

**** VERY PRELIMINARY DRAFT ****

The Labour Market Consequences of Aboriginal Residential School Attendance

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November 2006

Abstract

1. Introduction

Currently there has been much attention paid to the abuses of Aboriginals at residential schools. The Canadian government has put millions of dollars into settling these cases and the final tab could run into the billions of dollars (Thomas, 2003). The majority of these lawsuits seek damages for the loss of culture as young Aboriginals were forced to live away from their families, while others are seeking damages for the sexual and physical abuse endured while attending these schools. The limited academic literature on the topic has largely focused on the social effects of having removed young Aboriginals from their families in an attempt to assimilate them into the broader Canadian society (see Cummins, 1997, for a review).

What has not been studied to date is the extent of the labour market assimilation of these young Aboriginals. If, as a group, residential school attendees were successfully assimilated into non-Aboriginal society, we would expect this group to perform better in the Canadian labour market compared to those who did not attend. Conversely, if this group was not assimilated successfully, we would expect their labour market performance to be poor in comparison to those who did not attend residential schools. In other words, how have residential school attendees fared in the labour market in terms of incomes compared to those who did not attend these schools? This is an interesting field of inquiry and has policy implications regarding any claims that have yet to be settled.

The 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey is a post-censal survey that contains detailed information on Aboriginals in Canada, including residential school attendance. These data make such a study feasible for the first time. The purpose of this paper is to quantify some of the differences between those Aboriginals who attended residential schools versus those Aboriginals who did not attend these schools. Since this paper represents a first look at these data, the methodology consists only of crosstabs. The purpose is to give other researchers ideas on where further research could be conducted on this important topic.

The results of this research will be a unique contribution to the academic literature in the fields of Aboriginal studies as well as the economics literature. The results may also be useful in aiding policy makers and Aboriginals in quantifying the magnitude of earnings differentials experienced by those who attended residential schools.

2. Background

Many Aboriginals in Canada attended residential schools. The institutions were established by the federal government which had assumed responsibility for the education of young Aboriginals. Although we do know that large numbers of these students suffered from physical and sexual abuse and loss of culture, we do not know how these individuals have performed in the labour market versus those who did not attend these schools.

Treaties signed with various First Nations as well as the Constitution Act of 1867 gave the federal government responsibility for educating the Aboriginal population. The government exercised this responsibility by pursuing a policy of assimilating Aboriginals into the European society. In the words of Llewellyn (2002:256):

At the time of Confederation, Aboriginal peoples were declared wards of the federal government. As such, they were the financial responsibility of the federal government. It was thus in the government's best interest to encourage assimilation and, ultimately, enfranchisement of Aboriginal peoples. As full citizens, Aboriginals would no longer be wards of the State, and the government would thus be relieved of the costs associated with this fiduciary relationship. The government's solution to the problem seemed clear – get rid of the Indians by assimilating them into Canadian society. Residential schools were the means through this goal was to be achieved.

The residential school system was to “elevate the Indian condition of savagery and make him a self supporting member of the state, and eventually a good citizen in standing (RCAP, 1996, Ch.10:1).” Following the model of industrial schools in the United States, the Department of Indian Affairs administered the programme but, unlike the American model, allowed various churches to run these schools. The first three residential schools opened in 1883 in what would be the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Although the schools were to educate the Aboriginal population, John A. McDonald said that “the first object [was] to make [the Natives] better men, and, if possible, good Christian men, by applying the proper moral restraints [of Christianity] (Miller, 1999:2).” For their part, the churches were willing partners since the conversion of non-Christians to Christianity was considered God's work. The government also believed that educating the Aboriginal population was a good investment of government funds since “in due course Aboriginal people . . . would contribute to . . . the revenue of the country . . . instead of being supported by it (RCAP, 1996, Ch.10:2).”¹ While education is normally considered an important component in both the material and emotional well-being of individuals, Hookimaw-Witt (1998) reminds her readers that the type of education is also important, and that impact of residential school attendance through the loss of culture and self-esteem has left a legacy of social problems in aboriginal communities.

Residential schools grew in number until there were 80 in 1931.² They were located in every province with the exception of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and (later) Newfoundland. In 1948, a Canadian parliamentary committee found that the residential schools had failed to adequately assimilate Indian children for labouring in Canadian society and recommended that these children be educated with non-Aboriginal children in order to better assimilate them into the broader Canadian society. Thereafter, the residential school system was slowly phased out, increasingly utilized by children from troubled homes and orphans. The federal government took control of the schools in 1969 and they were slowly phased out and handed over to the aboriginal communities, a process completed in 1986 (O'Connor, 2000).³

¹ See O'Connor (2000) for a good synopsis of the history of Aboriginal schools in Canada (along with a comparison with the similar system in Australia). Llewellyn (2002) and Thomas (2003) both provide concise reviews of the history of these schools.

² Of the 80 schools which existed in 1930 (at their peak), 44 were Roman Catholic, 21 were Anglican, 13 were run by the United Church of Canada, and 2 were Presbyterian (RCAP, 1996, Ch. 10). The total number of these schools differs somewhat depending on the source used according to Llewellyn (2002).

³ There is some disagreement on when the final residential school closed. 1986 is often the date given, since this is when the last school was handed over from the federal government. The last “former” residential school, was in Regina and closed in 1996 (Llewellyn, 2002).

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was established, following the 1990 crisis in Oka, Quebec. The commission spent much of its time addressing the fallout of residential schools and the effects on the aboriginal population, along with any appropriate legal remedies that could be followed. For the broader Canadian population, the stories of sexual and physical abuses at these institutions became well known and were covered widely in the media. The RCAP released its final report in November 1996. Around this same time, the churches who ran the residential schools started to issue apologies (AHF, 2001). On January 7, 1998, the federal government responded to the report. Then-Minister for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jane Stewart read a prepared statement which recognized and apologized for the federal government's role in the residential school system. She said

This [residential school] system separated many children from their families and communities, and prevented them from speaking their own languages and from learning about the heritage and cultures. In the worst cases, it left legacies of personal pain and distress that continue to reverberate in the Aboriginal communities to this day. Tragically, some children were the victims of physical and sexual abuse.

The Government of Canada acknowledges the role it played in the development and administration of these schools. Particularly to those individuals who experienced the tragedy of sexual and physical abuse and who have carried this burden believing that in some way they must be responsible, we wish to emphasize that what you experienced was not your fault and should never have happened. To those of you who suffered this tragedy at residential schools, we are deeply sorry.⁴

This "Statement of Reconciliation" was included in the same address where the minister also unveiled *Gathering Strength – Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*. The minister also promised \$350 million for community based healing for those who suffered physical and sexual abuse in this school system. No monetary compensation was given to individuals at that time. This \$350 million was used to create the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF), which was charged with financing projects to assist what they refer to as the "survivors" of the residential school system. According to their annual report (AHF, 2001: 3):

Our mission is to encourage and support Aboriginal people in building and reinforcing sustainable healing processes that address the legacy of Physical and Sexual Abuse in the Residential School System, including Intergenerational Impacts (capitalization in original).

Given the prevailing ethos of the time, the residential school system attempted to assimilate the aboriginal population into the broader, European-origin Canadian society. In many cases, however, there were cases of sexual and physical abuse. There was also the loss of aboriginal languages and culture, since these (at best) were not taught in residential schools and (at worst) were actively discouraged by teachers and school administrators. The legacy of residential schools is also purported to impact those who never attended, namely the sons and daughters of those who did attend. The argument is that those who spent time in residential schools did not learn how to be parents, or worse, raised their own children using the same abusive techniques to which they themselves were subjected in the school.

⁴ The Honourable Jane Stewart, *Statement of Reconciliation*, 7 January 1998, cited in O'Connor (2000).

Thomas (2003) notes that flood of lawsuits that followed the apologies of the churches and the federal government. O'Connor (2000) cautions that the situation is complex and that the flood of lawsuits cannot be attributed to the apologies on behalf of the federal government and the churches involved.

It is estimated that 86,000 residential school attendees were still surviving at the time of the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (IRSRC, n.d.) and many of these have filed lawsuits against the Canadian Government and the four Christian denominations involved. While it is the lawsuits claiming sexual and physical abuse that have received media attention, the majority of the lawsuits have claimed cultural loss.⁵ Although most of the focus has been on the negative aspects of the residential school system, not all analysis has been pessimistic. For example, the website devoted to resolution of the residential school experience notes that:

It is important to remember that most people who attended residential schools were not abused. On many occasions, the Government of Canada has heard from students of residential schools that their residential school experience was a positive one.

It should be pointed out that nearly all the people who work at these schools were dedicated individuals working under difficult conditions to educate and care for the Aboriginal children (IRSRC, n.d.).

Following Jane Stewart's January 1998 apology, an Aboriginal Healing Foundation was established with \$350 million dollars to provide services to former residential school attendees and their communities. As the number of lawsuits increased and threatened to "overwhelm the court system and bankrupt several of the church organizations involved" (Llewellyn, 2002:253), Minister of Industry, Ralph Goodale, announced plans for a "points" system for compensation, whereby those who suffered more serious abuse would be given more compensation. The major reason for this program was to streamline the compensation process by removing many of the lawsuits from the courts. This was estimated to save \$1 billion in legal costs as well as compensate individuals sooner compared to going through the court system. This system was condemned by many native groups and leaders in Canada since it didn't deal with individual cases directly, nor did it recognize the loss of culture and of language as legitimate grounds for compensation.

Most evidence on residential schools is anecdotal (cf. Johnston, 1989).

Finally, on November 23, 2005, the federal government announced it has reached an agreement in principle with all interested parties. The centrepiece is a compensation package for students who attended residential schools. Each of the estimated 80,000 eligible students are eligible to

⁵ For example, Thomas (2003) cited a *Toronto Star* article which noted that of the 1,200 suits filed against the Anglican Church in 2001, 1,150 were for cultural loss and only 50 for sexual and physical abuse. Many lawsuits claim more than one abuse (e.g., cultural loss and physical abuse). In Australia, which had a similar residential school system, courts have ruled that claims citing cultural loss cannot go forward since assimilation policy was not unlawful in the past. Llewellyn (2002) corroborates this by citing media sources noting that as many as 90 per cent of all lawsuits filed alleged that plaintiffs suffered cultural loss as the result of their experiences at religious-based residential schools.

receive \$10,000, increasing by \$3,000 per year for each year beyond one that the student attended these schools. Additional monies were also set aside for those who suffered physical or sexual abuse, or other abuses, that caused serious psychological effects. Likewise, those can show a loss of income as the result of attendance are eligible for greater compensation. The agreement still needs court approval in six provinces and three territories and there is an opt-out provisions for those who choose to pursue their claims through the courts.⁶

Similarly, Chrisjohn and Young (1997) identify two diametrically opposed positions on the *raison d'être* of residential schools. To paraphrase their work, the first position is that the federal government and the churches had the best-of-intentions in attempting to assimilate and “Christianize” the aboriginal population to allow them to better function in Canadian society. While there were abuses of children, these were the exception rather than the rule. The other view is that residential schools were a tool in the systemic programme to eliminate aboriginal culture and to clear the way for European settlers to farm the lands, particularly in Western Canada.

Claims based on the cultural and language loss and/or sexual and/or physical abuse are difficult to quantify. What can be estimated, however, is how the labour market situation of those who attended residential schools has differed from those who did not using multivariate estimation. This allows one to disentangle the effect of residential school attendance from other influences on the labour market performance of individuals. Although a limited number of Canadian studies (for example, George and Kuhn, 1994; Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998, 2002; de Silva, 1999; Hum and Simpson, 1999; Mueller, 2004) have studied the earnings of Canada’s Aboriginal population vis-à-vis the majority European-origin population, none has addressed the difference in the Aboriginal population who attended residential schools versus those who did not. Canadian evidence does exist, however, that labour market success (as measured by earnings) is related to the degree of assimilation of the Aboriginal population (as measured by interracial marriage of Aboriginals to non-Aboriginals (Kuhn and Sweetman, 2002; Mueller, 2004).

