

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY
IN A LOW-INCOME AREA OF THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

Being A Report Of A Research Project Sub-
mitted In Partial Fulfillment of The
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Of Social Work

by

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ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory study of the residential mobility of 172 Indian and non-Indian family units living in designated poverty areas and 42 family units from a middle income area of the City of Winnipeg. The project was conducted by a group of second year students at the University of Manitoba School of Social Work following an invitation by the Canadian Welfare Council to participate in a national study of low-income families.

The study sought to answer several questions about residential mobility: the extent of the residential mobility of the sample, why the families moved, what variables were related to the reasons for moving, whether families were satisfied with their move, whether the circumstances that caused the move were still present and whether there were any relationships between reasons for moving and satisfaction with the last move.

Data was obtained by the personal administration of structured interview schedules.

It was found that the residential mobility of each of the three groups studied was both qualitatively and quantitatively different. Approximately one half of the poverty sample and one quarter of the middle income sample moved at least once in the three year study period. The Indian poverty group showed a particularly high rate of mobility. Two reasons for moving accounted for more than one half of all reasons given; these included reasons related to features of housing and reasons signifying involuntary movement. The family units which were the most mobile tended to have one or more of the following family characteristics: lower annual income, separated marital

status, large family size and single member units over sixty years of age. Generally, most families showed satisfaction with their last move, with this trend being less prominent in the Indian group. Most families stated that the circumstances causing the move were no longer present. Some family units, particularly in the non-Indian sample, indicated intention to move again.

The general information derived from this project provides a background for further research studies.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research project was to study a specific societal phenomenon, residential mobility, its effect on and relationship to the poverty group in the City of Winnipeg, as further subdivided into the Indian poverty group and non-Indian poverty group. Our study was exploratory in nature to enable us to determine the extent of, reasons for, and results of the residential mobility of the poor and also to enable us to search for and identify any significant relationships among the factors involved in this mobility. A small middle income group was included in the total sample for comparative purposes. It was hoped that the information gained would increase our knowledge and understanding of the attitudes and behaviour patterns of the poor. It is only through such an awareness of the life style of the poor, their wants and needs, that effective services can be provided to help alleviate this poverty.

This project was a part of a major longitudinal study of urban low-income families in Canada undertaken by the Canadian Welfare Council and financed by a grant from the Laidlaw Foundation. The larger study, entitled National Urban Low-Income Family Evaluation (hereafter called NULIFE) was concerned with the broader social problem of urban poverty in Canada. Its purpose was to focus on the research needs and gaps in our present knowledge about the Canadian poor, with the goal of ultimately affecting the development of policy and programs by the government and voluntary health and welfare agencies. The

present study was conducted by eleven students in their second year at the University of Manitoba School of Social Work who were asked to select one aspect of the larger NULIFE study in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Social Work.

In the past two years, much concern has been expressed about the problem of poverty in Canada. In an affluent society such as ours, the consequences of this social problem are serious and dangerous, not only for the poor themselves but also for the progress and welfare of the whole country. The Canadian Government, in the 1965 Speech from the Throne, made a formal commitment to undertake a war against poverty. This was in recognition of the fact that the factors perpetuating poverty are social and economic in nature, as well as individual and that social responsibility must be accepted by the government and social action taken if poverty is ever to be alleviated. Social Work also has its place in seeking answers to the problems of poverty and in initiating social action to try and combat it. It is generally recognized that our affluent industrial society has developed a new kind of poverty, the poverty of the "underdog" or "pariah" classes. The poor of today are what Michael Harrington refers to as "internal exiles."¹ By the very nature of their poverty, they are unable to benefit from the progress the rest of the country is experiencing and therefore are unable to lift themselves out of their impoverished situation.

The extent of poverty in Canada is considerable. In 1964, it was estimated by the Ontario Federation of Labour that 22 per cent (over four million) of non-farm families and individuals and 46 per cent (almost one million) of farm

¹Michael Harrington, The Other America (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 174.

families and individuals were living in poverty.² These people will remain in poverty unless effective programs are established to help them re-enter the mainstream of industrial society. Before resources and opportunities can be made available to the poor, it is first necessary to know what the impoverished person thinks, feels, and wants. Very few studies have been carried out in relation to the poverty group in Canada. The information we do have comes mainly from two major case history studies on urban and rural poor in Canada undertaken by the Canadian Welfare Council in 1965.³ The findings from these studies are only tentative and do not include the viewpoint held by the individuals and families of the poverty group. These studies do indicate the fact that many Canadians live in conditions which can only be considered as poverty-stricken: their housing is inadequate, they suffer from ill health, have only marginal incomes, are undereducated and poorly trained, have had few opportunities, and are excluded from various kinds of interaction in the community. It is generally believed that these factors are interrelated and constitute a "culture of poverty" which is passed on from one generation to another. No Canadian study has been done that validates this hypothesis about the culture of poverty. There is a paucity of information about the living style of the poor in Canada and the way in which their problems form global networks or systems of interacting factors. If we are ever to break through the "vicious circle of poverty," it is most important that this information be obtained.

The NULIFE study was undertaken in recognition of and response to the

²Ontario Federation of Labour, Poverty in Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Federation of Labour, 1964), p. 10.

³These studies were under the sponsorship respectively of the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council and ARDA.

existing gaps in our knowledge on the Canadian poor and was concerned with finding out the beliefs, attitudes, aspirations, and life patterns of the poor in seven interrelated areas: housing, budgeting, employment, health, welfare, education, and social involvement. The members of the research group were particularly interested in one of these areas--housing. In the past year there has been much public concern surrounding the housing problems of the poverty group in Winnipeg, especially in regards to slums and urban renewal. The location of the urban community of the poor is generally in the "inner city" where the houses are old, dilapidated, unsafe, and unsanitary, the neighbourhoods are crowded and often seriously deficient in parks, playgrounds, and certain social services adequate to the needs of the people living there. The slums of the poor also seem to be a breeding ground for crime, delinquency, prostitution, and other social problems. Urban renewal, an attempt to create more adequate housing for the poor, often creates new problems for the poor. When a slum is torn down for urban renewal, only a portion of its former inhabitants get accepted into the new low-rent housing. The displaced families who do not get accepted have no choice but to move into another old run-down house much like the one they left. This recently occurred in Winnipeg.

Alvin Schorr suggests, as seen in Chapter II of this study, that housing has a great impact on people's attitudes and behaviour and, in this way, influences their ability to avoid poverty or leave it behind.⁴ Other studies reveal that housing is a deep source of anxiety for the poor and that within the inner

⁴Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1963), p. 31.

city there occurs a "perennial search for better housing."⁵ Northwood refers to the high rate of residential mobility in the inner city and other studies confirm this.

As the residential mobility of the poor is a significant aspect of their life style and is closely related to housing, our research group became particularly interested in studying this mobility as the focus of our project. Residential mobility is a very important aspect of modern, industrial society. From the 1961 Census of Canada, it was determined that within a five year period 42 per cent of the population changed their residence at least once. In Manitoba, 41 per cent of the population moved at least once, while in Winnipeg the rate was 47.8 per cent. Of particular interest was the fact that the highest rate of movement in Winnipeg, 52.4 per cent, was found in Lord Selkirk Park, an area of the city where many of the poor live.⁶

Numerous studies have been done, especially in the United States, in the residential mobility of the society as a whole and of the middle class.⁷ In contrast, very few studies have been done in the residential mobility of the poor and those that have been conducted have mainly been concerned with the rate of mobility. We know from various studies that the residential mobility of the middle class is a functional adaptation to modern industrial society.⁸ The middle class generally move to bring housing into line with housing needs

⁵Lawrence K. Northwood, "Deterioration of the Inner City," Social Work and Social Problems, ed. Nathan Cohen (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1964), p. 207.

⁶Census of Canada 1961, Bulletin CX - 1, Catalogue: 95-541.

⁷These studies are discussed in some detail in Chapter II.

⁸Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955)

and their decisions to move are usually associated with life cycle and career pattern of the family. The research group felt that there are factors in the environment of the poor which might affect their mobility and make it differ from that of the middle class. The environment of the poor is one of sub-standard housing, blighted neighbourhoods, little money, no economic security, and few opportunities. We wondered what effect these factors and others, such as the shortage of adequate housing for the poor, have on the poverty groups' attitudes and behaviour patterns in regards to their residential mobility. The Indian and Metis constitute a large percentage of the poverty group in Winnipeg. We wondered if they have unique problems concerning residential mobility because of additional factors such as discrimination. We therefore decided to study the Indian and Metis as a separate sub-group of the poverty group. It was felt that if we were able to gain more knowledge about the behaviour patterns of the poverty group, both Indian and non-Indian, in regards to their residential mobility--how often they move, why they move, what variables are involved in their moves, that we might be able to identify certain problem areas. Social welfare services can then be directed towards these areas where they are most needed.

Included in our study were family units living in three areas of Metropolitan Winnipeg, two poverty areas and one middle income area as specified by the Community Welfare Planning Council of Greater Winnipeg in cooperation with the Planning Division of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg. The poverty areas chosen were bounded by Notre Dame Avenue on the south, McPhillips Street on the west, Burrows Avenue on the north and the Red River to Point Douglas on the east. A poverty area in which some change, such as

urban renewal, had occurred included the Census Tracts 4, 5, 10, 11, and 12; a poverty area in which no change had occurred included the Census Tracts 19, 22, and 23. The middle income area was bounded by Wavell Avenue on the south, Osborne Street on the west, Bartlett Avenue on the north, and Fisher Street on the east.

The time covered by this study was from September 1966 to May 1967 of the 1966 to 1967 academic year. The interviewing of the sample was carried out by the eleven students in the research group, First Year Social Work students, and a community interviewer.

The population of this project was 1000 dwelling units randomly selected from the specified geographic areas by the NULIFE study. From this population, the School of Social Work was given a random sample of 400 addresses of dwelling units, 300 in designated poverty areas and 100 in the designated middle income area. The total sample of this study was arrived at by administering an interview schedule on a random basis to family units living within the specified areas and dwelling units.

