35G, IRI – 3559051
67	3552054 Duck Lake 76B, IRI – 3552054	96	3559053 Saug-a-Gaw-Sing 1, IRI – 3559053
68	3553040 Wahnapeitei 11, IRI – 3553040	97	3559060 Neguaguon Lake 25D, IRI – 3559060
69	3554057 Matachewan 72, IRI – 3554057	98	3559061 Rainy Lake 18C, IRI – 3559061
70	3556033 Abitibi 70, IRI – 3556033	99	3559063 Couchiching 16A, IRI – 3559063
71	3556093 Fort Albany (Part) 67, IRI – 3556093	100	3559064 Rainy Lake 26A, IRI – 3559064
72	3556095 Constance Lake 92, IRI – 3556095	101	3559066 Seine River 23A, IRI – 3559066
73	3556102 New Post 69A, IRI – 3556102	102	3559068 Rainy Lake 17A, IRI – 3559068
74	3557026 Thessalon 12, IRI – 3557026	103	3560004 Whitefish Bay 32A, IRI – 3560004
75	3557071 Sagamok, IRI – 3557071	104	3560005 Whitefish Bay 33A, IRI – 3560005
76	3557072 Serpent River 7, IRI – 3557072	105	3560024 Eagle Lake 27, IRI – 3560024
77	3557073 Mississagi River 8, IRI – 3557073	106	3560046 Slate Falls, S-É – 3560046
78	3557074 Garden River 14, IRI – 3557074	107	3560052 Marten Falls 65, IRI – 3560052
79	3557078 Gros Cap 49, IRI – 3557078	108	3560054 Cat Lake 63C, IRI – 3560054
80	3558003 Fort William 52, IRI – 3558003	109	3560055 Osnaburgh 63B, IRI – 3560055
81	3558060 Pic Mobert North, IRI – 3558060	110	3560056 Lac Seul 28, IRI – 3560056
82	3558061 Pic Mobert South, IRI – 3558061	111	3560057 Wabigoon Lake 27, IRI – 3560057
83	3558062 Pic River 50, IRI – 3558062	112	3560058 English River 21, IRI – 3560058
84	3558063 Pays Plat 51, IRI – 3558063	113	3560061 Wabaseemoong, IRI – 3560061
85	3558064 Lake Helen 53A, IRI – 3558064	114	3560063 Sabaskong Bay 35D, IRI – 3560063
86	3558065 Gull River 55, IRI – 3558065	115	3560064 Shoal Lake 34B2, IRI – 3560064

116	3560065 Lake Of The Woods 37, IRI – 3560065	145	4619051 Little Grand Rapids 14, IRI – 4619051
117	3560066 Kenora 38B, IRI – 3560066	146	4619052 Bloodvein 12, IRI – 4619052
118	3560068 Shoal Lake (Part) 39A, IRI – 3560068	147	4619053 Hole or Hollow Water 10, IRI – 4619053
119	3560069 Rat Portage 38A, IRI – 3560069	148	4619054 Black River 9, IRI – 4619054
120	3560070 Deer Lake, IRI – 3560070	149	4619056 Fisher River 44, IRI – 4619056
121	3560075 Kitchenuhmaykoosib Aaki 84 (Big Trout Lake), IRI – 3560075	150	4619059 Peguis 1B, IRI – 4619059
122	3560080 North Spirit Lake, IRI – 3560080	151	4619061 Jackhead 43, IRI – 4619061
123	3560082 Shoal Lake (Part) 40, IRI – 3560082	152	4619068 Crane River 51, IRI – 4619068
124	3560084 Wabauskang 21, IRI – 3560084	153	4619070 Pine Creek 66A, IRI – 4619070
125	3560088 Wapekeka 2, IRI – 3560088	154	4619071 Swan Lake 65C, IRI – 4619071
126	3560089 The Dalles 38C, IRI – 3560089	155	4619072 Shoal River Indian Reserve 65A, IRI – 4619072
127	3560091 Peawanuck, S-É – 3560091	156	4619075 Poplar River 16, IRI – 4619075