The related phenomena of school attainment and labour market outcomes are very important as past evidence has shown. De Silva (1999) for example has shown that the differences between Aboriginal and European-origin Canadians is most due to different endowments, implying that potential labour-market discrimination against Aboriginals is relatively minor, if it exists at all. Still, the extent to which different endowments, such as schooling, are the result of different schooling experiences is also important, and could itself be the result of discrimination as is often alleged amongst those highly critical of the residential school system. Walters, et al. (2004) find that recent Aboriginal post-secondary graduates generally earn more than both visible-minority and non-minority graduates in Canada, although this depends on the level of study. University graduates of Aboriginal origin do significantly better in terms of earnings, while other PSE graduates are comparable to both minority and non-minorities. They also find that Aboriginal Canadians generally with university degrees have lower incidences of working full-time and have higher unemployment rates. The authors speculate that the former outcome could be because Aboriginals with high education credentials are still relatively rare in the Canadian

⁶ At the time of writing (October 2006) judicial hearings were underway in many jurisdictions across Canada.

labour market and could be in high demand, and the latter outcome because of the lack of such employment opportunities for such graduates on reserves.⁷

A key finding of the Royal Commission was that the main purpose of residential schools was to assimilate Aboriginal children despite the claims by the Canadian government that the motive was to educate Aboriginal children, not assimilate them (O'Connor, 2000). She goes on to quote a consultant's report which explained that the destructive effects of the residential school program replicate are replicated through the generations, the result of the lack of transfer of parental skills from one generation to the next. She quotes the report saying: "The lessons learned in childhood are often repeated in adulthood with the result that many survivors of the residential schools system often inflict the abuse on their own children. These children in turn use the same tools on their children," (p. ???).

Statistics Canada (2003) uses the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey and finds that about 6.2 per cent of the Aboriginal population aged 15 years and older attended a residential school at some time. Of Canada's three Aboriginal groups, those with North American Indian identity had higher than average rates (8.4 per cent) as did those with Inuit identity (13.0 per cent) while the Metis averaged only 2.5 per cent. There are also geographical differences in the rates of residential school attendance by Aboriginals. In general, the rates increase as one moves west and north, with Saskatchewan, the Yukon, and the Northwest Territories each having rates in excess of 20 per cent of the Aboriginal population over 15 years of age.

These hypotheses are clearly testable with the data used in the paper (see below).

The proposed research is unique since it attempts to quantify the labour market effects of residential school attendance. It should be an important addition to the literature on the effects of residential schools which generally approach this topic qualitatively.

Data and Methodology

The data come from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS). The APS is a post-censal survey that contains information on almost 100,000 Aboriginals in Canada, including detailed information on residential school attendance. This is the first data set in Canada (or anywhere to the best of my knowledge) that contains this type of information. The Public-Use Microdata File (PUMF), the dataset used here, contains 29,592 individuals representing some 785,778 Aboriginals (i.e., American Indian, Métis, and Inuit) in Canada, covering most of Canada's Aboriginal population. Perhaps the biggest limitation of these data is that they only capture the off-reserve Aboriginal population.⁸ While the off-reserve population includes some 80 per cent of Aboriginals, this limitation is worthy of note because the on-reserve Aboriginal population was used to populate residential schools. Secondly, evidence has shown that those on-reserves tend to perform more poorly in terms of educational attainment and labour market outcomes such as earnings and unemployment experiences compared to those off-reserve Aboriginals, and this

⁷ Unfortunately, the authors are unable to disaggregate the data into status and non-status Indians. This variable tends to be highly correlated with on- and off-reserve status.

⁸ See Richards (2006) for a recent comparison of Aboriginals living on- and off-reserve, as well as an analysis of these differences.

is mainly due to low-education levels (de Silva, 1999) as well as their low levels of employment (Richards, 2006). Both de Silva (1999) and George and Kuhn (1994) attribute at least half of the Aboriginal-white earnings differential to difference in endowments such as education and age. Of course, the educational attainment (or lack thereof) may be the result of a discriminatory process.⁹ According to the 2001 Canadian Census, only 31 per cent of the Aboriginal population lives on reserves (Richards and Vining, 2004).¹⁰ Furthermore,

Indeed, even if one does not subscribe to the assimilationist argument, it is difficult to argue that the fact that residential schools were established to educate the on-reserve Aboriginal population, and thus were discriminatory. Whether or not this harmed the individuals' education and labour market prospects is the focus of what follows. Similarly, Drost (1994) shows the strong inverse relationship between Aboriginal unemployment rates and educational attainment.

Since the last residential school was closed in 1986, we limit our analysis to those who were 35 years of age or older in 2001. In other words, 20 years of age or older in 1986. This is because the number of individuals less than 35 years of age in 2001 who also attended residential schools is relatively small (see Figure 1). Furthermore, our selection of older Aboriginals means that they could have completed all of their primary and secondary education at residential schools, whereas younger people may have only completed part of their education at these institutions before they closed. Excluding these young people had very little effect on the results presented below.¹¹

One potentially problematic limitation in these data is the question on residential school attendance in the survey. The question asks: "Were you ever a student at a federal residential or industrial school?" Theoretically, those who attended from as little as one day to those who attended exclusively residential schools throughout their lives would answer this question in the affirmative. Ideally, we would have liked to have variables which accounted for the total amount of time spent in residential schools, as well as the levels attended, locations, etc. Unfortunately, these variables are not available, and this is not a serious limitation for present purposes, but it still should be kept in mind when analyzing the results below.¹²

⁹ In the language of econometrics, it is unlikely that residential school attendance can be considered exogenous in standard human capital models since individuals were not randomly assigned to these schools.

¹⁰ Depending on the definition of Aboriginal used, this number can change. Drost and Richards (2003) note that using the self-identification definition of Aboriginal origin, 71 per cent of Aboriginals lived off-reserve at the time of the 1996 Census. Using the ethnic-origin definition, this number climbs to 79 per cent. For the data used in this study, Statistics Canada (2006) notes that 80 per cent of the Aboriginal population lives off-reserve.

¹¹ These results are available from the author upon request.

¹² An econometric issue that could also be problematic is selectivity bias. Residential school attendees were not randomly selected from the Aboriginal population. As a result, estimation of the model above could lead one to believe that residential school students fared better or worse than others and that this is attributable to the residential schooling that they received. In fact there may be other environmental factors influencing outcomes which are correlated to residential school attendance. For example, if residential school students were chosen disproportionately from families where parents had relatively high levels of education, we would expect them to do well in school as well as the labour market, regardless of which type of school they attended. But since this would be highly correlated with attendance at residential schools, the above estimation would bias upwards the effect of these schools on the labour market performance of attendees. Since the purpose of this paper is exploratory, however, this issue will be tackled in statistically more complex future work.

Since the purpose of this paper is mainly exploratory, we utilize a series of cross tabulations which will compare relevant education and labour market characteristics between those who attended residential schools and those who did not. We communicate the results through a series of charts, since these are the most user-friendly way of presenting the data.¹³ At the top of each chart, the question asked in the survey is given, as is the number of (weighted) respondents who gave one of the valid answers listed at the bottom of each chart. This number of respondents changes depending on the nature of the question. For example, if one did not attend a residential school, his/her responses to questions about experiences in residential schools were not recorded, since obviously these question were not asked. In other cases, responses such as “not stated” or “refused” were eliminated for obvious reasons. This follows the guidance provided by Statistics Canada (2006) and should ensure comparability with their published estimates (Statistics Canada, 2003).

Results

Figure 1 gives an age break down of residential school attendees. Given that fact that the number of these schools reached their peak in the 1930s, and then slowly phased out until completely closed in 1986. We see that of those who ever attended a residential school, over half were in the 45+ age groups, and about twice as many individuals in these older age groups attended then did not attend. This proportions change as we move towards the younger ages.

The fact that residential school attendance tended to be passed along through generations is reflected in Figure 2. Those who had a least one family member attend, where themselves more likely to attend compared to those who did not have a family member who attended. The question asked in the survey, however, is rather unclear, so we have no way of knowing which family member it was the attended (i.e., mother, sister, uncle, etc.).

Figures 3 and 4 address the educational attainment of both groups of Aboriginals. Given the positive correlation link between schooling and income for Aboriginals (indeed every group) education credentials are important. Table 3 shows that those who attended residential school were slightly less likely to graduate from high school compared to those who did not attend (Figure 3). However, when we address the highest level of schooling attained, residential school attendees do not compare as favourably. Figure 4 shows that attendees were more likely to have less education compared to those who did not attend. In particular, over 40 per cent had less than a high-school diploma compared with less than 30 per cent of those who never attended these schools. Somewhat surprisingly this group does not seem to suffer much when it comes to obtaining post-secondary credentials.¹⁴ This pattern of education attainment is similar to that found by other researchers using recent data (Drost and Richard, 2003; Richards and Vining, 2004

Figures 5 through 7 address the respondent’s experiences with education about Aboriginal topics and Aboriginal languages. Figure 5 shows that while less than 10 per cent of those who attended

¹³ Full results are available from the author upon request.

¹⁴ Simple linear regressions which control for age group confirm that residential school attendees were marginally less likely to have graduated from high school and also to have slightly less formal education overall compared to those who did not attend.

residential schools were taught an Aboriginal language at these school, this figure is still double that for those who never attended. Those who did attend residential schools were only about half as likely to be taught about Aboriginal people (Figure 6) and less likely to feel what was taught was accurate (Figure 7).

The understanding of an individual's primary language is also correlated with the type of school attended, with those attending residential schools more likely to understand, speak, read, and write their primary Aboriginal language either relatively or very well (Figures 8-11). This is an interesting result and warrants further investigation into any causation at work, and not simply correlations as we have shown here. For example, is this the result of being taught Aboriginal languages at residential schools, or because individuals from families with higher propensities to use Aboriginal languages were more likely to have been sent to residential schools? The latter is often referred to as the assimilation argument, and does seem to have some statistical support (at least here). Figure 12 shows that those whose first language was Aboriginal are much more likely to have attended residential schools. Residential school attendees are also more likely to use their primary Aboriginal languages in their households relative to the comparator group (Figure 13) and claim that it is also more important for them to keep or learn their Aboriginal language (Figure 14). Taken together these figures seem to support the assimilation hypothesis.

The employment experiences of residential school attendees is the next topic of importance. Figure 15 shows that those who did not attend residential schools were more likely to have worked at paid or self-employment in the week preceding the census. Amongst the group of those who did work, there are no differences in the probability of working full-time versus part-time (Figure 16). The data in Figure 17 also indicate that the work experiences of residential school attendees appears less secure than those who did not attend: the former group was less likely to have worked in 2000 and, if they did work, less likely to have worked 49 or more weeks in 2000.

Related to employment is the sources of income for Aboriginals. Figure 18 shows that attendees were less likely to derive income from paid or self-employment, but more likely to receive money from government sources, especially social assistance. Given the higher proportion of those collecting government pensions, we will also break up the data by age group. DO THIS

In terms of employment income (Figure 19) the data are commensurate with the data on employment experiences. Those who attended residential schools are more likely to have lower employment incomes. Conversely, they are more likely to have over \$5000 in total government transfers in 2000 (Figure 20). Government transfers, however, can not make up for the lack of employment income and so total income tends to be lower for this group of individuals (Figure 21). According to Richards (2006:57): "Most Aboriginals have education levels that are too low to permit them to earn a 'good' income. The result is high Aboriginal poverty rates."

Conclusions

Directions for future research include a multivariate statistical analysis of the experiences of residential school attendees. These results might also be disaggregated according to Indian, Métis

or Inuit status since the experiences of these groups may be different. Similarly, the evidence presented does not differentiate between Aboriginal males and females, although such a distinction may prove to be useful. Geographical differences might also be important,

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Figure 1: Were you ever a student at a federal residential school or industrial school? (N = 764,253)