The focus of our study was on a comparative analysis of the extent of, factors involved in, and family characteristics of the mobile sample and the three groups within it--the Indian poverty group, non-Indian poverty group, and middle income group. We were interested in determining the frequency of the residential mobility of the groups, the reasons for moving, satisfaction with moves, and intention to move again. In looking at the frequency of moves, we looked at only those family units who had moved within a three year time span from January 1, 1964 to December 31, 1966. In studying the factors involved in residential mobility, the project was concerned specifically with the last move. Also, in relation to the middle income sample, the project studied only

those family units whose annual income did not exceed \$8000.

The family characteristics of the mobile groups--annual family income, marital status, size of family, and stage of family life cycle, were analyzed to determine if any relationship existed between these variables and reasons for moving. The characteristics of the mobile sample were also compared to the total sample to ascertain if there were any unique characteristics associated with residential mobility. Because the focus of our study was on mobility, the non-mobile sample was not studied as a separate group but only as it was found within the total sample.

A limitation implicit in this research project was that we accepted the answers given by the interviewees as being accurate and made no attempt to check the validity of the responses to many of the questions. Closely connected to this was the fact that we relied entirely on the memory of the respondent in answering the questions on frequency of residential mobility and factors involved in residential mobility and a limitation in doing so was that the time span between the move and the interview may have affected the respondent's memory and therefore his replies. Another limitation was that certain variables were not included in the study, variables which we know from other studies may affect rate and reasons for moving. These include distance and direction of move, occupation, education, sex of head of household, owners and renters, and cultural influences other than Indian ethnicity. There also may be other variables which we did not account for which may affect the validity of our study. We studied factors in the previous residence that lead the family unit to move from the house ("the push"), but we did not study the factors that influenced the family unit towards the new house ("the pull") and this is a limitation as we know that both of these factors have importance. Also, we studied causes

of residential mobility and other variables for the last move only, which is a limitation of this study as these variables may not be typical of other moves.

It is necessary to define several terms as they have been used within the context of this research project. These include:

"Residential Mobility": movement of a family unit from one place of abode to another.

"Dwelling Unit": a place of abode designated by a street and number within which one or more family units may reside.

"Family Unit": one or more persons in a household that share an income.

"Mobile Family Unit": a family unit that has moved between January 1, 1964 and December 31, 1966.

"Indian Family Unit": a family unit the head of which professes to be of Indian or Metis racial origin.

"Non-Indian Family Unit": a family unit the head of which professes to be of any racial origin other than Indian or Metis.

"Family Head": a male adult, except where no male spouse legal or common law; then a female adult.

"Poverty Group": those family units residing in designated poverty areas regardless of income.

"Middle Income Group": those family units residing in the designated middle income area whose annual income does not exceed \$8000.

"Income": all monies coming into the family unit.

"Voluntary Move": a residential move in which the family unit had a clear choice between staying and moving.

"Involuntary Move": a residential move in which the family unit did not have a clear choice between staying and moving.

"Family Life Cycle": that process of the family's development that can be divided into the following stages:

- (1) single adult under sixty years of age
- (2) married adult(s), legal or common law, no children
- (3) married adult(s), legal or common law, children sixteen years and under
- (4) married adult(s), legal or common law, all children over sixteen years
- (5) single member family unit sixty years of age and over

The basic concern of this study was to identify and relate elements contributing to the process of residential mobility. This concern arose from nine questions to which the study is addressed. These include:

1. What is the extent of residential mobility of the three groups, Indian poverty, non-Indian poverty, and middle income groups?
2. What were the reasons for moving from the last residence for each of the three mobile groups?
3. Are there reasons for moving common to each mobile group?
4. What variables are related to the reasons for moving and the rate of residential mobility?
5. Was the move from the last residence voluntary or involuntary?
6. Were the mobile family units satisfied or dissatisfied with their last move?
7. Are the circumstances that caused the last move still present?
8. Are there relationships between certain reasons for moves and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the moves, within the groups involved?
9. Are there relationships among the variables we are exploring which could

lead to a hypothesis regarding residential mobility in the poverty group?

A basic assumption of this research study was that the residential mobility of a family unit is precipitated by some cause or causes which can be identified through an interview with the mobile family head and family unit. It was also assumed that where a responsible adult, other than the head of the household, was interviewed that he would accurately represent the general attitudes of the family unit. In order to gain a general insight into the mobility experience of the urban Indian people as a whole, it was felt that those family units of Metis origin should be included in the Indian sample. An assumption was therefore made that the cultural background of the Indian and Metis was sufficiently similar as to allow analysis and study as one group, without affecting the validity of findings. As the purpose of our study was to learn more about the residential mobility of the three groups, as they themselves saw it, we assumed that the answers given by the respondents were correct and that the validity of the findings would not be affected by the time lag between the actual move and the research interview. An assumption was also made that the interpretive skill of the interviewer through the administration of a structured interview schedule was, for the purpose of this study, the most reliable source of gathering data.

A formulative and exploratory design was used in our research project because of the lack of available knowledge on the residential mobility of the poverty group, a lack which prevented us from formulating a hypothesis and testing variables in a more controlled way. This method enabled us to collect basic information pertaining to the residential mobility of the three groups in the sample and to search for causal relationships among certain variables. It was hoped that this would lead to the formulation of hypotheses which could

then be tested in other research projects.

The method used for data collection was a structured interview schedule personally administered to family units in the designated poverty and middle income areas. A sample of 400 dwelling units was randomly selected from the specified geographic areas and door-to-door interviews were completed with 224 family units. The order in which the family units were interviewed was on a random basis.

The data recorded on the interview schedules was organized according to area and ethnic origin into three groupings, Indian poverty, non-Indian poverty, and middle income; each of these groupings was then further sub-divided into mobile and non-mobile groups. The data was then transferred to tally sheets and the mobile sample and groups therein were analyzed as to the frequency of moves, reasons for moving, and results of moving, in particular, degree of satisfaction with the move, whether the reason that precipitated the move is still present, and intent to move again in the near future. Family characteristics pertaining to annual income, size of family, marital status, and stage of family life cycle were analyzed in the mobile sample to search for any relationships that might exist between these and other variables. The characteristics of the mobile sample was compared to those of the total sample to determine the similarities and differences between the two. The findings were presented in narrative and statistical form and use was made of tables and a bar graph for classification, cross-classification, and comparative purposes.

Before discussing method in detail, the background literature will first be reviewed.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND LITERATURE AND PREVIOUS STUDIES

Reference was made in Chapter I to the recent increased concern about the grave problem of poverty in our affluent modern-day society. This concern, which is expressed in a growing quantity of material written on poverty, has culminated in the governments of both Canada and the United States declaring an unconditioned "war on poverty." The literature on poverty includes some description of the residential mobility of the poor as an aspect of their life style and also of the housing of the poor, which is closely connected with their residential mobility. Our reading thus centered around these three main areas: poverty, the housing of the poor, and residential mobility both of the general population and of the poor. In our review of background literature and previous studies, we found that the amount of material available on poverty was extensive, also on the housing of the poor and the general mobility of the population. However, few studies have been conducted on the residential mobility of the poor and even fewer on the residential mobility of the Indian poor.

Wilensky and Lebeaux, in their book Industrial Society and Social Welfare, present a comprehensive picture of the dynamic elements present in modern industrial society. It is within this broader socio-cultural context that both poverty and residential mobility must be viewed. Wilensky and Lebeaux suggest that a high degree of residential mobility, resulting from an increased demand for a mobile industrial labour force, is a major characteristic of Western society. This mobility is accompanied by other changes in the social order

including urbanization, specialization of occupation with more emphasis on achievement, a new and enlarged middle class, and an accent on the nuclear family. From these social changes, there emerges both social progress as well as social problems. One of the most prevalent and pressing social problems in our urban-industrial society is that of poverty.¹

In his book The Other America, Michael Harrington vividly describes what it means to be poor in an affluent society, who the poor are, how poverty is defined, and the extent of poverty. To define poverty by income alone is not sufficient. Harrington suggests that poverty should be defined in terms of those who are denied the minimal levels of health, housing, food and education that our present state of technological and scientific knowledge specifies for life as it is lived in this country. A definition of poverty should also include those whose rightful place in society is denied them because they are psychologically handicapped, and are unable to take advantage of new opportunities. Lastly, reference must be made to the conditions of contemporary life because the poor do not share in the gains of prosperous times, but invariably suffer the hardships of bad times.²

The structural and social changes brought about by industrialization and urbanism have created a certain kind of poverty with certain characteristics. The aged, migrant workers, people with low education, children and female-headed families are the groups who are the most vulnerable to poverty in our society. These are the people who are "immune to progress". Harrington

¹Harold Wilensky and Charles Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958), pp. 49-133.

²Michael Harrington, The Other America (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1963), p. 175.

Michael Harrington, ibid., p. 13.

Michael Harrington, ibid., p. 134.

states:

The other Americans are the victims of the very inventions and machines that have provided a higher living standard for the rest of society. They are upside-down in the economy, and for them greater productivity often means worse jobs; agriculture advance becomes hunger.³

According to Harrington, the extent of poverty in the United States is alarmingly large and the numbers, rather than diminishing, are increasing. Approximately one-quarter of the population of the United States is presently living in poverty or deprivation. A disturbing factor about this poverty is that it is so invisible.

The other America, the America of poverty, is hidden today in a way it never was before. Its millions are socially invisible to the rest of us. . . . They have no face; they have no voice.⁴

The character of modern poverty, Harrington suggests, has changed considerably from previous periods in the history of North America. At one time poverty was associated with immigrant groups and was considered to be a temporary state. The poverty of today is a way of life and the poor lack the hope, aspirations, and opportunities to better their position that was characteristic of the immigrant poor. The meaning of poverty is described by Harrington as follows:

In short, being poor is not one aspect of a person's life in this country; it is his life. Taken as a whole, poverty is a culture.⁵

The poor have a distinctive set of values and behaviour traits that set them off from the rest of the population. Their style of life is shaped by prolonged economic deprivation and uncertainty. The poor lack education and skill,

³Michael Harrington, *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴Michael Harrington, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵Michael Harrington, *Ibid.*, p. 158.

have bad housing, poor health, low levels of aspiration and high levels of mental distress. Each disability is the more intense because it exists within a web of disability. The poor are more exposed to illness due to poor housing conditions and unhygienic circumstances whereby they have less possibility for treatment. Thus it can be seen, Harrington states, that their problems are intrinsically interrelated in causation and in influence one on the other, and the culture of poverty becomes persisting and perpetuating from generation to generation.