128	3560097 Muskrat Dam Lake, IRI – 3560097	157	4619077 Berens River 13, IRI – 4619077
129	3560104 Kee-Way-Win, IRI – 3560104	158	4619079 Pauingassi First Nation, IRI – 4619079
130	4601070 Buffalo Point 36, IRI – 4601070	159	4621027 Grand Rapids 33, IRI – 4621027
131	4602027 Roseau River 2, IRI – 4602027	160	4621029 Chemawawin 2, IRI – 4621029
132	4604068 Swan Lake 7, IRI – 4604068	161	4621034 Opaskwayak Cree Nation 21B, IRI – 4621034
133	4608069 Sandy Bay 5, IRI – 4608069	162	4621035 Opaskwayak Cree Nation 21C, IRI – 4621035
134	4609025 Long Plain (Part) 6, IRI – 4609025	163	4621040 Opaskwayak Cree Nation 21I, IRI – 4621040
135	4615067 Keeseekoowenin 61, IRI – 4615067	164	4621043 Opaskwayak Cree Nation 21E, IRI – 4621043
136	4615071 Rolling River 67, IRI – 4615071	165	4621058 Moose Lake 31A, IRI – 4621058
137	4616017 Waywayseecappo First Nation, IRI – 4616017	166	4622048 Garden Hill First Nation, IRI – 4622048
138	4616025 Gambler 63 (Part), IRI – 4616025	167	4622049 God's Lake 23, IRI – 4622049
139	4616046 Valley River 63A, IRI – 4616046	168	4622050 Oxford House 24, IRI – 4622050
140	4617029 Ebb and Flow 52, IRI – 4617029	169	4622051 Cross Lake 19, IRI – 4622051
141	4618055 Dog Creek 46, IRI – 4618055	170	4622052 Cross Lake 19A, IRI – 4622052
142	4618063 Little Saskatchewan 48, IRI – 4618063		
143	4618067 Fairford (Part) 50, IRI – 4618067		
144	4619050 Fort Alexander 3, IRI – 4619050		

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171	4622055 God's River 86A, IRI – 4622055	201	4706816 Peepeekisis 81, IRI – 4706816
172	4622056 Red Sucker Lake 1976, IRI – 4622056	202	4706818 Star Blanket 83, IRI – 4706818
173	4622058 Norway House 17, IRI – 4622058	203	4706820 Wa-Pii Moos-Toosis (White Calf) 83A, IRI – 4706820
174	4622059 Nelson House 170, IRI – 4622059	204	4709819 Cote 64, IRI – 4709819
175	4622063 Split Lake (Part) 171, IRI – 4622063	205	4709820 Keeseekoosie 66, IRI – 4709820
176	4622064 Ilford, S-É – 4622064	206	4709821 The Key 65, IRI – 4709821
177	4622065 York Landing, IRI – 4622065	207	4710822 Muskowekwan 85, IRI – 4710822
178	4622067 Cross Lake 19E, IRI – 4622067	208	4710823 Gordon 86, IRI – 4710823
179	4622800 Wasagamack, IRI – 4622800	209	4710824 Day Star 87, IRI – 4710824
180	4622801 St. Theresa Point, IRI – 4622801	210	4710825 Poorman 88, IRI – 4710825
181	4623027 Fox Lake 2, IRI – 4623027	211	4710826 Fishing Lake 89, IRI – 4710826
182	4623037 South Indian Lake, S-É – 4623037	212	4712829 Red Pheasant 108, IRI – 4712829
183	4623058 Churchill 1, IRI – 4623058	213	4712830 Mosquito 109, IRI – 4712830
184	4623064 Pukatawagan 198, IRI – 4623064	214	4712833 Sweet Grass 113, IRI – 4712833
185	4623065 Brochet 197, IRI – 4623065	215	4713835 Poundmaker 114, IRI – 4713835
186	4623067 Lac Brochet 197A, IRI – 4623067	216	4713836 Little Pine 116, IRI – 4713836