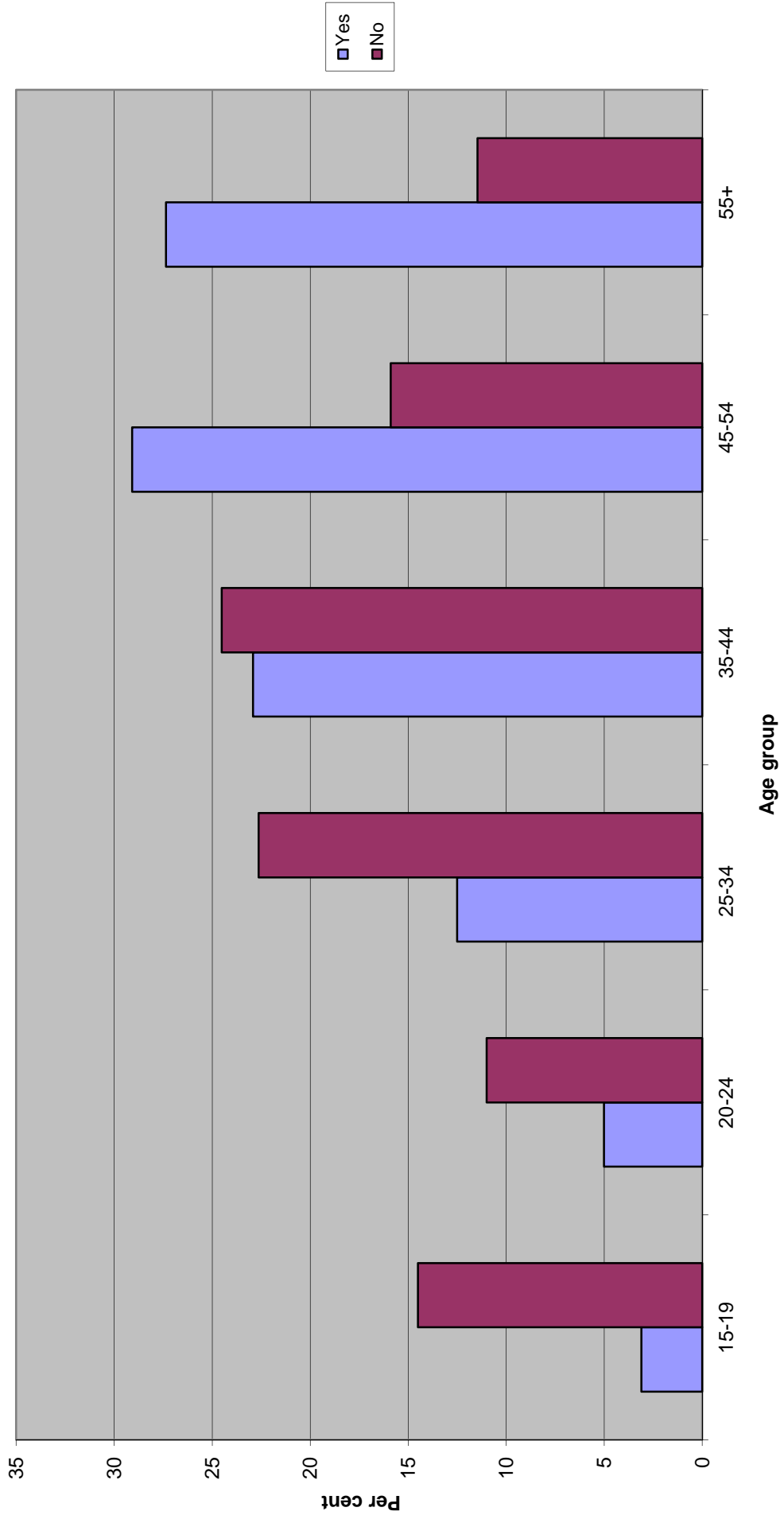


Figure 2: Was any member of the respondent's family ever a student at a federal residential or industrial school? (N = 406,587)

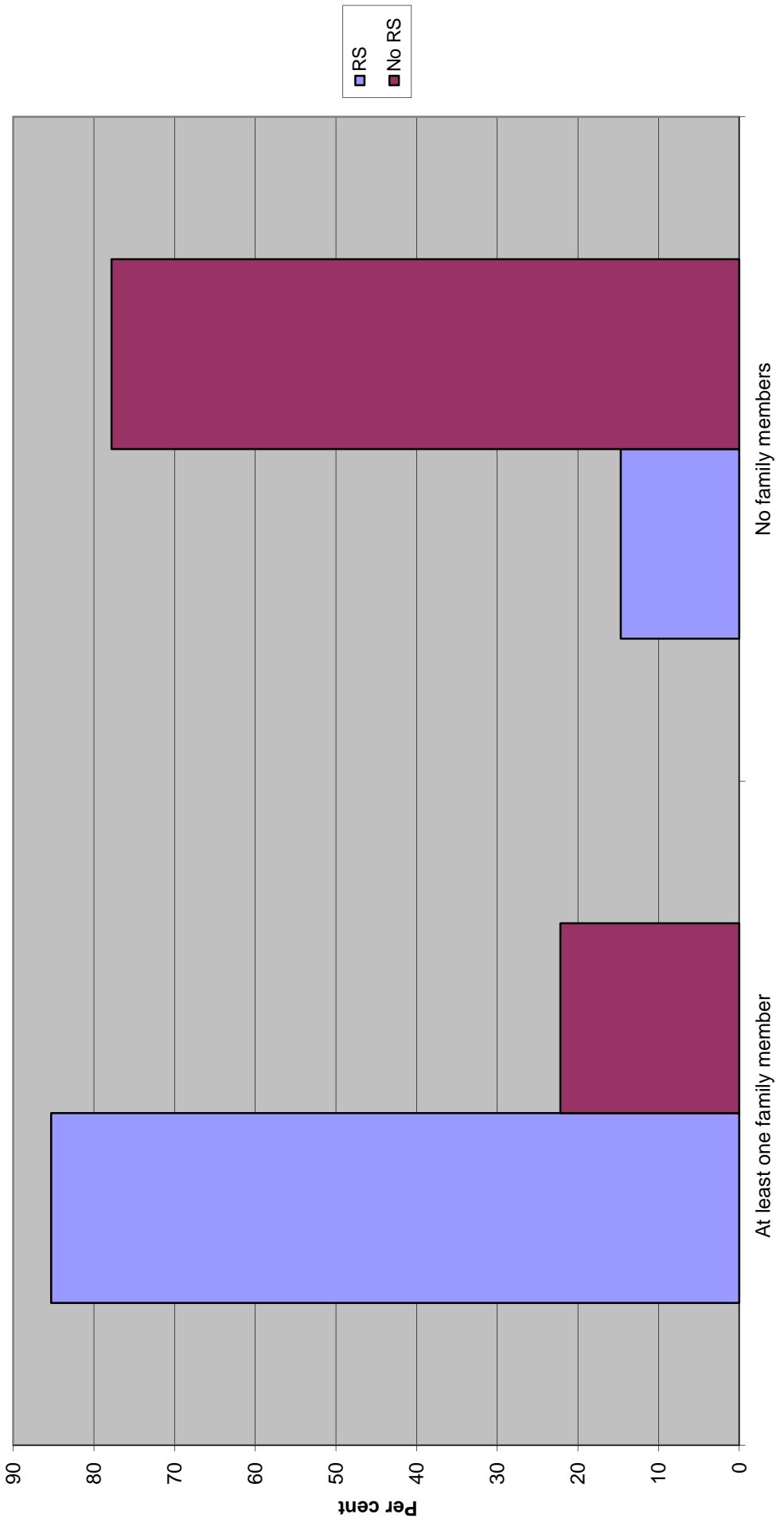


Figure 3: Did you graduate from high school? Please do not include graduation through a High School Equivalency program (GED). (N = 248,813)

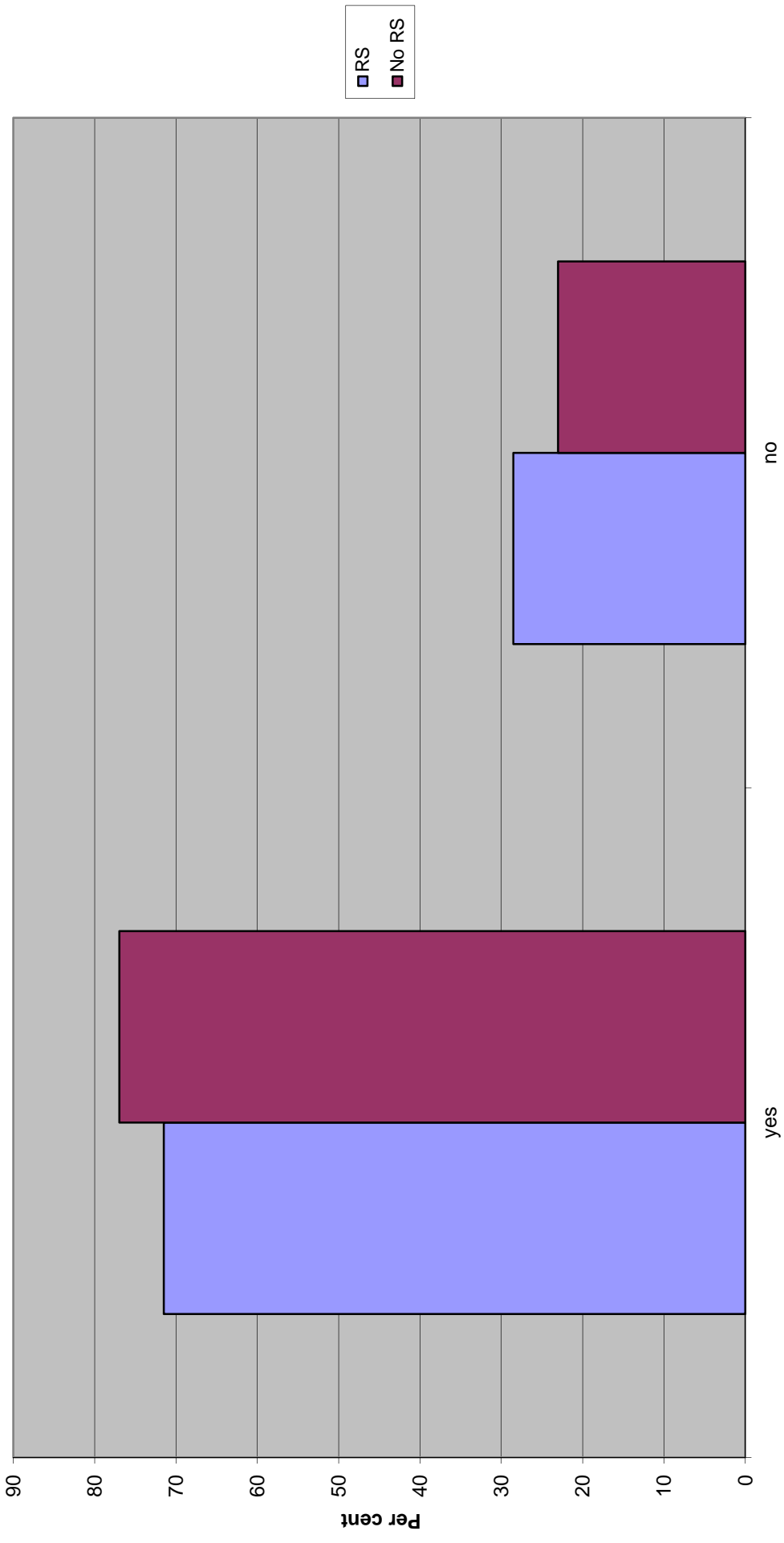


Figure 4: Highest level of schooling. (N = 402,454)

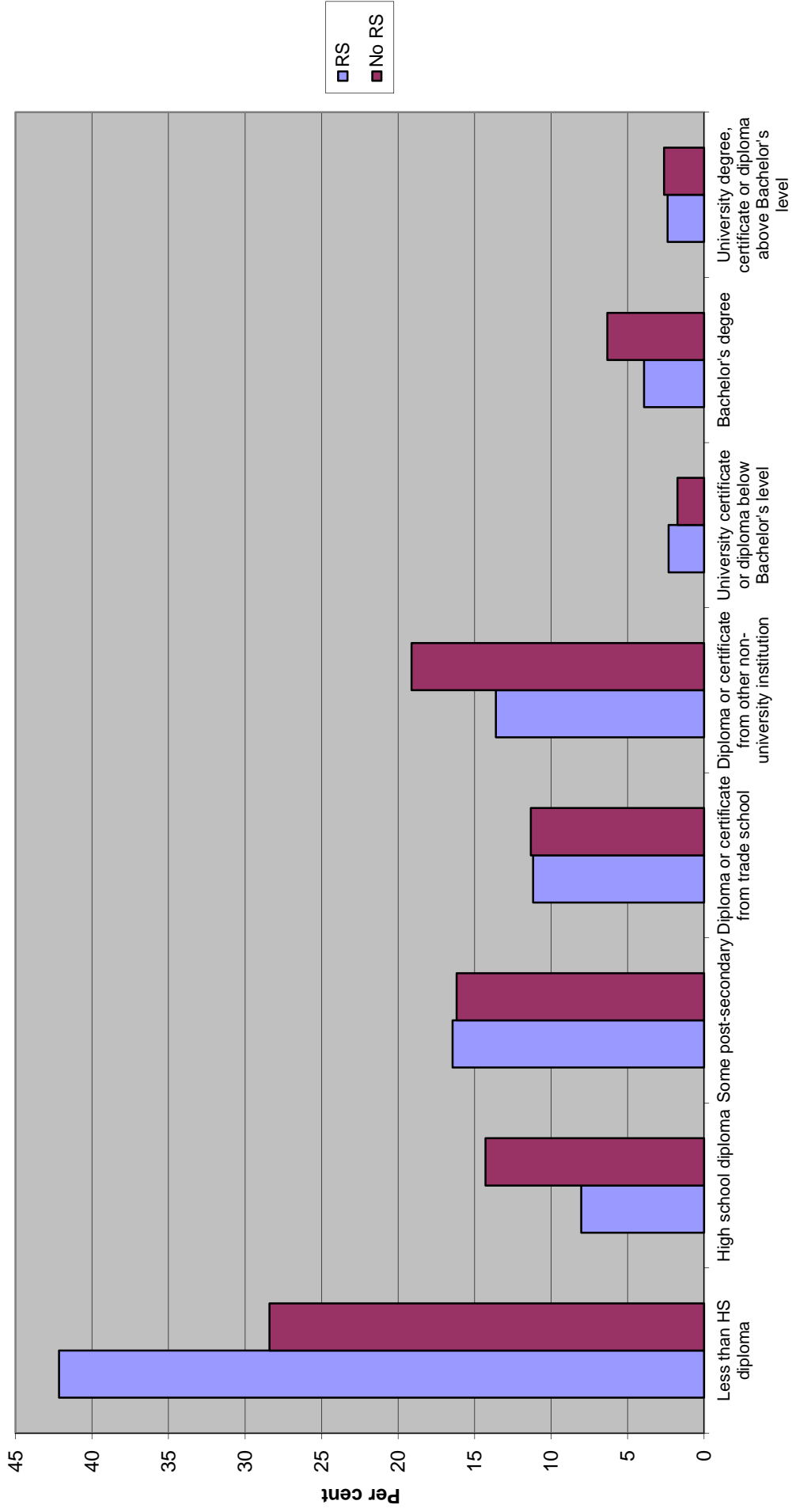


Figure 5: Is the respondent being taught an Aboriginal Language at elementary or high school OR was the respondent taught an Aboriginal language while he/she was attending elementary or high school? (N = 398,607)