Leonard Schneiderman's⁶ study broadens our understanding of this poverty culture. He suggests that it is a fallacy to view the culture of poverty as being dysfunctional and states that it is actually a positive, stable, persistent way of life which is functional for survival in the limited environment and life style of the impoverished. It may appear disorganized but this is only because it is a style of life severely maladapted for success in a middle-class urban society. He states:

The life style of the chronically impoverished is not so much disorganized as it is differently organized. The appearance of disorganization is largely a function of the ethnocentricity of the middle class community which tends to see what is different as pathological or wrong and what is wrong as lacking order.⁷

This theory is extremely valuable for understanding the residential mobility of the poor group as a part of their life style and the nature of the community in which they live.

In the report of the Special Planning Secretariat, "Profile of Poverty

⁶Leonard Schneiderman, "The Culture of Poverty--A Study of the Value-Oriented Preferences of the Chronically Impoverished" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1965).

⁷Leonard Schneiderman, *Ibid.*, p. 161.

in Canada,"⁸ the role of attitudes and the development and perpetuation of poverty in Canada is discussed. The report states, in agreement with Harrington, that the poverty group is characterized by attitudes of pessimism and defeat and therefore their motivation towards means of self-improvement is far from strong. Included in this is their lack of motivation towards residential mobility. The poor feel alienated from the rest of society and are not as ready to move to different provinces or different areas of the city in an attempt to improve their life situation as are the other members of society. Attitudes of society also cause this poverty culture.

Society rejects the poor, holds them apart and prevents them, either directly or by its general attitude towards the change of economic and social institutions, from crossing into regions of prosperity. In turn, because of their poverty, the poor develop adjustments to their environment which contribute equally to this vicious circle and prevent them from taking advantage of opportunities for individual development.⁹

A large proportion of our Canadian population, this report reveals, 20 per cent to 25 per cent are presently living in impoverished conditions. It discusses many factors that urgently need to be dealt with if Canada is to do something constructive towards alleviating the poverty in our midst. One of the main areas that it is particularly concerned with is housing.

Alvin Schorr in his book Slums and Social Insecurity presents very useful background material on the poor and their problems in housing. He describes poverty as being a syndrome of mutually reinforcing handicaps, with advances in one area, such as housing, contributing to advances in other areas.

⁸"Profile of Poverty in Canada, Based on a Paper Prepared by the Special Planning Secretariat" (Privy Council, Ottawa, 1966), (mimeographed).

⁹"Profile of Poverty in Canada, Based on a Paper Prepared by the Special Planning Secretariat," p. 4.

Schorr found that the type of housing which people occupy influences their health, behaviour, and attitudes, particularly if the housing is inadequate. In a myriad of ways, housing affects ability to improve one's circumstances and therefore he hypothesizes that it has a significant relationship to whether people can move out of or stay out of poverty. Schorr refers to a person's house and neighbourhood as being extensions of self.¹⁰

This book also deals with the reasons families have for wanting to change their place of residence. Schorr suggests that poor people take the housing they can afford, making choices within a very narrow range. He sees the mobility of the middle class, on the other hand, as being closely connected to the family's life stage and composition, to aspirations to move upward socially or, simply to live better—"consumership."¹¹ But this "middle-class wish," he points out, is not necessarily the wish of the poverty group, or if it is, it is not necessarily within their attainment. Some of the persons in the poverty group may wish to stay within the inner city among "their own kind." Others lack the money or credit to find the housing they desire. Discrimination restricts the choice of housing for some, while suitable housing is not available for others. The families most likely to be found in sub-standard housing, Schorr suggests, are those of a racial minority, the aged, large families, old people, rural immigrants, the uneducated, and the families headed by a mother. These families are also very likely to be poor.¹²

Schorr discusses the difficulty the poor have in competently managing

¹⁰ Alvin Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1963), p. 31.

¹¹ Alvin Schorr, Ibid., p. 36.

¹² Alvin Schorr, loc. cit.

change. He states:

Those who are poor are more often at the mercy of events: they do not have the money, the contacts, or the attitudes which make it possible to bend events to their will. Poor people are the most often affected by housing changes and the least often in a position to influence it.¹³

Urban renewal, he found, often tends to create new problems for the poverty group. Families forced from blighted neighbourhoods must find new homes and these are not always available.

A recent article in the Winnipeg Tribune substantiates this statement of Schorr's, illustrating the critical nature of this problem in Winnipeg. The article reports:

When a slum is torn down it is only a handful of the "upper-class poor" that get accepted into new low-rent housing. Hundreds of displaced families--the rejects and leftovers from the new housing project--get another old run-down house much like the one they left. . . . Winnipeg cannot find suitable housing for needy families at the prices they can afford to pay. Only "slum housing" is available at cheap rates.¹⁴

The extent of education, deep-rooted feelings about family and neighbourhood, resentment of outside interference and lack of income to pay higher rent are all problems associated with relocation of the poor.

Lawrence Northwood in his article "The Deterioration of the Inner City" gives a very comprehensive picture of the environment conditions under which many of the poverty group live. He concludes:

The inner city is not only a relic mound of the past, it is the dumping ground of the present. It is overpopulated by the poor. Many do not live there by choice; they lack the steady income to live elsewhere. Because of inadequate income and the high cost of living, the poor must crowd together, often with many

¹³Alvin Schorr, Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁴Winnipeg Tribune, October 22, 1966, p. 1.

families in a dwelling unit that once housed one family.¹⁵

The houses of the inner city, according to Northwood, are old, dilapidated, unsafe, and unsanitary; the neighbourhoods are crowded, often seriously deficient in parks, playgrounds, and social services adequate to the needs of people living there; schools are often inferior; and certain forms of adult recreation and commercialized vice are inappropriate for family life. He refers to the high mobility into, out of, and within this area which he terms as a "perennial search for better housing" and notes that "though the slum-dweller moves whenever he can in search of better housing, he does not move far."¹⁶

The Canadian Welfare Council's study Urban Need in Canada, 1965 revealed that housing is a source of deep anxiety for the poor in Canada. The condition of housing was bad or unfit to live in for almost one-half of the sample group studied; the most inadequate housing was found to be occupied by the aged, broken families, and Indians. Overcrowding was common and rent was high. Food and rent consumed almost 20 per cent of all income of the poor families, which necessitated many moves to try and find a reasonable balance between what the family could afford and what was tolerable. In regards to the attitudes of the poor group about their housing, the study reported that 65 per cent of the sample felt that their present home was limited or inadequate for their needs; yet 70 per cent of the families stated that they had no intention to move.¹⁷

¹⁵Lawrence K. Northwood, "Deterioration of the Inner City," Social Work and Social Problems, ed. Nathan Cohen (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1964), p. 224.

¹⁶Lawrence K. Northwood, Ibid., p. 207.

¹⁷Canadian Welfare Council, Urban Need in Canada, 1965: A Case Report on the Problems of Families in Four Canadian Cities (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1965), pp. 19-32.

To understand the residential mobility of the poor, it is first helpful to look at broad society and to ascertain why the whole society is on the move. Wilensky and Lebeaux state that change and movement are inherent in industrialization. The worker is dependent, in an industrialized society, on the employer and the labour market whose changing demands necessitate frequent job changes, which often involves residential mobility. According to Wilensky and Lebeaux, geographic mobility is very high for the whole population but is highest among those who conform closest to the kinship pattern dominant in the urban middle class. They suggest that:

. . . there is reason to believe that mobility (in houses, jobs, income) among professions becomes a regular pattern of urban life, and does not have the disruptive effect that even a much smaller amount of mobility has on working class families.¹⁸

Peter Rossi in his book Why Families Move also points out the high degree of mobility in modern society, with one person in five shifting residence over a period of one year. In looking more closely at the factors involved in this mobility Rossi states:

The mobility which characterizes our urban places is made up of countless thousands of individual moves. Each individual move is not a random event but determined by the household's needs, dissatisfactions, and aspirations. There is an underlying social psychological "order" to the apparently restless milling-about of our urban population.¹⁹

He suggests that an adequate understanding of mobility requires a knowledge of what moving means to individual households--the part mobility plays in the family's life, needs, desires, and aspirations.

The main factor involved in mobility, Rossi found, was the family life

¹⁸Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, op. cit., p. 83.

¹⁹Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955), p. 177.

cycle. He hypothesized that mobility is a mechanism by which a family's housing is brought into adjustment with its housing needs. Needs change as the family goes through its life cycle and housing varies considerably in its ability to satisfy changing family needs. The gap between the needs and the inflexibility of urban housing in meeting these needs produces the high rate of urban residential mobility. Housing needs, Rossi explains, are determined primarily by the composition of the household. Families change as they go through the life cycle of growth where needs are greatest and then decline. When the family is young and growing it has pressing needs for more space and also is more sensitive to the physical and social environment within which the residence is located. Less space is needed when children grow up and leave the family and generally another move occurs at this time.

In his study, Rossi did not discuss the residential mobility of the poor. He classified all moves into two categories, voluntary moves where the household had a clear choice between staying or moving and forced moves where this choice was not present. The forced moves made up 39 per cent of all moves and Rossi did not study these at all. It is the poverty group that largely makes up those families who were forced to move.

Leslie and Richardson's study²⁰ reveals that a decision to move is the result of various "pushes" from the original dwelling and "pulls" towards the new one. They found that 29 per cent of all moves were involuntary, due to such things as divorce, eviction, marriage, and a job in a distant location. In contrast to Rossi, they concluded that it was not life cycle but career

²⁰G. Leslie and A. Richardson, "Life Cycle, Career Pattern, and Decision to Move," American Sociological Review, XXVI, No. 2 (December 1961), pp. 894-902.

pattern factors such as social mobility expectations that correlated highly with residential mobility. Two families may have the same number of people and space but only one family will move. This may be explained by the fact that families without significant residential mobility potential may rationalize the same features which mobile family units list as objectionable.

Very few studies are focused on the reasons why the poor move. Most authors think of the poor as moving aimlessly and continually, but never really bettering their position. Mann,²¹ in his study of the inner-city slum area of Toronto, found that the rate of mobility was characteristically high, with the majority of moves being made within the area. Only 15 per cent of all the moves in a given year were shifts to a higher status district. In one school, he discovered that the turn-over of the children was almost 100 per cent in a ten month school year. Of these, three quarters of the moves were attributed to one quarter of the families, the hard-core movers who through sheer economic pressure may move three or four times a year. This hard-core group merely shifts from one residence to another within an area of a few blocks.