187	4623071 Shamattawa 1, IRI – 4623071	217	4714839 Shoal Lake 28A, IRI – 4714839
188	4701808 White Bear 70, IRI – 4701808	218	4714840 Red Earth 29, IRI – 4714840
189	4701809 Ocean Man 69, IRI – 4701809	219	4714841 Yellowquill 90, IRI – 4714841
190	4704802 Nekaneet Cree Nation, IRI – 4704802	220	4714842 Kinistin 91, IRI – 4714842
191	4705803 Cowessess 73, IRI – 4705803	221	4714845 Carrot River 29A, IRI – 4714845
192	4705804 Kahkewistahaw 72, IRI – 4705804	222	4715844 One Arrow 95, IRI – 4715844
193	4705805 Sakimay 74, IRI – 4705805	223	4715845 Beady's 97 and Okemasis 96, IRI – 4715845
194	4705806 Ochapowace 71, IRI – 4705806	224	4715847 Muskoday First Nation, IRI – 4715847
195	4706809 Piapot 75, IRI – 4706809	225	4715849 James Smith 100, IRI – 4715849
196	4706810 Assiniboine 76, IRI – 4706810	226	4715850 Cumberland 100A, IRI – 4715850
197	4706812 Pasqua 79, IRI – 4706812	227	4715853 Montreal Lake 106B, IRI – 4715853
198	4706813 Muscowpetung 80, IRI – 4706813	228	4716854 Muskeg Lake Cree Nation 102, IRI – 4716854
199	4706814 Little Black Bear 84, IRI – 4706814		
200	4706815 Okanese 82, IRI – 4706815		

229	4716855 Mistawasis 103, IRI – 4716855
230	4716856 Sturgeon Lake 101, IRI – 4716856
231	4716858 Big River 118, IRI – 4716858
232	4716860 Ahtahkakoop 104, IRI – 4716860
233	4716862 Witchehan Lake 117, IRI – 4716862
234	4717801 Seekaskootch 119, IRI – 4717801
235	4717802 Makaoo (Part) 120, IRI – 4717802
236	4717803 Thunderchild First Nation 115B, IRI – 4717803
237	4717805 Flying Dust First Nation 105 (Meadow Lake 105), IRI – 4717805
238	4717806 Waterhen 130, IRI – 4717806
239	4717807 Makwa Lake 129B, IRI – 4717807
240	4717809 Ministikwan 161, IRI – 4717809
241	4717810 Ministikwan 161A, IRI – 4717810
242	4717812 Moosomin 112B, IRI – 4717812
243	4717813 Saulteaux 159, IRI – 4717813
244	4718801 Cumberland House Cree Nation 20, IRI – 4718801
245	4718802 Montreal Lake 106, IRI – 4718802
246	4718803 Stanley 157, IRI – 4718803
247	4718808 Morin Lake 217, IRI – 4718808
248	4718809 Lac La Ronge 156, IRI – 4718809
249	4718811 Sucker River 156C (Nemebien River 156C), IRI – 4718811
250	4718812 Kitsakie 156B, IRI – 4718812
251	4718814 Wapachewunak 192D, IRI – 4718814
252	4718817 Canoe Lake 165, IRI – 4718817
253	4718818 Buffalo River Dene Nation 193 (Peter Pond Lake 193), IRI – 4718818
254	4718819 Turnor Lake 193B, IRI – 4718819
255	4718820 Pelican Narrows 184B, IRI – 4718820

256	4718821 Sturgeon Weir 184F, IRI – 4718821
257	4718822 Southend 200, IRI – 4718822
258	4718824 Fond du Lac 227, IRI – 4718824
259	4718825 Brabant Lake, S-É – 4718825
260	4718828 Chicken 224, IRI – 4718828
261	4718829 Clearwater River Dene Band 223, IRI – 4718829
262	4718831 Grandmother's Bay 219, IRI – 4718831
263	4718832 Lac La Hache 220, IRI – 4718832
264	4718839 Clearwater River Dene 222, IRI – 4718839