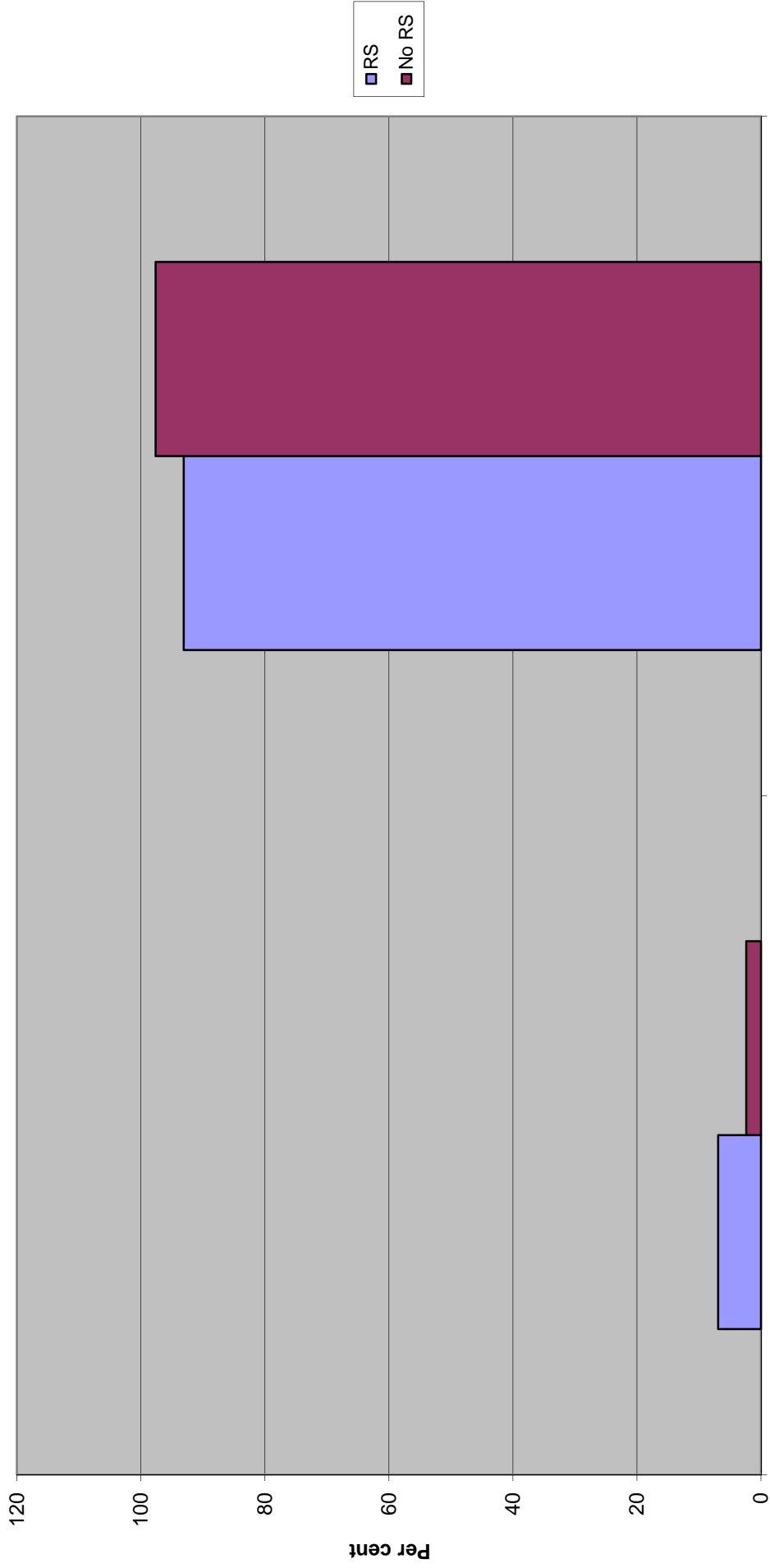


Figure 6: Is respondent being taught about Aboriginal people at elementary or high school OR was respondent taught about Aboriginal people while he/she was attending elementary or high school? (N = 385,800)

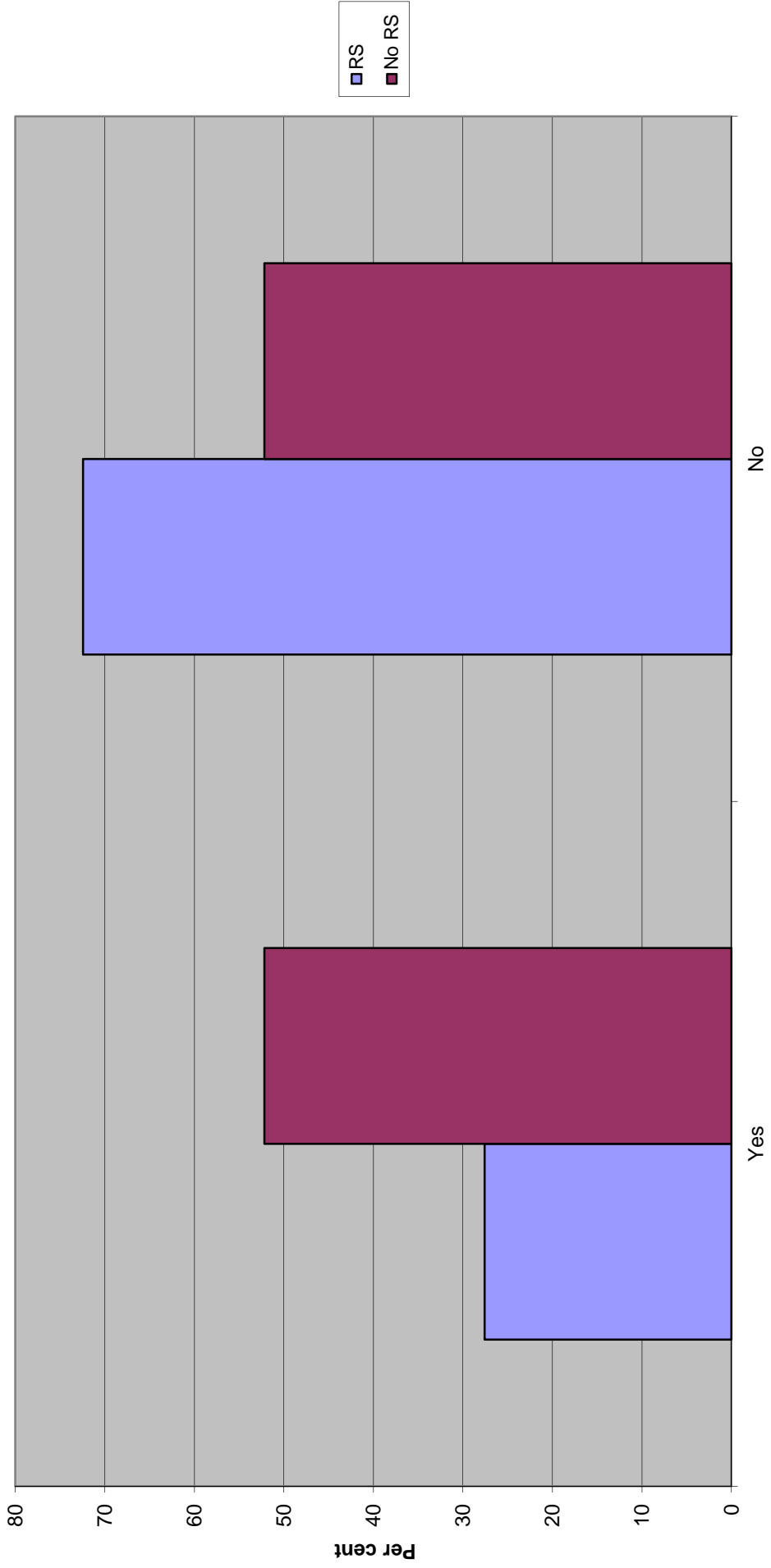
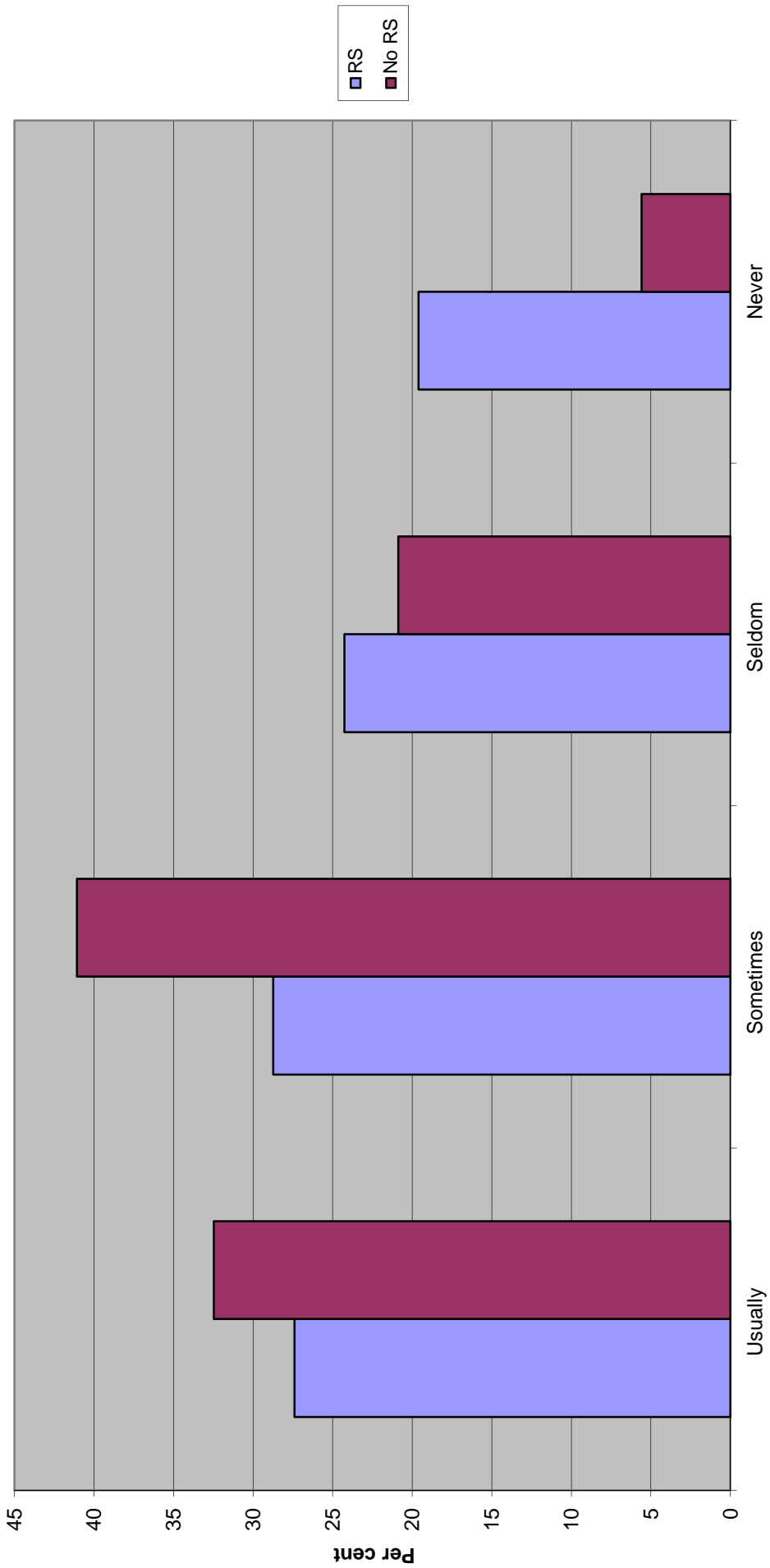