A study dealing specifically with a sample population from the poverty group was conducted in 1960 by Michael Copperman.²² He is concerned mainly with the rate of mobility but does speculate on certain causes. His finding revealed that almost one-half of all the families studied (47 per cent) did not move at all during a two year period, while one third moved only once.

²¹W. E. Mann, "The Social System of a Slum: The Lower Ward, Toronto," Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society, ed. S. D. Clark (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 44-61.

²²Michael Copperman, "Residential Mobility of a Group of Public Welfare Clients," Social Casework, XLV (July 1964), pp. 407-412.

Eight families moved five times or more and accounted for 62 per cent of all the moves. From these statistics, Copperman concluded that it is incorrect to say that all public welfare clients are excessively mobile.

Copperman found that family size and place of residence characterized families that moved. Large families moved less often than small ones and Copperman attributed this to the fact that they have less choice of housing and they are more likely to have completed the growth and moving cycle. His results also showed a significantly higher rate of residential mobility in a particular community noted for its great concentration of social ills. It was a small number of families in this area who moved a disproportionate number of times. Copperman suggests that one of the causes of residential mobility may be the inability of some families to manage their finances, regardless of the adequacy of the budget. Residential mobility in itself is neither healthy nor unhealthy, rather, it depends on the number of moves and circumstances surrounding them. One of the most significant comments in the study was that excessive mobility is usually not a basic cause of the family's problems, rather it is a symptom of malfunctioning; but, it can become a causal factor in the family's continued malfunctioning.

The study by the Canadian Welfare Council Urban Need in Canada, 1965²³ revealed that the poverty group in Canada is very active in terms of movement; this movement is mainly within the city. The study found that 65 per cent of the total sample moved at least once in a five year period, with one half of these families moving from two to eight times. It also found that

²³Canadian Welfare Council, Urban Need in Canada, 1965: A Case Report on the Problems of Families in Four Canadian Cities (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1965).

low income is directly correlated with a lack of sense of belonging or group participation. Those with the better homes tended to be those who disliked their neighbourhood and wanted to move out, while those with the worst homes liked the neighbourhood.

The Legasse Report,²⁴ one of the few studies concerning Indian mobility, deals mainly with reasons why Indians and Metis move to the city. Once they have moved to Winnipeg, there is a general instability of residence. The report states that this is an evidence of instability of employment, of family life, and of community life. Legasse suggests that moving indicates that tenants are looking for something better. Promise of a better place of residence, he found, caused many families to go down the street or over a few blocks.

A review of literature thus reveals that the chronically poor exist within a specific culture, the "culture of poverty," that is significantly different in value orientation from that of the dominant culture in society today. The life style of those who live in a state of poverty is shaped by a much different environment than that which influences the general population. Their environment is one of sub-standard housing, racial discrimination, blighted neighbourhoods, unemployment or underemployment, little money, and no economic security. They suffer from poor health, disability (mental and physical), age, lack of an education, large often one-parent families, and few opportunities. These factors interact and reinforce one another and tend to make the poor very vulnerable to crises situations. They also affect the poverty group's attitudes and behavior in regards to residential mobility.

²⁴ Jean H. Legasse, A Study of the People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, II (Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959).

Past studies on residential mobility point out the complexity of this phenomenon and the need to consider a variety of factors in the life style and environment of the poor in order to understand the nature of their residential mobility in a modern, industrial society.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This research project was undertaken by a group of eleven students in the Masters year programme at the University of Manitoba School of Social Work. Our group was invited to participate in a national study on urban poverty in Canada being carried out under the sponsorship of the Canadian Welfare Council in Ottawa and the Community Welfare Planning Council in Winnipeg. The purpose of the NULIFE study was to gain a more comprehensive picture of the attitudes, beliefs, and life style of poverty families as they themselves saw them to be. From the initial broad focus of poverty, our research group became interested in the area of housing and from this we narrowed our focus to the residential mobility of the poor. (See Chapter I for rationale.) Background material, including related research studies and theoretical literature on poverty, housing, and residential mobility was discussed in our group. From these discussions nine questions were formulated, as outlined in Chapter I, pertaining to the patterns of residential mobility of the poor. For comparative purposes, we also studied the patterns of residential mobility of middle income family units. Because of the scarcity of literature on the residential mobility of the poor, our study was formulative and exploratory in design.

The source of data for the project was a sample of family units living in designated poverty areas and a designated middle income area. An interview schedule was personally administered to the head of the household or a

responsible adult in the household eighteen years of age or older, in door-to-door interviews. The responses of the interviewee were recorded on the schedule.

The sample was obtained by the following process. The NULIFE study selected a random sample of 1000 dwelling units in Winnipeg, 900 from designated poverty areas and 100 from a designated middle-income area. Income statistics from census tract bulletins of the 1961 Canadian census were used to identify the low-income and middle-income census tracts. One half of the low-income sample was randomly drawn from the "impact area" of a major urban renewal project. The Community Welfare Planning Council of Greater Winnipeg in cooperation with the Planning Division of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg delineated "poverty blocks" within each census tract in the low-income area. Dwelling units were enumerated within these blocks for the poverty areas and within "non-poverty blocks" for the middle-income area. The final stage was a random sampling of dwelling units.

From the NULIFE sample, our Research Advisor obtained a sample of 400 randomly selected dwelling units, 300 from the designated poverty areas and 100 from the designated middle-income area. As a dwelling unit could conceivably contain more than one family unit, the NULIFE study instructed interviewers to attempt to interview every family unit within a dwelling unit. The order in which the family units were interviewed was also on a random basis.

Interviewing was carried out from January 15, 1967 to March 1, 1967 and within this time limit we tried to complete as many interviews as possible. The interviewers were members of the research group, First Year Social Work students, and a community interviewer. By March 1, 1967, 224 interviews

were completed and this constituted our total sample. From the original sample of 400, 224 interviews were completed, 57 were refusals and the remaining were not completed for the following reasons--call not made, vacant residence, no such address, and two call backs made.

The large number of refusals places some limitation on the sample. This was in part due to the time limit we set for interviewing, in order that the project could be completed by the end of April. No appointments were made prior to the door-to-door interviewing in accordance with the NULIFE instructions and this might have affected the interviewee's response and limited the sample. The initial response of the person interviewed was often one of suspicion and it was left up to the skill of the interviewer to elicit his cooperation at the time of first contact. Appointments were made only when the respondent was not available to participate in the project on the first call and indicated agreement to participate at a later date.

The project data was obtained by the administration of a structured interview schedule, which for the focus of this report consisted of two sections, the first section (A) consisting of 6 questions and the second section (B) consisting of 7 questions. (See Appendix A for a copy of the schedule.) The procedure involved developing tentative questions related to the main questions listed in Chapter I and supporting ideas for use as reliability checks on basic questions. The next step was to apply this original draft to a pre-test sample comprised of eleven family units. The pre-test was conducted in November, 1966. Of the pre-test sample of eleven, nine family units living in what was considered to be low-income areas were selected by the Neighbourhood Service Center and two family units living in what was considered to be a middle-income area were selected by the Child Guidance

Clinic of Greater Winnipeg. Whenever possible, the family unit was contacted by telephone to arrange for an appointment. Before the interviewing was carried out, the schedule and method of approach was discussed by the group members in order to insure uniformity of approach and method. Also, from the studies in the literature and group discussion we devised a classification system of reasons for moving which we anticipated might be given by the respondents and these were coded.

After testing the schedule, we examined and analyzed the data collected and attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of the schedule and the applicability of the classification system of reasons. Section A, pertaining to identifying information to be transferred from the NULIFE schedule face sheet, was added to the schedule in order that we could determine the characteristics of the family units in the sample. Minor adjustments in the wording and ordering of questions in Section B were made, the aim being further clarification of the questions in order to insure facility and increased objectivity of responses.

The questions in the schedule were devised to obtain information required to answer the major questions listed in Chapter I. Section B, Questions 1 and 2 of the schedule were closed-end questions designed to ascertain mobile family units and non-mobile family units and to determine the number of moves per family unit within the last three years. Section B, Question 5 was asked as an open-end question to provide information regarding all the reasons and the major reason for moving from the last place of residence for the mobile sample. It was felt that an open-end question related to reasons for moving would give the respondent more scope in his answers, in accordance with the exploratory nature of the study. Section B, Question 4

was devised to determine what proportion of moves for the mobile sample was voluntary and what proportion was involuntary. This referred specifically to the last move. Section B, Question 7 was to determine whether the mobile family units were satisfied or dissatisfied with their last move. The three point rating scale provided two levels of positivity ("very satisfied" and "moderately satisfied") and one level of negativity ("dissatisfied"). Section B, Questions 3 and 6, pertaining to whether the reason that precipitated the move is still present and future intention to move, were included to verify the respondent's degree of satisfaction with the last move.

The address of the family unit was obtained in Section A, Question 1, in order that we could identify family units living in the poverty areas and those living in the middle-income area. Section A, Question 2 was asked in order to determine whether the family unit was of Indian or non-Indian ethnic origin. Section A, Questions 3, 4, 5, and 6 pertaining to marital status of the head of the household, total annual family income, number of members in family unit, and ages of children were devised in order that we could describe and compare the family characteristics of the total sample and the total mobile sample.

A standardized method of application of the research schedule was utilized. The instructions for the administration of the NULIFE schedule were also used for the administration of our schedule. It was decided by the research group that the schedule for the project was to be administered after completing the face sheet of the NULIFE schedule. Prior to the actual administration of the schedule, a briefing session was held with the First Year students and the community interviewer, wherein a member of our research group interpreted the questions of the schedule and gave instructions for

its administration. This was done in order to ensure as closely as possible consistency in the administration of the schedule. Each member of our group was provided with an identification card signed by Lloyd Lenton from the Winnipeg Community Welfare Planning Council on behalf of the Canadian Welfare Council, and a standardized approach to the family units in the sample was established. After the schedules were completed, a letter was sent out by the Community Welfare Planning Council to each family unit that participated in the study, thanking them for their cooperation.