265	4718852 Kimosom Pwatinahk 203 (Deschambault Lake), IRI – 4718852
266	4803801 Piikani 147, IRI – 4803801
267	4803802 Blood 148, IRI – 4803802
268	4805802 Siksika 146, IRI – 4805802
269	4806803 Eden Valley 216, IRI – 4806803
270	4809810 Big Horn 144A, IRI – 4809810
271	4810805 Makaoo (Part) 120, IRI – 4810805
272	4815802 Stoney 142, 143, 144, IRI – 4815802
273	4816817 Janvier 194, IRI – 4816817
274	4816821 Gregoire Lake 176, IRI – 4816821
275	4816850 Allison Bay 219, IRI – 4816850
276	4816859 Fort Mackay, S-É – 4816859
277	4817817 Jean Baptiste Gambler 183, IRI – 4817817
278	4817818 Wabasca 166, IRI – 4817818
279	4817819 Wabasca 166A, IRI – 4817819
280	4817821 Wabasca 166B, IRI – 4817821
281	4817822 Wabasca 166C, IRI – 4817822
282	4817823 Wabasca 166D, IRI – 4817823
283	4817824 Utikoomak Lake 155, IRI – 4817824

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284	4817827 Utikoomak Lake 155A, IRI – 4817827	306	4819826 Duncan's 151A, IRI – 4819826
285	4817828 Drift Pile River 150, IRI – 4817828	307	5917801 Cole Bay 3, IRI – 5917801
286	4817829 Sucker Creek 150A, IRI – 4817829	308	5917802 Union Bay 4, IRI – 5917802
287	4817831 Swan River 150E, IRI – 4817831	309	5917803 East Saanich 2, IRI – 5917803
288	4817832 Sawridge 150G, IRI – 4817832	310	5917804 South Saanich 1, IRI – 5917804
289	4817833 Sawridge 150H, IRI – 4817833	311	5917809 Becher Bay 1, IRI – 5917809
290	4817835 Fox Lake 162, IRI – 4817835	312	5917812 New Songhees 1A, IRI – 5917812
291	4817836 Kapawe'no First Nation (Freeman 150B), IRI – 4817836	313	5921804 Nanaimo Town 1, IRI – 5921804
292	4817837 John d'Or Prairie 215, IRI – 4817837	314	5943815 Kippase 2, IRI – 5943815
293	4817838 Tall Cree 173, IRI – 4817838	315	5953802 McLeod Lake 1, IRI – 5953802
294	4817840 Tall Cree 173A, IRI – 4817840	316	5955801 East Moberly Lake 169, IRI – 5955801
295	4817842 Boyer 164, IRI – 4817842	317	5955802 West Moberly Lake 168A, IRI – 5955802
296	4817843 Child Lake 164A, IRI – 4817843	318	5955803 Blueberry River 205, IRI – 5955803
297	4817845 Hay Lake 209, IRI – 4817845	319	5955804 Doig River 206, IRI – 5955804
298	4817848 Bushe River 207, IRI – 4817848	320	5955808 Halfway River 168, IRI – 5955808
299	4817849 Upper Hay River 212, IRI – 4817849	321	5959806 Fort Nelson 2, IRI – 5959806
300	4817856 Woodland Cree 226, IRI – 4817856	322	5959810 Prophet River 4, IRI – 5959810
301	4817857 Woodland Cree 228, IRI – 4817857	323	6104010 Nahanni Butte – 6104010
302	4817860 Loon Lake 235, IRI – 4817860	324	6104013 Jean Marie River – 6104013
303	4818816 Sturgeon Lake 154, IRI – 4818816	325	6104038 Fort Simpson – 6104038
304	4818818 Sturgeon Lake 154A, IRI – 4818818	326	6104044 Wrigley – 6104044
305	4819815 Horse Lakes 152B, IRI – 4819815		

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