Figure 7: Does respondent feel that what he/she is being taught (or was taught) about Aboriginal people is usually accurate, sometimes accurate, seldom accurate, or never accurate? (N = 162,711)



**Figure 8: How would you rate ability to understand your primary Aboriginal language?
By "primary" we mean the language that you use most often or that you are
most comfortable using. Would you say that you can understand . . . (N = 78,987)**

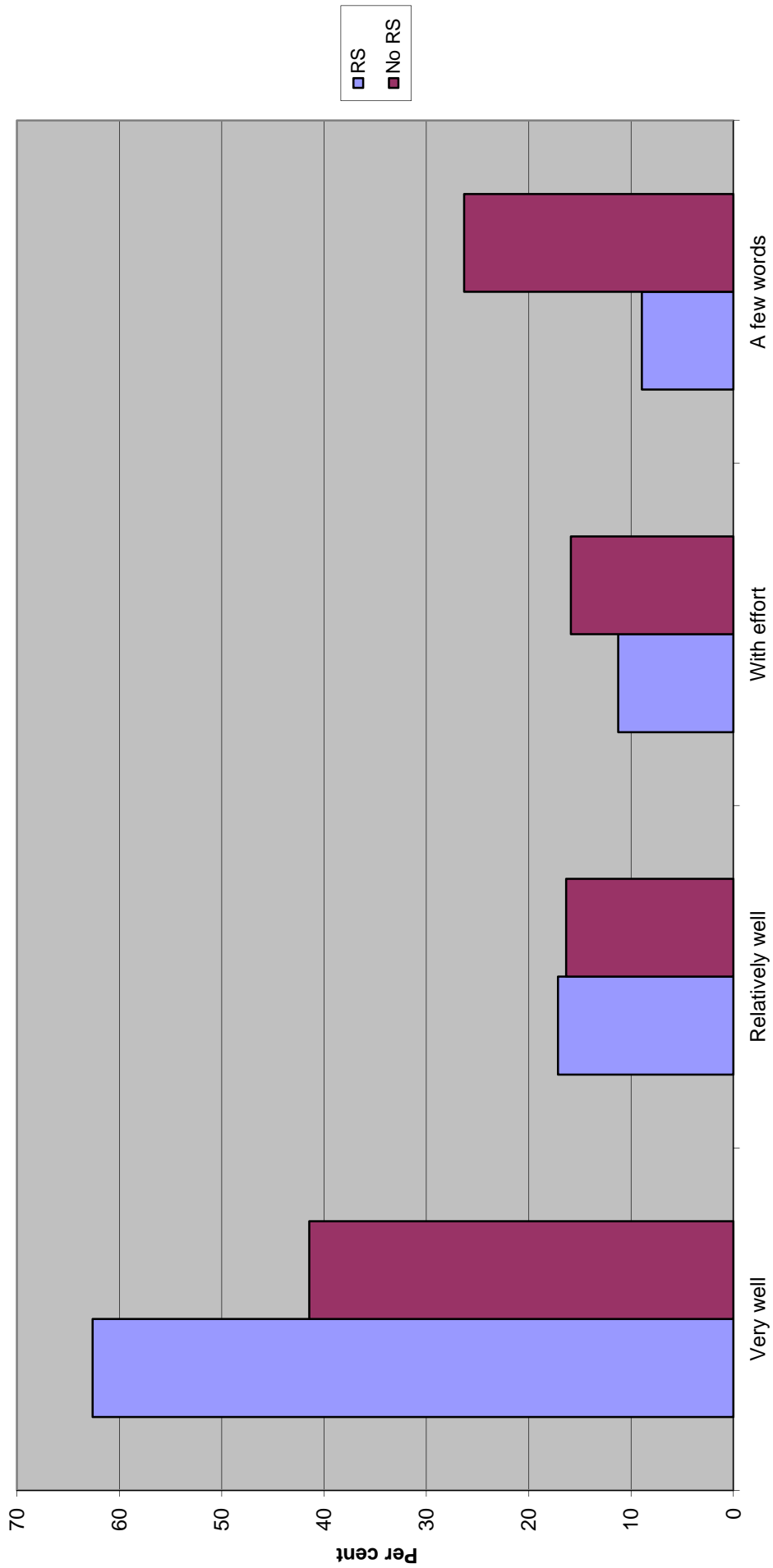


Figure 9: How would you rate your ability to speak your primary Aboriginal language? Would you say you can speak . . . (N = 79,192)

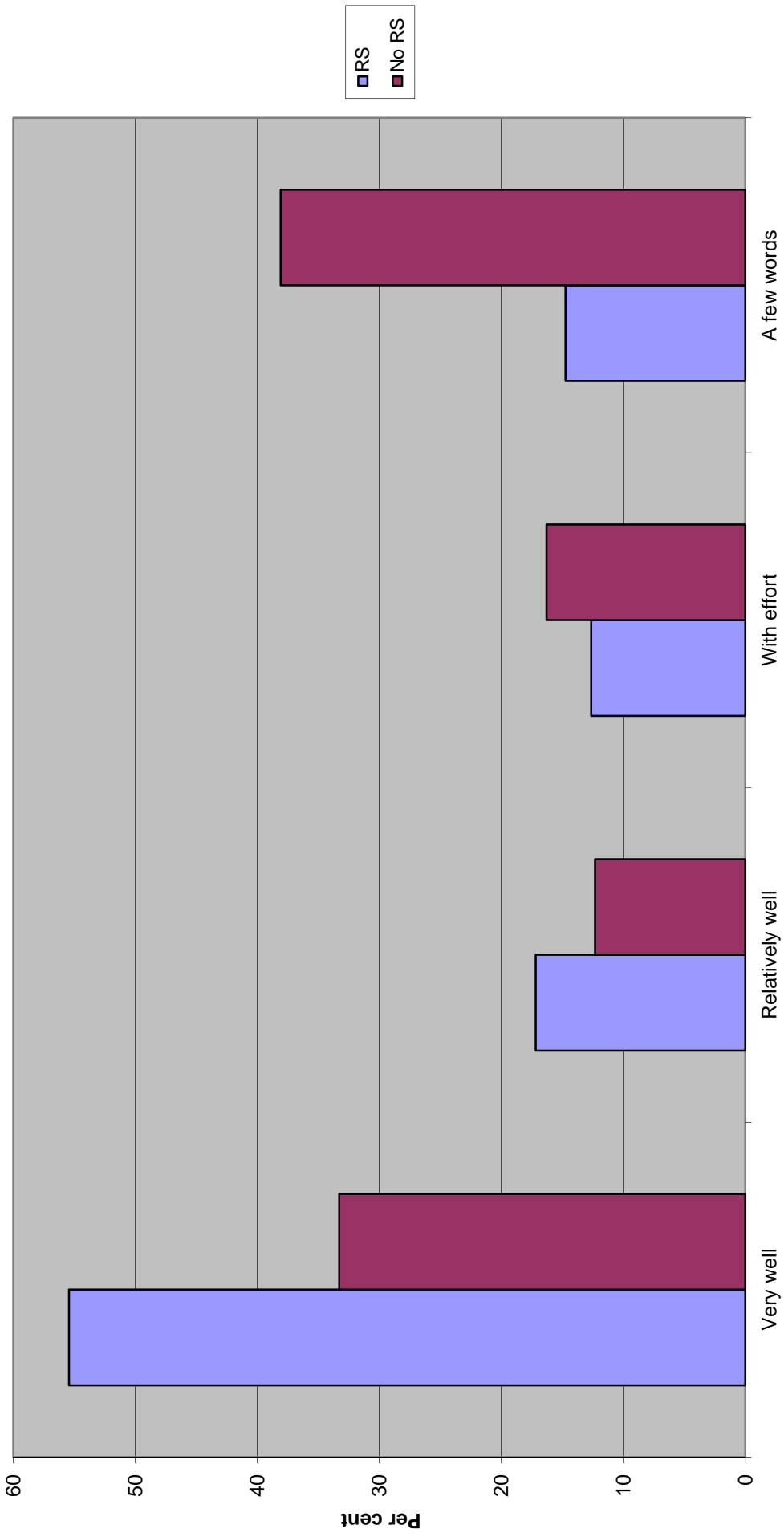


Figure 10: How would you rate your ability to read in your primary Aboriginal language? Would you say you can read . . . (N = 77,751)

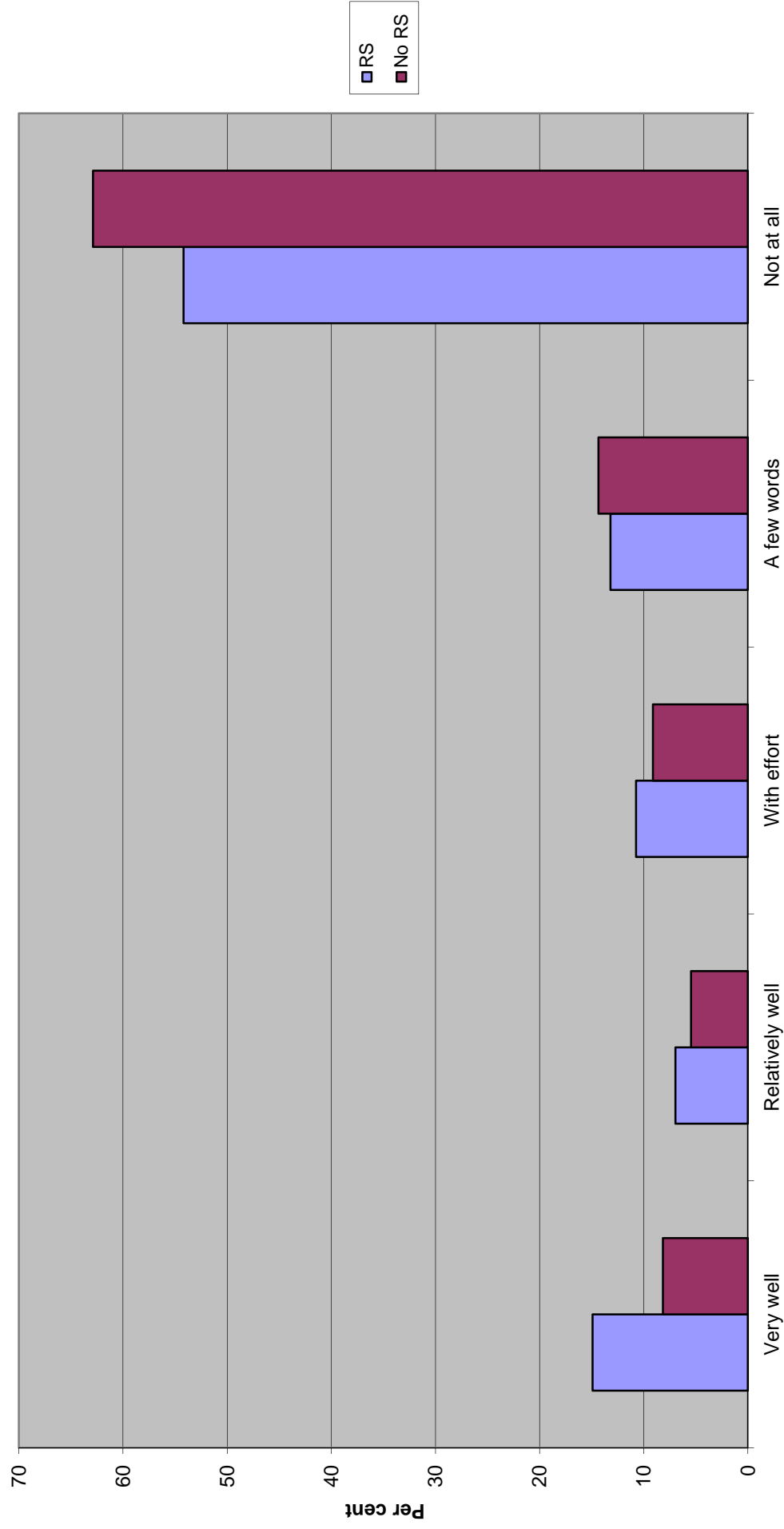


Figure 11: How would you rate your ability to write in your primary language? Would you can you can write . . . (N = 30,281)