The use of the schedule resulted in some limitations. Section A, Question 4 pertaining to the total annual family income should not have been included as part of the identifying information section, as annual income was not recorded on the face sheet of the NULIFE schedule, only total monthly family income. The interviewer multiplied the total monthly income from the NULIFE schedule by twelve to get the annual income and this does not give an accurate account for annual income in many instances.

Another limitation arising from the schedule resulted from our failure to include in the identifying information section a question which asked the age(s) of the adult member(s) of the family unit. This data was needed in order to determine if a family unit is in stage one of the family life cycle (single adult under sixty years of age) or in stage five (single adult sixty years of age or older). After the interviewing was completed and the findings were being computed and tabulated, it was necessary for us to refer back to the NULIFE schedule for this information.

In administering the schedule, it was sometimes necessary to paraphrase and explain questions for respondents who had difficulty in understanding the questions for reasons such as language barrier. This might have put a further

limitation on the use of the schedule.

The organization and analysis of our data was carried out as follows:

The 224 completed schedules were classified into family units living in the designated poverty areas (hereafter called poverty group) and family units living in the designated middle income area (hereafter called middle income group). Ten family units in the middle income group whose total annual family income exceeded \$8000 were eliminated in accordance with the instructions given by the NULIFE study, leaving a total sample of 214. Our research group decided at this time to include in the total sample all family units in the poverty group regardless of their income. As the focus of our study is on the residential mobility of family units in the poverty areas, this decision was arrived at in order that we might obtain a truly representative picture of the residential mobility patterns of this group.

The poverty group was further sub-divided according to ethnic origin into Indian and non-Indian. The middle income group was not sub-divided, as the only Indian family unit in this group had an annual income exceeding \$8000 and therefore was eliminated. A further sub-division was made of each of these three groups--poverty Indian, poverty non-Indian, and middle income--into mobile and non-mobile classification.

After formulating these six major groupings, all the schedules were numbered from 1 to 214 inclusive. All the reasons for last moves given by the respondents were codified according to our pre-constructed classification system of reasons for moves. Minor revisions were made at this time in the classification system of reasons to accommodate certain reasons that hadn't been anticipated. (See Appendix B for a copy of the revised classification system.) A modification was also made in our original classification of the

stages of the family life cycle. Stage one was modified to include single adults under sixty years of age and stage five was added to include single adults sixty years of age and over. We had previously grouped all single adults into one stage but, on further consideration, it was felt that these two categories of persons might have different patterns of residential mobility. The final classification of the family life cycle thus included five stages as defined in Chapter I.

Data from the total sample was then transferred to the tally sheets. The number and percentage of Indian and non-Indian family units within the total sample, middle income sample, and poverty sample were computed, tabulated and analyzed. Following this, data was tabulated and analyzed as to the number and percentage of family units who had moved at least once within the last three years, in the total sample, total poverty sample, poverty Indian sample, poverty non-Indian sample and middle income sample.¹ The mean number of moves of the total sample was calculated for purpose of later comparison with the mean number of moves of the total mobile sample.

The total sample was analyzed to determine family unit characteristics using as criteria the following variables: marital status of the head of the household, total annual family income, family size, and stage of family life cycle. Marital status was classified into five sub-categories--married, divorced, separated, widowed and never-married. Size of family was classified numerically in units of one from one to six inclusive, in units of two from six to eight, and nine and over. Stage of family life cycle was classified

¹Herein after every table will be calculated using the total sample, total poverty sample, poverty Indian sample, poverty non-Indian sample and middle income sample. Also, every table will be calculated in number and per cent.

according to five stages, as previously defined. Annual family income was classified in units of 1000 from zero to 7999 inclusive and 8000 and over.

The total mobile sample and the three groups within it--poverty Indian, poverty non-Indian and middle income were analyzed to determine family unit characteristics using as a criteria the four above-mentioned variables. The family unit characteristics of the total mobile sample were then compared to those of the total sample to determine if there were any similarities or differences.

Still focusing on the total mobile sample and the three groups therein, we analyzed the frequency distribution of all the moves made within a three year period, the mean number of moves, and the frequency distribution of all reasons for moving and of major reasons for moving from the last place of residence. This gave us a description of the total mobile sample.

We then isolated the categories of major reasons most frequently appearing within each mobile group. These included A reason, that is, reasons related to features of housing and G reason, that is, reasons that signified an involuntary move. These two categories were then sub-divided into frequency distribution of specific reasons. This was done in order that we could compare the family characteristics relating to major reasons of the total mobile group to those of the total sample to determine if there are any similarities or differences.

Reasons A and G were tabulated and analyzed in terms of the family characteristics--marital status, family size, annual income, and family life cycle. The poverty Indian and poverty non-Indian groups were examined in relation to G reason. Because G reason category was very insignificant in the middle income group, it was not examined here. For A reason, we looked

at all three mobile groups. These findings were compared to the family characteristics of the total mobile sample and the total sample in order to determine whether the groups giving reasons A and G displayed any unique family characteristics which might be associated with their reasons for moving.

Time did not permit us to compare the rate of mobility of the total sample, total mobile sample and three groups therein with the four variables of marital status, family size, annual income, and family life cycle.

We determined, according to the respondent's perception, the frequency of voluntary and involuntary moves, the frequency of whether the reason(s) for the last move is (are) still present, the frequency of the degree of satisfaction with the last move, and the frequency with which the respondent stated an intention to move within the next year. The findings of the four above-mentioned categories were then compared in terms of percentages and were presented in the form of a bar graph. It was felt that this data might give us some idea as to the effectiveness of the move as indicated by the type of move (voluntary or involuntary), resolution of reason(s) causing the last move, degree of satisfaction with the move, and stated intention to move again within the next year.

For the poverty Indian and poverty non-Indian groups, we cross-classified the major reasons given with the degree of satisfaction with the last move.

The data for this research project was presented in tabular and bar graph form and the statistical measures used were arithmetic means and proportions. A detailed presentation of the findings and analysis of the data appears in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this chapter the data gathered for investigation of residential mobility is presented by area and ethnic group and analysed.

Within the 400 dwelling units assigned to The School of Social Work from the NULIFE study 224 family interviews were completed. Out of the 224 interviews 10 middle income family units were found to have an annual family income over the \$8,000 criteria and therefore were deleted from the study, leaving a total sample for the study of 214 family units.

Of the total sample of 214 family units 172, or 80.4 per cent, were from the designated poverty area and 42, or 19.6 per cent, were from the designated middle income area. The poverty sample was further broken down into Indian and non-Indian. There were no Indian middle income family units. Of the 172 family units in the poverty group 18, or 10.5 per cent, were Indian and 154, or 89.5 per cent were non-Indian.¹

The following is a description of the total sample and sub-groups within it according to the family unit characteristics of: annual family income, size of family unit, marital status, stage of family unit life cycle. Complete tables of this data may be found in Appendix C, Tables C1, C2, C3 and C4.

The annual family income reported in the total sample ranged from

¹Hereafter the non-Indians in the poverty sample are referred to as the non-Indian sample.

zero to \$8,000 and over. The following text tables presents the mean annual family income for the total sample and each group within it:

Total sample	\$3,559
Poverty sample	2,999
Indian	3,027
Non-Indian	2,996
Middle income sample	5,948

Within the poverty sample there was little variation in the mean annual family income of the Indian and non-Indian, but there was a large difference between the total poverty sample and the middle income sample, with the middle income group averaging \$2,949 a year more than the total poverty group.

Family units ranged in size from single member family units to family units of 9 persons and over. The following text table presents the mean family unit size for the total sample and each group within it:

Total sample	3.3 persons
Poverty sample	3.2 "
Indian	5.8 "
Non-Indian	2.9 "
Middle income sample	3.6 "

It was noted from Appendix Table C2 that 35.1 per cent of the non-Indian sample consisted of single member family units as compared with 5.6 per cent of the Indian sample and 16.7 per cent of the middle income sample. One half of the Indian sample consisted of family units having

more than 5 members, whereas 12.3 per cent of the non-Indian sample and 11.9 per cent of the middle income sample are in this category. In the Indian sample 22.2 per cent of the family units consisted of 9 or more family members. The small family unit predominates in the non-Indian sample, whereas the large family unit predominates in the Indian sample.

The annual family income and size of family unit characteristics were calculated to determine per capita income. The per capita income for the non-Indian was \$1,033, the Indian, \$521, and the middle income sample, \$1,652. The Indian per capita annual family income is approximately one-half that of the non-Indian sample, and one-third of the middle income sample.

As seen in Appendix Table C3 married family units accounted for 54.2 per cent of the total sample. In the non-Indian sample 46.1 per cent were married and in the Indian sample 61.1 per cent were married. In contrast 81 per cent of the middle income sample were married. A family unit with one spouse (i.e. separated, divorced, or widowed) represented 35 per cent of the non-Indian family units and 38.9 per cent of the Indian family units in contrast to only 9.5 per cent of the middle income family units. No Indian family units were in the never married category, while 18.8 per cent of the non-Indian sample and 9.5 per cent of the middle income sample were in this category.

As seen in Appendix Table C4 the largest number of family units were in stage 3 of the family life cycle (i.e. married, children under 16 years of age), with the Indian sample reporting 83.3 per cent, the non-Indian sample reporting 37.0 per cent and the middle income sample 50.0 per cent. It was also observed that the non-Indian sample had

24.7 per cent of the family units in stage 5 (i.e. single, 60 years of age and over) as compared with 5.6 per cent of the Indian sample and 7.1 per cent of the middle income sample. Further to the previous observation regarding the predominance of small family units in the non-Indian sample it is evident that the aged compose a large proportion of this group.

The total sample was analyzed according to whether or not the family unit have moved and frequency of moves within a three year period. The findings are presented in Table 1 and Table 2 respectively.

TABLE I

MOBILE AND NON-MOBILE FAMILY UNITS BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Mobility Characteristics	Total Sample	Poverty Area				Middle Income Area				
		Total		Indian			Non-Indian			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Total	214	100.0	172	100.0	18	100.0	154	100.0	42	100.0
Mobile	98	45.8	88	51.2	17	94.4	71	46.1	10	23.8
Non-Mobile	116	54.2	84	48.8	1	5.6	83	53.9	32	76.2

The data shows that 45.8 per cent of the total sample were mobile during the designated three year period. The poverty area sample shows greater mobility (51.2 per cent) than the middle income sample (23.8 per cent). The most striking observation is that 17 out of 18 Indian family units or 94.4 per cent were mobile. Of the non-Indian family units, on the other hand, 46.1 per cent were mobile.