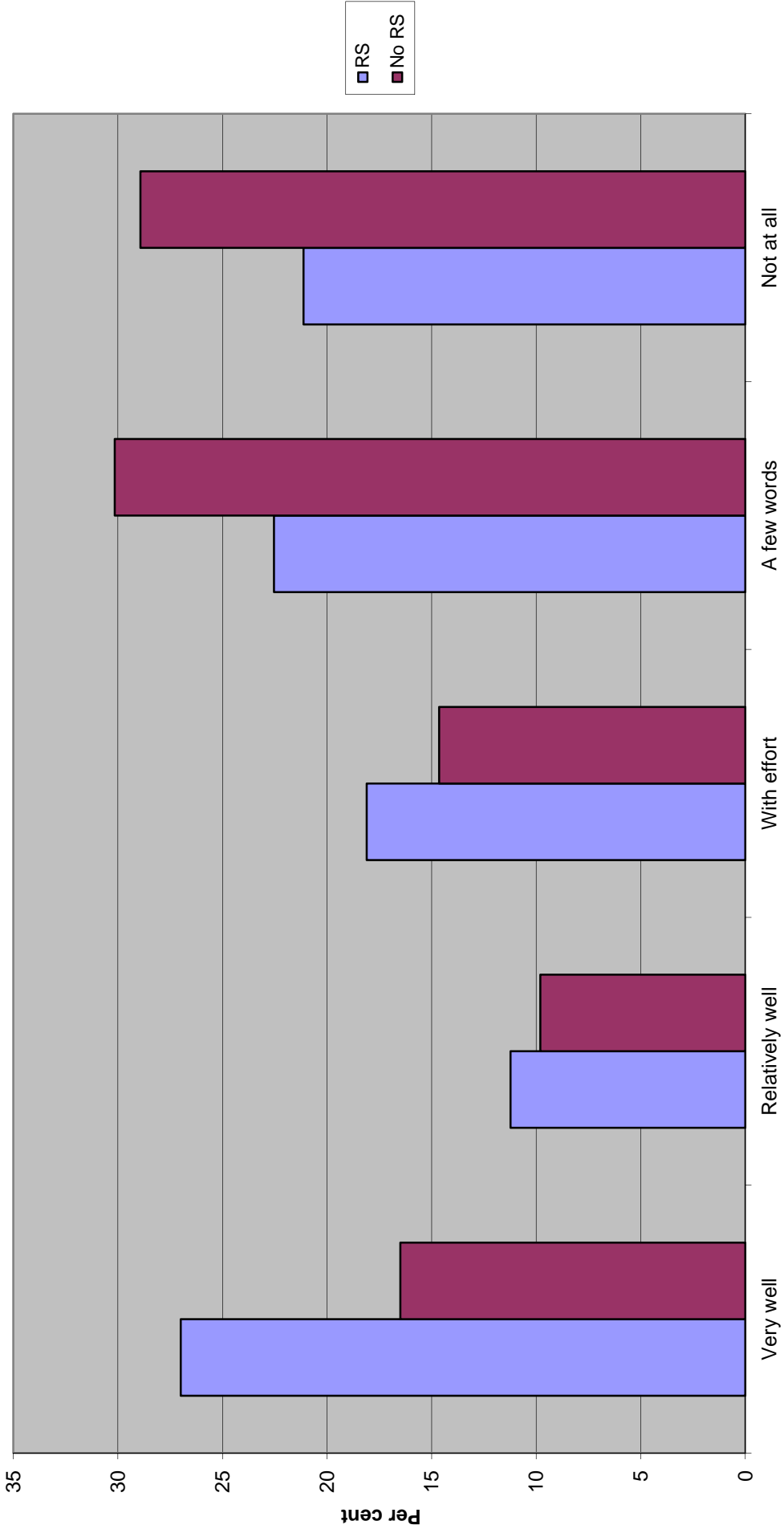


Figure 12: Do you understand or speak an Aboriginal language? What is the language that you first learned at home in childhood and still understand? (N = 399,756)

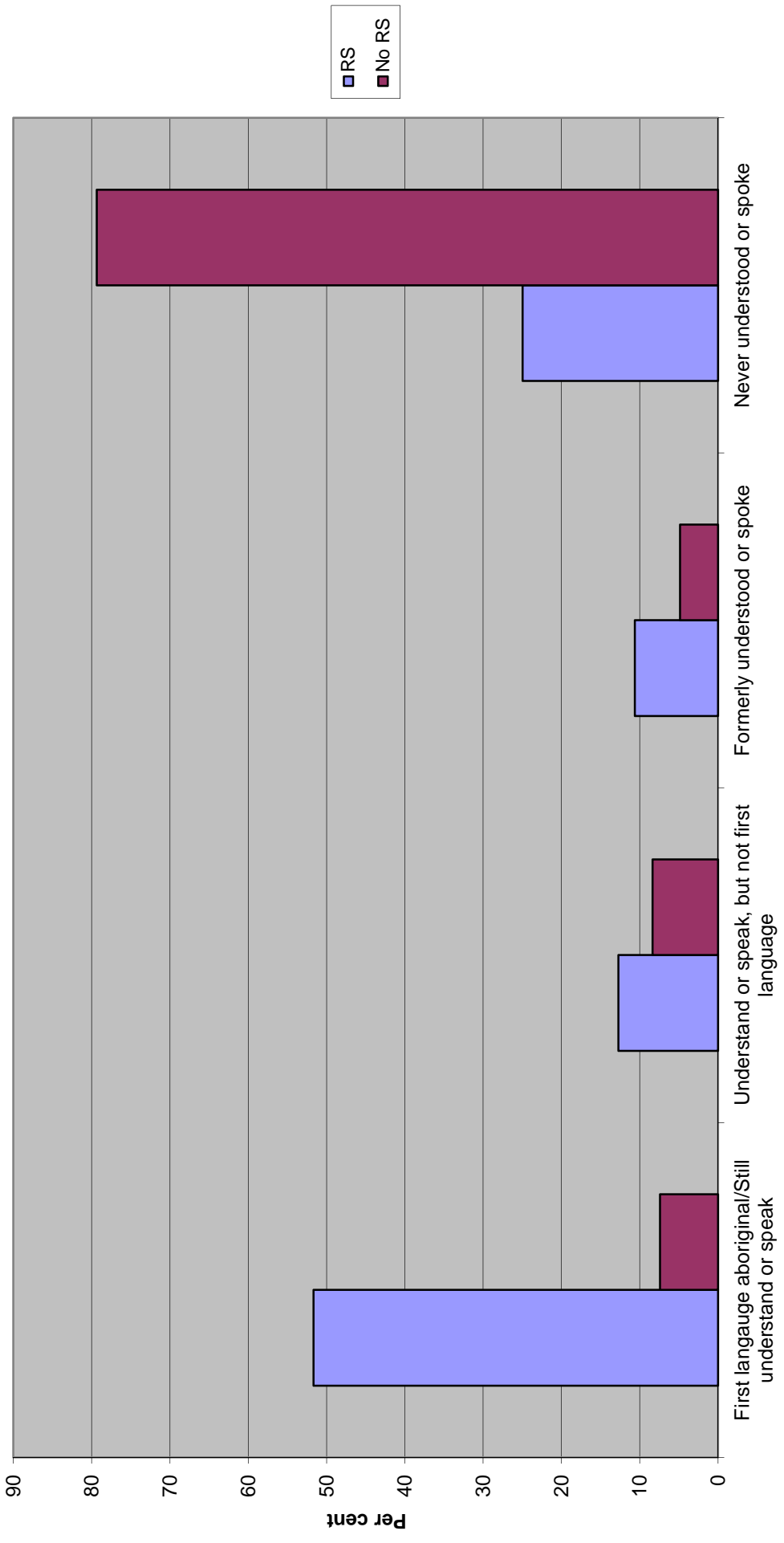


Figure 13: How much of the time do you currently use your primary Aboriginal language in your household? (N = 78,231)

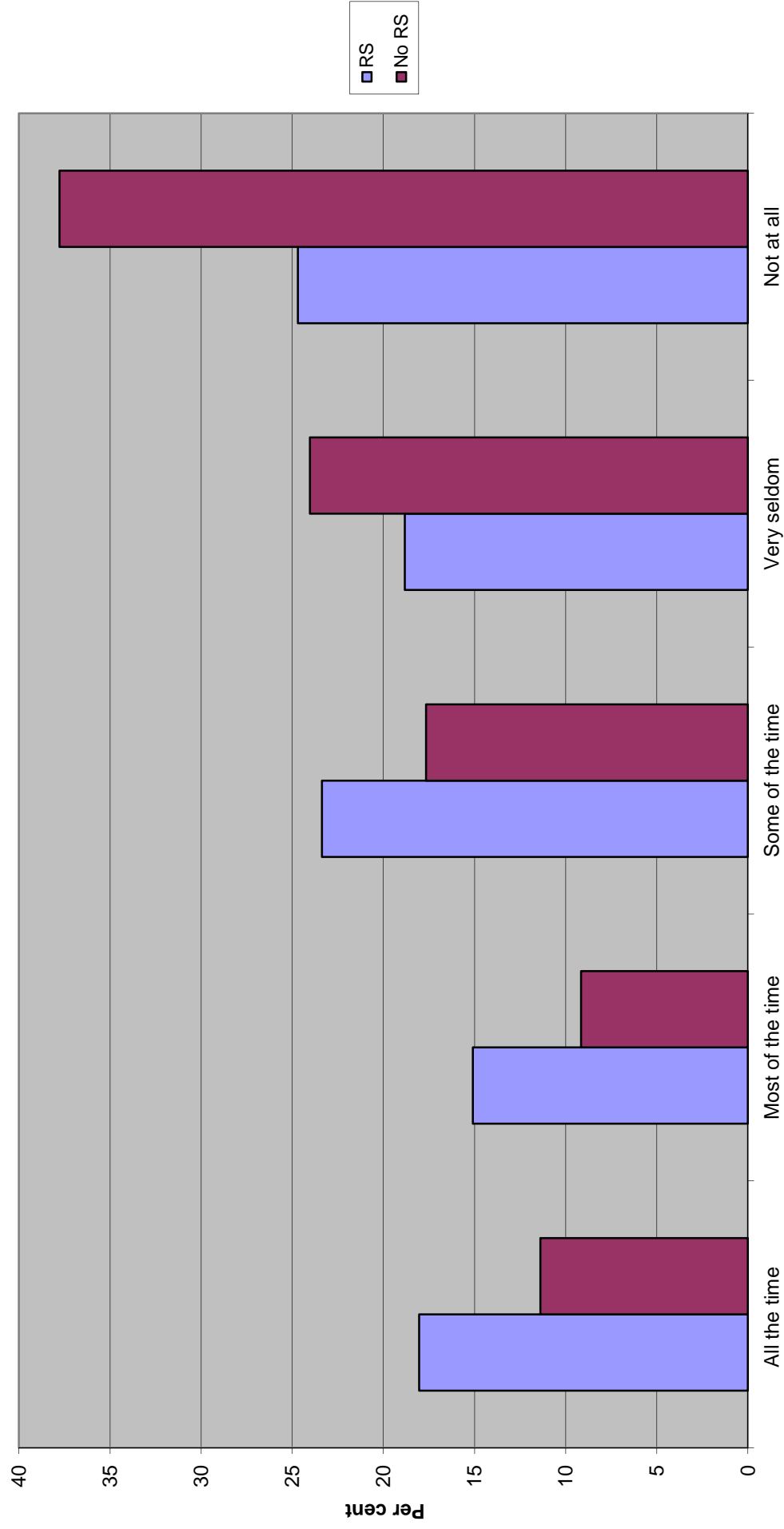


Figure 14: How important is it that you keep, learn, or re-learn your Aboriginal language? Is it . . . (N = 401,411)

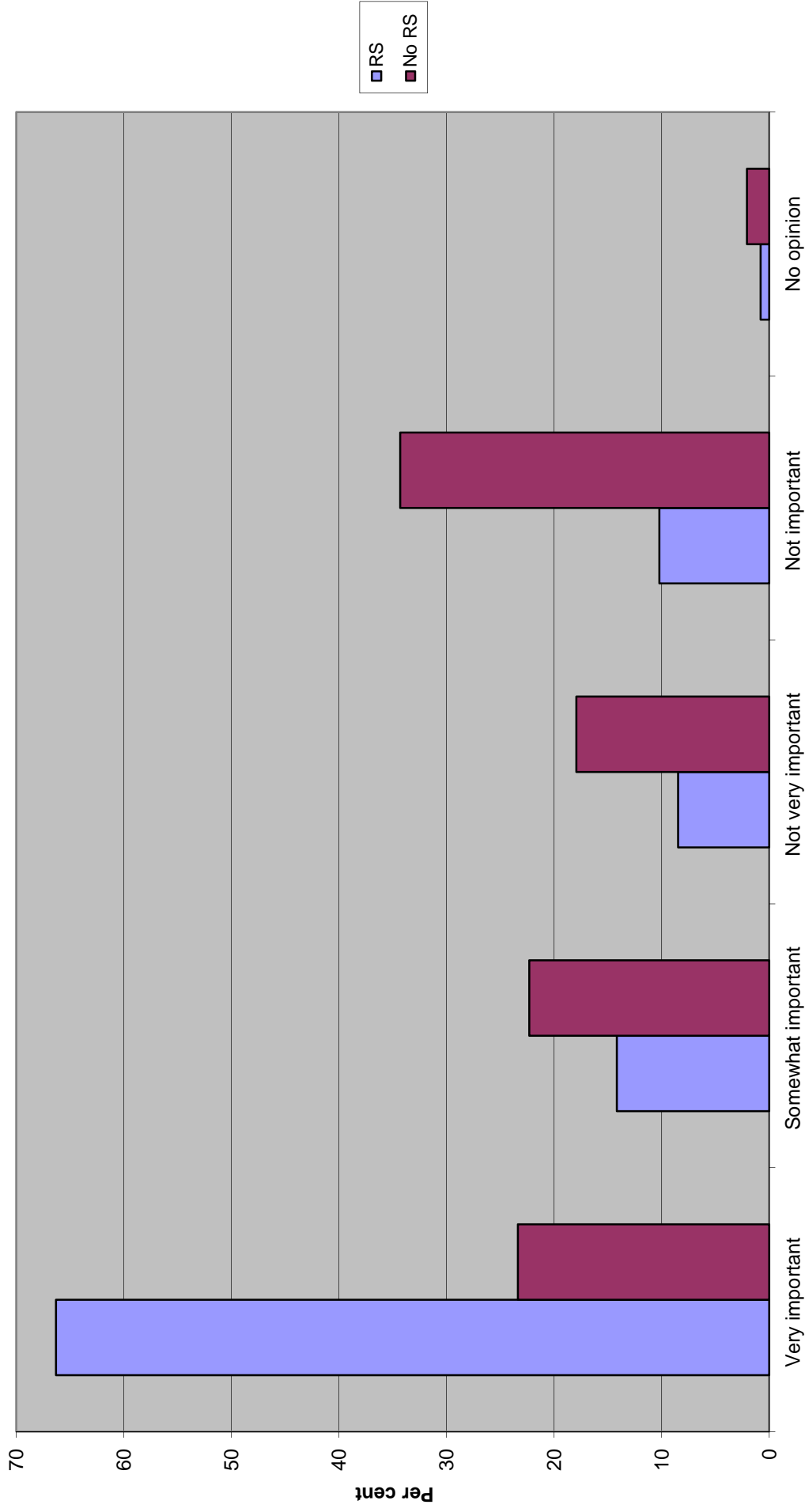


Figure 15: Last week, did you work for pay or in self-employment? (N = 404,275)

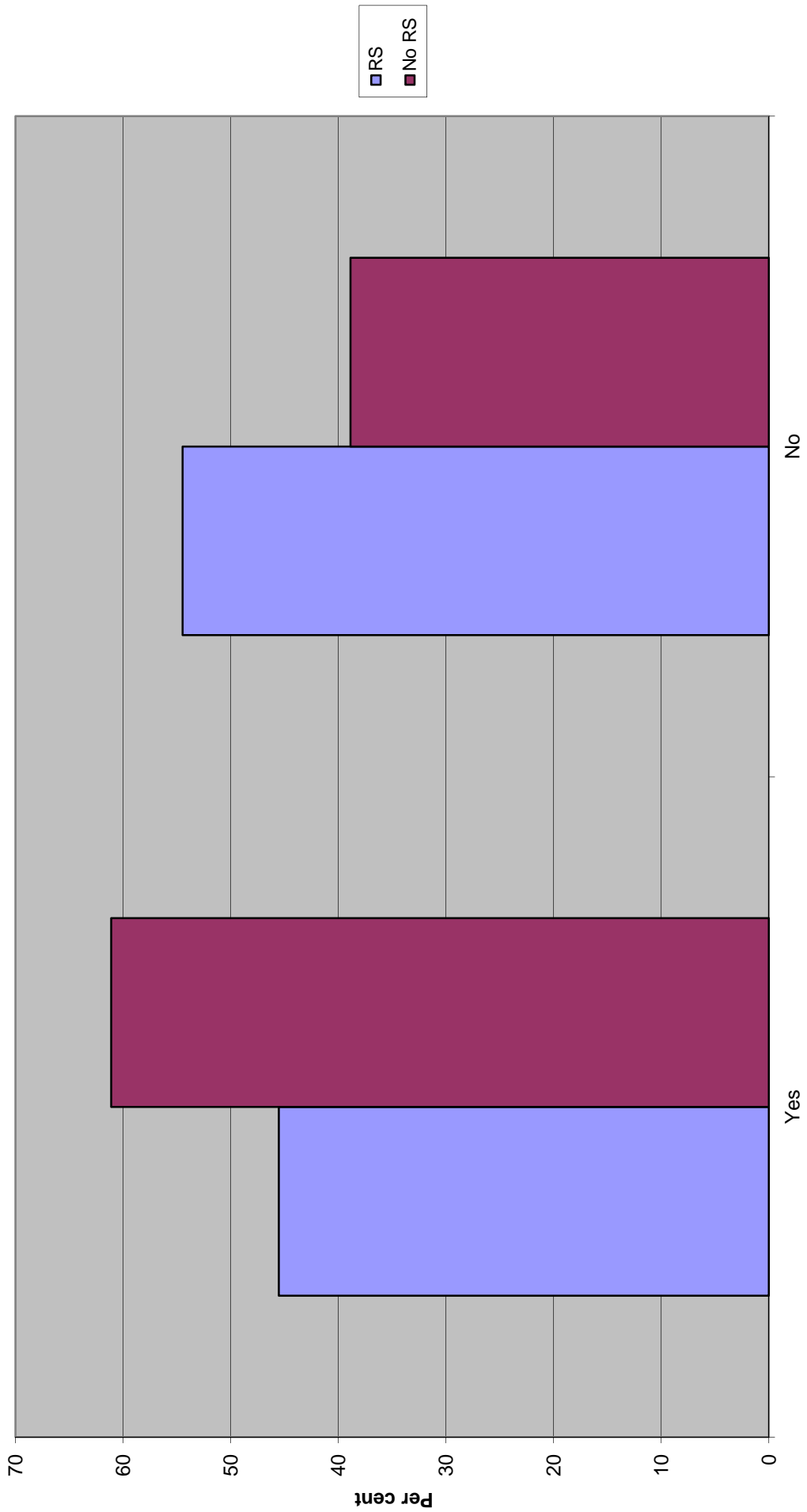


Figure 16: Was the job full-time (30 hours or more per week)? (N = 232,337)

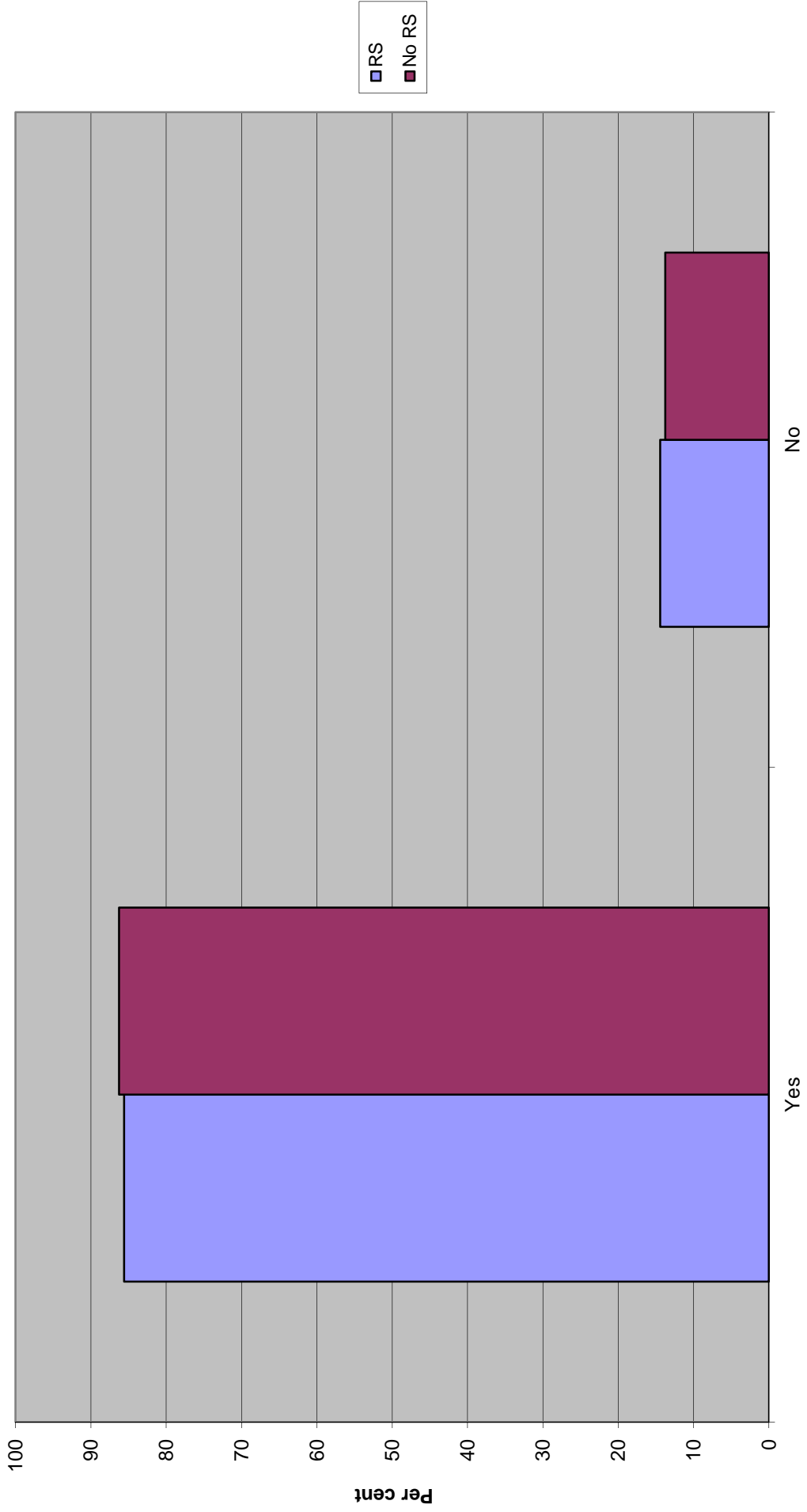


Figure 17: Work Activity in 2000 (N = 405,673)

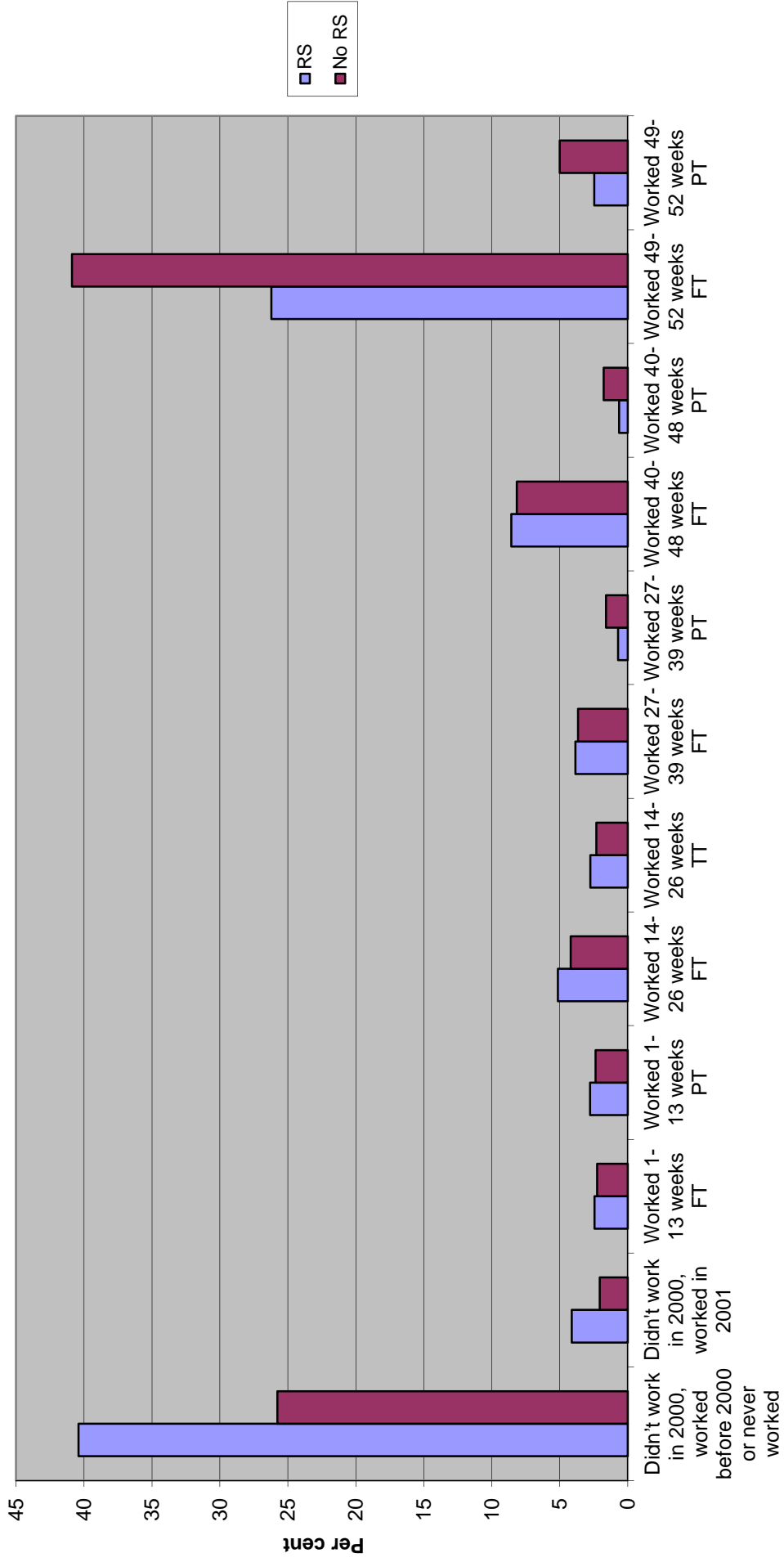


Figure 18: During the year ending December, 31, 2000, did you yourself receive any income from the following sources? (only affirmative answers included)