It was found that over one-half of the moves made during the three year study period occurred within the last year. Of particular interest is the fact that the middle income sample, the least mobile group according to Table 1, have made the largest percentage of moves (80.0 per cent) within the last year.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF MOVES PER MOBILE FAMILY UNIT BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Number of Moves	Total Sample		Poverty Area				Middle Income Area			
			Total		Indian				Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	98	100.0	88	100.0	17	100.0	71	100.0	10	100.0
1	50	51.0	47	53.4	9	52.9	38	53.5	3	30.0
2	17	17.3	15	17.3	2	11.8	13	18.3	2	20.0
3	19	19.4	16	18.2	5	29.4	11	15.5	3	30.0
4	7	7.1	5	5.6	1	5.8	4	5.6	2	20.0
5 and over	5	5.1	5	5.6	-	-	5	7.0	-	-

Approximately half of the total sample (51.0 per cent) moved only once during the designated three year period. For those family units moving three or more times, the middle income sample showed a greater frequency of moves (50.0 per cent) as compared with the poverty sample (29.4 per cent). The data reveals that while no Indian or middle income family units moved five or more times, 7.0 per cent of the non-

Indian sample fell within this category. A small proportion of the mobile sample (9.4 per cent) accounted for 37.8 per cent of all moves.

The mean number of moves per family unit was calculated for the total sample and the mobile sample as follows:

	Total Sample	Mobile Sample
Indian	1.78 moves	1.88 moves
Non-Indian90 "	1.94 "
Middle income sample57 "	2.40 "

The above figures reveal contradictory trends, as the Indian sample is the most likely to move and the middle income sample is least likely to move. Once mobile, however, the Indians make fewer additional moves than do the non-Indian or middle income mobile sample.

The following four tables present the characteristics of the mobile family units according to annual family income, size of family, marital status, and stage of the family life cycle. These characteristics are described and compared with the total sample to determine if the mobile family units had any unique characteristics.

In the total mobile sample, 70.0 per cent of all family units have an annual family income below \$4000. This compares with 59.7 per cent of all family units in the total sample falling below this income level. In the mobile non-Indian sample 42.0 per cent have annual incomes between \$3000 and \$4999 as compared with 33.1 per cent of the total sample within this income range. The middle income mobile sample display a similar pattern of a higher proportion in this income range. In contrast, when comparing the mobile Indian sample with the total Indian sample no difference was found within this income range.

TABLE 3

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME IN MOBILE SAMPLE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Annual Family Income	Total Sample	Poverty Area			Middle Income Area
		Total	Indian	Non-Indian	
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Total	98 100.0	88 100.0	17 100.0	71 100.0	10 100.0
\$ 0 - 999	11 11.2	11 12.5	2 11.8	9 12.7	- -
1,000 - 1,999	16 16.3	16 18.2	3 17.6	13 18.3	- -
2,000 - 2,999	15 15.3	15 17.0	3 17.6	12 16.9	- -
3,000 - 3,999	27 27.2	26 29.5	5 29.4	21 29.6	1 10.0
4,000 - 4,999	13 13.3	11 12.5	1 5.9	10 14.1	2 20.0
5,000 - 5,999	3 3.1	1 1.1	- -	1 1.4	2 20.0
6,000 - 6,999	5 5.1	3 3.4	1 5.9	2 2.8	2 20.0
7,000 - 7,999	2 2.0	- -	- -	- -	2 20.0
8,000 and over	1 1.0	1 1.1	- -	1 1.4	- -
Unknown	5 5.1	4 4.6	2 11.8	2 2.8	1 10.0
Refused	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -

The mean annual family income for the mobile sample was calculated and compared to the total sample as follows:

	Mobile Sample	Total Sample
Total	\$ 3,129	\$ 3,559
Poverty sample	2,861	2,999
Indian	2,807	3,027
Non-Indian	2,873	2,996
Middle income sample . . .	5,623	5,948

In all groups the mean annual family income of the mobile sample was lower than the mean annual income of the total sample. It is an interesting fact that the Indian and non-Indian groups within the mobile sample have a comparable annual family income, as was found in the total sample.

TABLE 4

SIZE OF FAMILY IN MOBILE SAMPLE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Size of Family	Total Sample		Poverty Area				Middle Income Area			
			Total		Indian				Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	98	100.0	88	100.0	17	100.0	71	100.0	10	100.0
Single	27	27.6	24	27.3	1	5.9	23	32.4	3	30.0
2	14	14.3	14	15.9	-	-	14	19.7	-	-
3	18	18.4	15	17.0	2	11.8	13	18.3	3	30.0
4	9	9.2	9	10.2	3	17.6	6	8.5	-	-
5	11	11.2	8	9.1	2	11.8	6	8.5	3	30.0
6 - 8	12	12.2	11	12.5	5	29.4	6	8.5	1	10.0
9 and over	6	6.1	6	6.8	4	23.5	2	2.8	-	-
Unknown	1	1.0	1	1.1	-	-	1	1.4	-	-

In general, the mobile sample shows similar characteristics of family size to the total sample. An exception is found in the single category. The proportion of middle income families in this category in the mobile sample (30.0 per cent) is higher than in the total sample (16.7 per cent). In contrast, the proportion of non-Indian family units in this category in the mobile sample (32.4 per cent) is somewhat lower than in the total sample (35.1 per cent). The single member family unit in the middle income sample tends to be highly mobile whereas the single person non-Indian family unit is less likely to be mobile. Family size of three seems to be related somewhat to mobility for the non-Indian sample, 18.3 per cent for the mobile non-Indian sample compared with 12.3 per cent of the total sample.

When we calculated the mean size of family in the mobile sample it was found that there was little variation from the total sample. This can be observed by comparing the figures below.

	Mobile Sample	Total Sample
Total	3.5 persons	3.3 persons
Poverty sample	3.6 "	3.2 "
Indian	5.9 "	5.8 "
Non-Indian	3.0 "	2.9 "
Middle income sample . .	3.4 "	3.6 "

The per capita income for the mobile Indian sample was \$476 and for the mobile non-Indian was \$958, both figures are appreciably lower than those of respective groups in the total sample. The per capita income for the mobile middle income sample was similar to that of the total sample.

TABLE 5

MARITAL STATUS IN MOBILE SAMPLE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Marital Status	Total Sample	Poverty Area			Middle Income Area	
		Total	Indian	Non-Indian		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Total	98 100.0	88 100.0	17 100.0	71 100.0	10 100.0	
Married	49 50.0	42 47.7	10 58.8	32 45.1	7 70.0	
Divorced	2 2.0	2 2.3	- -	2 2.8	- -	
Separated	21 21.4	21 23.7	6 35.2	15 21.1	- -	
Widowed	10 10.2	10 11.6	1 5.9	9 12.7	- -	
Never Married	16 16.3	13 14.8	- -	13 18.3	3 30.0	

The family units in the mobile sample were comparable in their marital status with the total sample, with the exception of those in the separated category. A higher proportion of separated families (21.4 per cent) was found in the mobile sample than in the total sample (15.4 per cent). Once again, a contrast is seen between the middle income group and the non-Indian group as shown in the never-married category. In this category there was no difference between the mobile and the total sample in the non-Indian group (18.3 per cent as compared with 18.8 per cent), whereas a striking difference was found in the middle income group (30.0 per cent as compared with 9.5 per cent).

TABLE 6

STAGE OF FAMILY LIFE CYCLE IN MOBILE SAMPLE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Family Life Cycle	Total Sample	Poverty Area				Middle Income Area
		Total	Indian	Non-Indian		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	
Total	98 100.0	88 100.0	17 100.0	71 100.0	10 100.0	
Stage 1	9 9.2	6 6.7	- -	6 8.5	3 30.0	
" 2	3 3.1	3 3.4	- -	3 4.2	- -	
" 3	53 54.1	47 53.4	15 88.2	32 45.1	6 60.0	
" 4	13 13.3	12 13.6	1 5.9	11 15.5	1 10.0	
" 5	18 18.4	18 20.5	1 5.9	17 23.9	- -	
Unknown	2 2.0	2 2.3	- -	2 2.8	- -	

As presented in Table 6 the largest percentage of family units in each group of the mobile sample were in stage 3 of the family life cycle, namely 88.2 per cent of the Indian sample, 45.1 per cent of the non-Indian sample and 60.0 per cent of the middle income sample, as compared to 83.3 per cent, 37.0 per cent and 50 per cent of these groups respectively in stage 3 in the total sample. Therefore there seems to be a relationship between stage 3 and mobility for each of these groups.

It should be noted as well that the percentage of mobile family units in stage 4 is consistently lower than the percentage of the total sample in this stage.

In stage 1, the non-Indian in the mobile and total samples show

little variation. On the other hand, a marked difference can be seen in this stage for the middle-income group, 30.0 per cent in the mobile sample as compared with 9.5 per cent in the total sample. This seems to indicate a relationship between mobility and stage 1 of the family life cycle for the middle income area.

All reasons given for moving and major reasons given for moving were analyzed according to frequency of occurrence by category (see Appendix B for classification of reasons by category).

Table 7 presenting the data regarding all reasons given by the family units for the last move and Table 8 presenting the data regarding major reasons given will be presented below:

TABLE 7

ALL REASONS FOR MOVING IN CATEGORIES BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Reason Category	Total Sample		Poverty Area				Middle Income Area			
			Total	Indian	Non-Indian					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Total	139	100.0	123	100.0	21	100.0	102	100.0	16	100.0
A	44	31.7	38	30.9	4	19.0	34	33.3	6	37.5
B	7	5.0	7	5.7	-	-	7	6.9	-	-
C	13	9.4	8	6.5	1	4.8	7	6.9	5	31.3
D	14	10.1	13	10.6	-	-	13	12.7	1	6.3
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	20	14.4	18	14.6	2	9.5	16	15.8	2	12.5
G	34	24.5	33	26.8	11	52.4	22	21.6	1	6.3
H	5	3.5	4	3.3	2	9.5	2	2.0	1	6.3
I	2	1.4	2	1.7	1	4.8	1	1.0	-	-

TABLE 8

MAJOR REASONS FOR MOVING IN CATEGORIES BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Reason Category	Total Sample		Poverty Area			Middle Income Area	
			Total	Indian	Non-Indian		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Total	98 100.0	88 100.0	17 100.0	71 100.0	10 100.0		
A	24 24.6	20 22.7	1 5.9	19 26.8	4 40.0		
B	6 6.1	6 6.8	- -	6 8.5	- -		
C	8 8.2	6 6.8	1 5.9	5 7.0	2 20.0		
D	11 11.2	10 11.4	- -	10 14.1	1 10.0		
E	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -		
F	12 12.2	11 12.5	2 11.8	9 12.7	1 10.0		
G	31 31.6	30 34.1	10 58.8	20 28.2	1 10.0		
H	4 4.1	3 3.4	2 11.8	1 1.4	1 10.0		
I	2 2.0	2 2.3	1 5.9	1 1.4	- -		

When the two tables were compared it was found that there was very little difference between them. The one notable difference between the two tables concerned category A (reasons related to features of housing). In the Indian sample, category A accounted for 19 per cent of the reasons when all reasons were given for the move, whereas category A accounted for only 5.9 per cent of the reasons when only the major reasons were given. In the table containing all reasons 33.3 per cent of the non-Indian family units, as compared to 26.8 per cent in the table

containing major reasons, gave category A. This seems to indicate that features of housing are often a contributing factor causing the poverty family units to move, but they are not always the factors that the family units consider as being most important. For all the other categories of reasons there was only a small difference in the percentages for the area and ethnic groups, when the two tables were compared.

It is interesting to note from Table 8 that the two most significant categories were A, reasons related to features of housing, and G, reasons that signified an involuntary move. In the total mobile sample giving major reasons, they comprised 56.2 per cent of all the major reasons given. In the middle class, A is the most predominant reason. Only 5.9 per cent of the Indian sample moved for reason A. This compares to 26.8 per cent of the non-Indian sample who moved for that reason. Reason G accounted for 58.8 per cent of the moves for the Indian sample as compared to 28.2 per cent of the moves for the non-Indian sample.

None of the family units stated category E, reasons related to improved financial status, as the reasons for their move. Of the non-Indian sample, 14.1 per cent stated category D, reasons related to insufficient money, whereas no Indian families moved for this reason.

As 24.1 per cent of the moves of the poverty sample were involuntary, category G was broken down into individual reasons. In the non-Indian sample the frequency distribution of individual reasons within category G was as follows:

Urban redevelopment	7
Eviction	6
Condemned housing	3
Welfare insisted on a move	3
Children not allowed	1

In the Indian sample the frequency distribution of individual reasons within category G was as follows:

Condemned housing	3
Eviction	2
Welfare insisted on a move	2
Natural disaster	1
Urban redevelopment	1
Geographic transfer	1

When category A was considered for the non-Indian sample 10 out of the 19 families had moved for one individual reason, which was personal discomfort.

Table 8, discussed above, indicated that the two most frequently appearing categories of reasons were category G, reasons signifying involuntary moves, and category A, reasons related to features of housing.

The family units signifying that the major reason for their last move was involuntary demonstrated several interesting factors in terms of their family characteristics. These findings will be presented in Tables 9, 10, 11, 12.

Table 9 presents the data related to annual family income.

TABLE 9

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME OF FAMILY UNITS GIVING MAJOR REASONS
FOR LAST MOVE AS INVOLUNTARY BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Annual Family Income	Poverty Area					
	Total		Indian		Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	30	100.0	10	100.0	20	100.0
\$ 0 - 999	5	16.7	1	10.0	4	20.0
1,000 - 1,999	7	23.3	2	20.0	5	25.0
2,000 - 2,999	5	16.7	2	20.0	3	15.0
3,000 - 3,999	8	26.7	2	20.0	6	30.0
4,000 - 4,999	2	6.7	1	10.0	1	5.0
5,000 - 5,999	-	-	-	-	-	-
6,000 - 6,999	1	3.3	1	10.0	-	-
7,000 - 7,999	-	-	-	-	-	-
8,000 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	2	6.7	1	10.0	1	5.0
Refused	-	-	-	-	-	-

From the data in this table it was noticed that 45 per cent of the non-Indian sample whose last move was involuntary had annual family incomes of \$1,999 or less as compared with approximately 33 per cent in the total sample (see Appendix C, Table C1) and 31 per cent in the mobile sample (see Table 3).

The mean annual income of families whose last move was involuntary was as follows:

Total poverty sample	\$2,552
Indian	3,097
Non-Indian	2,293

When these mean annual family incomes were compared with those of the total mobile sample it was observed that among the non-Indian sample the mean annual income of those whose last move was involuntary was lower than that of the non-Indian mobile sample, that is, \$2,293 as compared to \$2,873. However, for the Indian sample the mean annual income among families whose last move was involuntary was \$3,097 as compared to \$2,807 for all the Indian family units who were mobile. Therefore it seems that lower income was a factor associated with the non-Indian sample giving involuntary reasons, whereas it was not a factor for the Indian sample.

The characteristic of family size for those families giving the major reasons for moving as involuntary is presented in Table 10.

In comparing the family size of the sample giving reasons for last move as involuntary with the total mobile sample and the total sample one noticeable tendency appears in relation to the non-Indian single member family units. The percentage of single non-Indian family units whose last move was involuntary was 40 per cent. This compares with 32.4 per cent of the non-Indian in the mobile sample and 35.1 per cent of the non-Indian in the total sample in the single member category. This would indicate that single member family units were associated with involuntary moves in the non-Indian sample.

TABLE 10

SIZE OF FAMILY UNITS GIVING MAJOR REASONS FOR LAST
MOVE AS INVOLUNTARY BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Size of Family	Poverty Area					
	Total		Indian		Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	30	100.0	10	100.0	20	100.0
1	9	30.0	1	10.0	8	40.0
2	3	10.0	-	-	3	15.0
3	4	13.3	1	10.0	3	15.0
4	3	10.0	2	20.0	1	5.0
5	2	6.7	1	10.0	1	5.0
6 - 8	5	16.7	3	-	2	10.0
9 and over	3	10.0	2	-	1	5.0
Unknown	1	3.3	-	-	1	5.0

The mean family size of family units whose last move was an involuntary one was:

Total poverty sample 4.1 persons

Indian 6.1 "

Non-Indian 3.2 "

It was observed that in each sample the mean family size was larger than the mean family size of these groups in either the total ~~sample~~ or the mobile sample.

It is interesting to note that the per capita annual income for the non-Indian family units giving reasons in category G was \$717 as compared with a per capita annual income of \$958 for the mobile non-Indian sample. The per capita annual income for the Indian family units giving category G was \$507 as compared with a per capita annual family income of \$476 for the mobile Indian sample. The above data indicates that lower per capita annual incomes can be associated with involuntary moves for the non-Indian sample but not for the Indian sample.

Table 11 shows the marital status of those family units who signified that their last move was involuntary.

TABLE 11

MARITAL STATUS OF FAMILY UNITS GIVING MAJOR REASONS FOR
LAST MOVE AS INVOLUNTARY BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Marital Status	Poverty Area					
	Total		Indian		Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	30	100.0	10	100.0	20	100.0
Married	10	33.3	5	50.0	5	25.0
Divorced	2	6.7	-	-	2	10.0
Separated	10	33.3	5	50.0	5	25.0
Widowed	4	13.3	-	-	4	20.0
Never married	4	13.3	-	-	4	20.0

It was interesting to note that one-third of the poverty family

units giving this reason for their last move were married and one-third were separated. Among the Indian family units giving the major reason for the last move as involuntary one-half were separated.

When the marital status of family units giving the major reasons for the last move as involuntary were compared with the marital status characteristic of the total sample (see Appendix C, Table C3) and mobile sample (see Table 5), several interesting trends were observed. There appeared to be a smaller proportion of married family units in the group giving the reason for the last move as involuntary. For example, 33.3 per cent of those giving the major reason for last move as involuntary were married as compared with 47.7 per cent of the mobile sample. This trend was consistent throughout.

A second trend was found in the separated category. Of the poverty sample giving reasons for last move as involuntary 33.3 per cent were in the separated category as compared with 23.7 per cent of the mobile poverty sample. This indicated that within our sample study there appeared to be an association between separated family units and involuntary moves.

The final family characteristic which was observed for those family units whose last move was involuntary was family life cycle. The findings are presented in Table 12.

It was noted that the largest percentage of those whose reason for last move was involuntary were in stage 3 and that no unit in stage 2 gave this reason for last move. In comparing the family life cycle characteristics of the family units classified as involuntary movers to the family life cycle characteristics of the mobile sample (see Table 6) it was observed that of the Indian sample the percentage of family units

in stage 3 were as follows:

Involuntary sample 30 per cent

Mobile sample 45.1 per cent

These figures indicate that a smaller percentage of non-Indian family units in stage 3 move for involuntary reasons than the percentage of these family units in stage 3 in the mobile sample.

TABLE 12

STAGE OF FAMILY LIFE CYCLE OF FAMILY UNITS GIVING MAJOR
REASONS FOR LAST MOVE AS INVOLUNTARY BY AREA AND
ETHNIC GROUP BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Family Life Cycle	Poverty Area					
	Total		Indian		Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	30	100.0	10	100.0	20	100.0
Stage 1	2	6.7	-	-	2	10.0
" 2	-	-	-	-	-	-
" 3	14	46.7	8	80.0	6	30.0
" 4	6	20.0	1	10.0	5	25.0
" 5	7	23.3	1	10.0	6	30.0
Unknown	1	3.3	-	-	1	5.0

In contrast, there were a higher percentage of non-Indian family units in stages 4 and 5 who moved for an involuntary reason than the percentage in these stages in the mobile sample, as shown by the following figures:

	Sample Giving Involuntary Reasons	Mobile Sample
Stage 4	25.0 per cent	15.5 per cent
Stage 5	30.0 per cent	23.9 per cent

The second most frequently given reason category for moving was Category A, reasons related to features of housing. As only one Indian family gave this reason for moving the discussion dealt with the non-Indian and middle income samples only. Tables 13, 14, 15 present the family characteristics of size of family, marital status and stage of family life cycle for those family units giving reasons related to features of housing. The characteristic of annual family income is in a text table below.