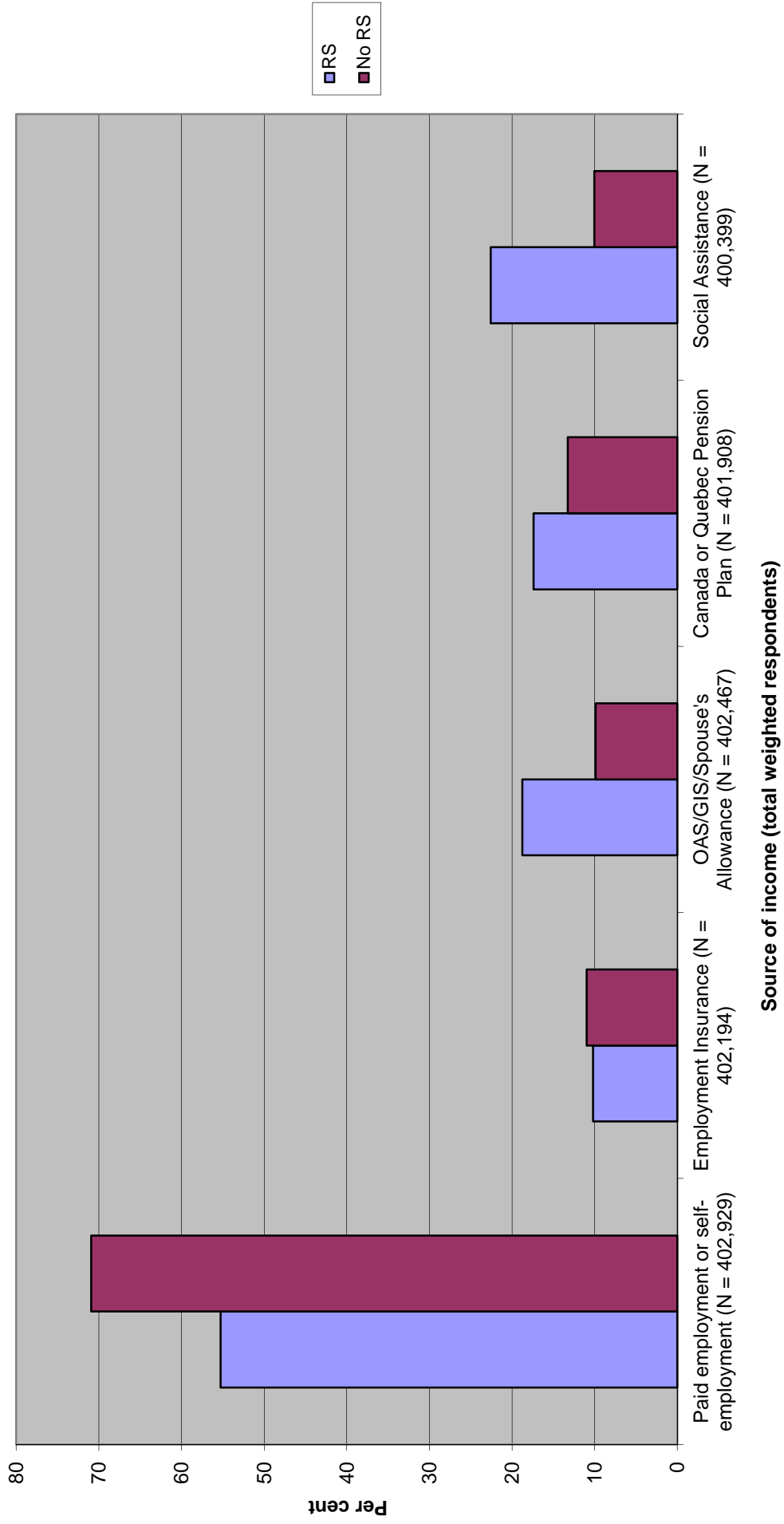


Figure 19: Employment Income (N =405,987)

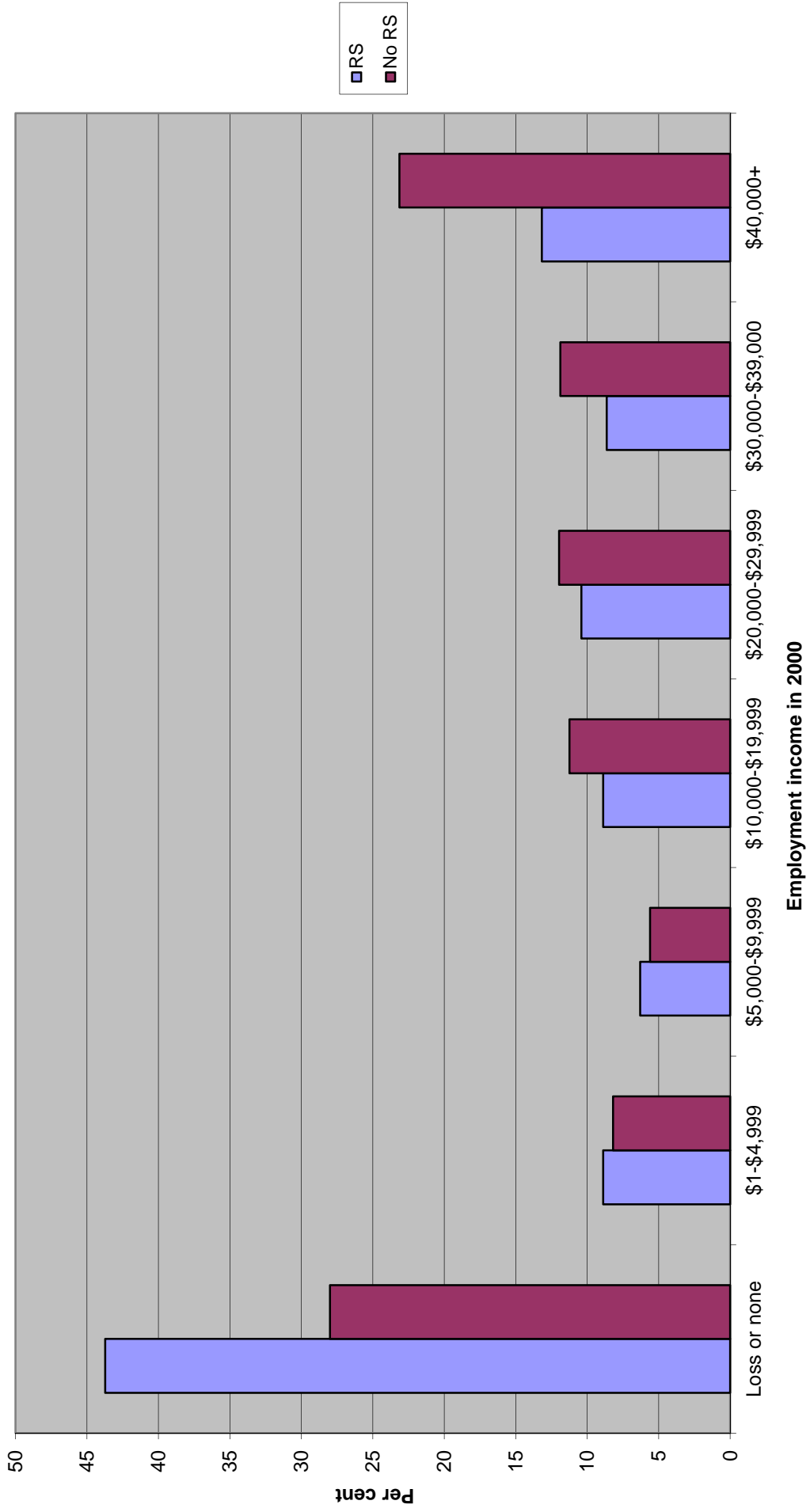


Figure 20: Total Government Transfers (N = 405,987)

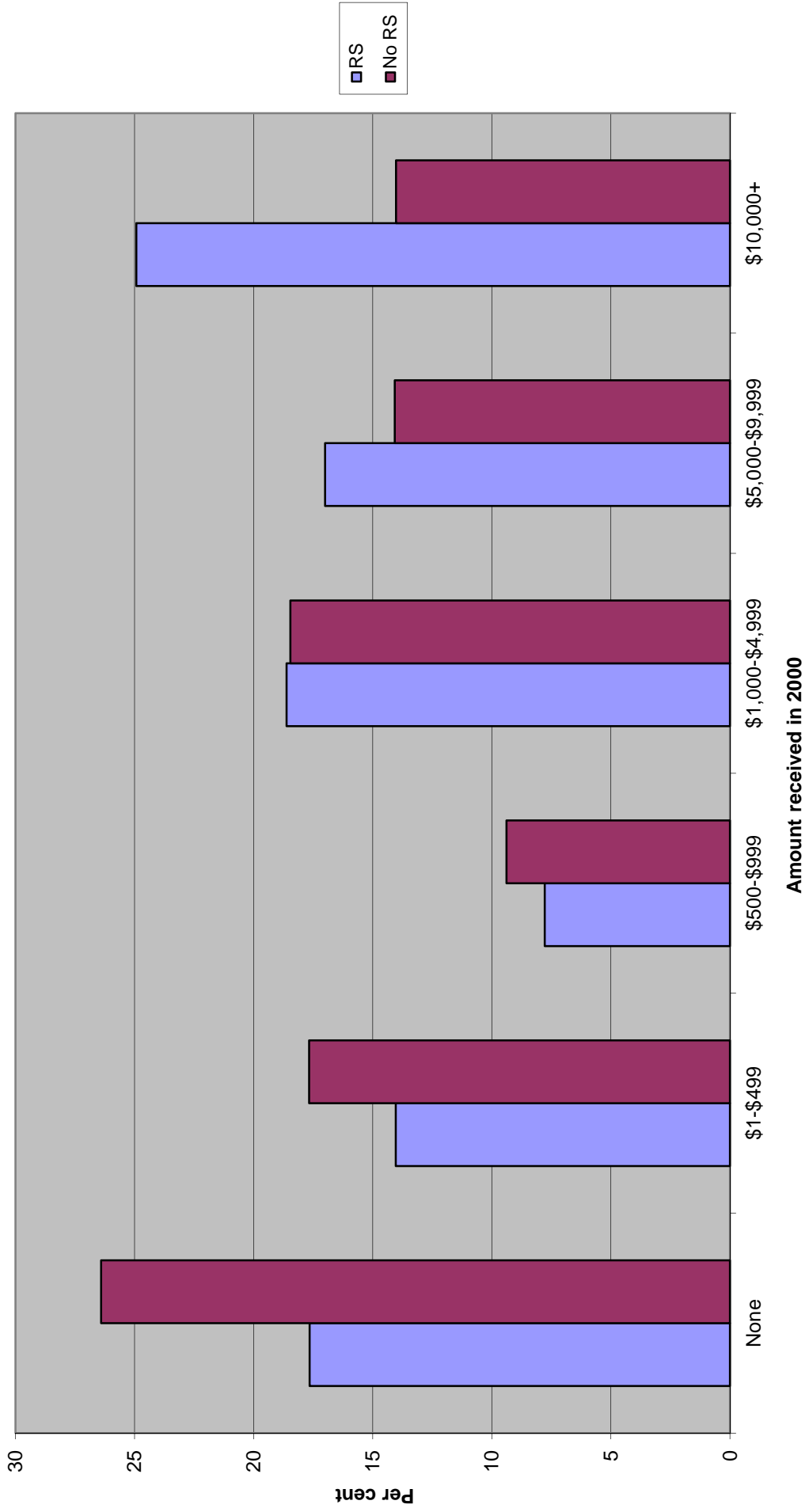


Figure 21: Total Income (N = 405,987)