	Reasons related to features of housing sample	Total Mobile sample
Non-Indian sample	\$ 3,182	\$ 2,873
Middle income sample	6,340	5,623

These figures indicate that the mean annual family income for each group is higher in the sample giving reasons related to features of housing than in the total mobile sample. In our study higher family income can be associated with reasons related to features of housing.

The per cent of the non-Indian sample with family size of 4 members and over in the sample giving reasons related to features of housing was 36.9 per cent as compared to 28.3 per cent in the total mobile sample, (Table 4). The middle income sample giving this reason display a similar tendency to larger family size. Thus there appears to be an association

between larger families and reasons related to features of housing within the non-Indian and middle income samples.

TABLE 13

SIZE OF FAMILY UNITS GIVING MAJOR REASONS FOR LAST MOVE AS RELATED TO FEATURES OF HOUSING BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Size of Family	Poverty Area Non-Indian		Middle Income Area	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total	19	100.0	4	100.0
Single	5	26.3	-	-
2	4	21.1	-	-
3	3	15.8	2	20.0
4	3	15.8	-	-
5	2	10.5	1	10.0
6 - 8	1	5.3	1	10.0
9 and over	1	5.3	-	-

TABLE 14

MARITAL STATUS OF FAMILY UNITS GIVING MAJOR REASONS FOR LAST MOVE AS RELATED TO FEATURES OF HOUSING BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Marital Status	Poverty Area Non-Indian		Middle Income Area	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total	19	100.0	4	100.0
Married	11	57.9	4	100.0
Divorced	1	5.3	-	-
Separated	5	26.3	-	-
Widowed	1	5.3	-	-
Never married	1	5.3	-	-

It will be noted that 57.9 per cent of the non-Indian sample giving reasons related to features of housing, as compared to 45.1 per cent of the non-Indian mobile sample, were married (Table 5). In the middle income sample giving this reason 100.0 per cent were married as compared to 70.0 per cent of the middle income mobile sample. This would indicate that married family units tend to move more in the non-Indian and middle income samples for reasons related to features of housing than other reasons. In contrast the percentage of widowed and never married marital status groups in the non-Indian sample giving reason related to features of housing is considerably lower than in the mobile non-Indian sample. (10.6 per cent and 31.0 per cent respectively).

TABLE 15

STAGE OF FAMILY LIFE CYCLE OF FAMILY UNITS GIVING MAJOR
REASONS FOR LAST MOVE AS RELATED TO FEATURES OF
HOUSING BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Family Life Cycle	Poverty Area Non-Indian		Middle Income Area	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total	19	100.0	4	100.0
Stage 1	1	5.3	-	-
" 2	4	21.1	-	-
" 3	8	42.1	3	75.0
" 4	-	-	1	25.0
" 5	6	31.6	-	-

By comparing Table 15 and Table 6 the percentage of the non-Indian sample giving reason related to features of housing in stage 3 (42.1 per cent) is very similar to the percentage of non-Indian family units in the mobile sample in stage 3 (45.1 per cent). In contrast the middle income family units in stage 3 giving this reason (75.0 per cent) is higher than in the mobile sample (60.0 per cent). The findings thus indicate that while families with children under 16 years of age (stage 3) tend to move for reasons related to features of housing in the middle income sample there is no evidence that this is so in the non-Indian sample.

In stage 2 the percentage of the non-Indian sample giving reasons related to features of housing (21.1 per cent) is considerably higher than the percentage in the mobile sample (4.2 per cent).

Appendix Tables C5, C6, C7 and C8 deal with the sample groups' own perception of their last move as indicated by their own evaluation of the move as voluntary or involuntary, degree of satisfaction, continued presence of movement reason and stated intention to move in the next year.

Appendix Table C5 shows that 43.2 per cent of the mobile poverty sample perceived their last move as involuntary. More specifically 52.9 per cent of the mobile Indian sample perceived their move as involuntary which readily exceeds the 40.8 per cent and 20.0 per cent perceived by the mobile non-Indian and mobile middle income samples. When these figures were compared with those giving reasons related to involuntary movement on the reason classification system it was found that 58.8 per cent of the mobile Indian sample, 28.2 per cent of the mobile non-Indian sample, and 10.0 per cent of the mobile middle income sample moved due to involuntary reasons. The proportionate differences may indicate a value variance between respondent's perception and the study classification system.

Appendix Table C6 illustrates that 10.2 per cent of the mobile poverty sample report dissatisfaction with their last move. The largest group indicating dissatisfaction was 29.4 per cent of the mobile Indian sample. Those family units in the non-Indian and middle income samples indicating dissatisfaction were negligible at 5.6 and 0.0 per cent respectively. Over 50 per cent of all three mobile samples indicated that they were very satisfied with their last moves.

Most mobile poverty sample moves appear to be problem solving in that only 12.5 per cent report persistence of original reasons for movement as tabulated in Appendix Table C7. The highest percentage of continued presence of reason was found in the mobile Indian sample (23.5 per cent).

The mobile non-Indian and mobile middle income samples are comparable at 9.9 and 10.0 per cent stating reason still present.

Stated intention to move within the next year as recorded in Appendix Table C8 is indicative of some form of dissatisfaction with present dwelling unit, and possibly dissatisfaction with the last move. Of the mobile poverty sample 36.4 per cent indicated definite plans to move within the next year. Of the mobile Indian sample 29.4 per cent planned to move while 38.0 per cent of the mobile non-Indian sample planned to move. No family unit in the mobile middle income sample stated an intention to move.

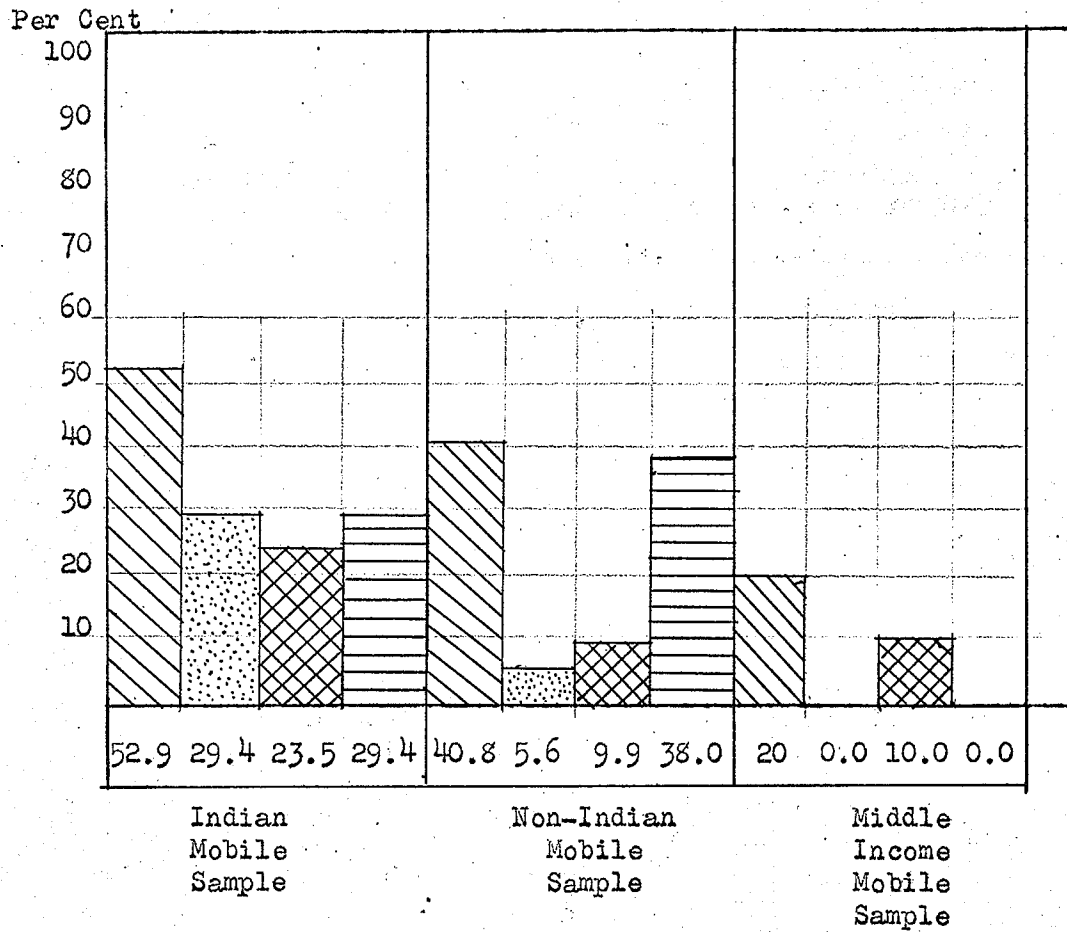
Appendix Tables C5, C6, C7 C8 each contained one response category indicating a negative connotation with regard to the respondent's last move. Response to the category of involuntary, dissatisfaction, persistence of reasons for move, and stated intent to move in the next year each can indicate a degree of dissatisfaction with the last move. By averaging the percentages of responses to these categories the mobile Indian sample had 33.8 per cent negative response, the mobile non-Indian sample a 23.5 per cent negative response and the mobile middle income sample a 7.5 per cent negative response.





The following observations are illustrated in Figure 1 on the next page. The Indian mobile sample moves involuntarily, is dissatisfied, and has reason for move still present, much more often than the non-Indian mobile sample. From this observation one would expect that the Indian mobile sample would state an intention to move more often than the non-Indian. In fact the reverse is true. Despite little dissatisfaction and little continued reason still present the non-Indian mobile sample displays the highest level of intention to move. Intention

to move then, does not appear to be related to other factors discussed.

FIGURE 1

COMPARISON OF INVOLUNTARY MOVE, DISSATISFACTION WITH MOVE,
REASONS STILL PRESENT, AND INTENT TO MOVE



-  Involuntary Move
-  Dissatisfaction With Move
-  Reasons Still Present
-  Intent to Move

In conclusion, our research study sought to cross-classify the major reason for moving with the degree of satisfaction with the last move as expressed by the respondents from the poverty sample.

Table 16 illustrates this cross-classification for the mobile Indian sample.

TABLE 16

RELATIONSHIP OF MAJOR REASON CATEGORY FOR LAST MOVE WITH
DEGREE OF SATISFACTION, FOR INDIAN SAMPLE BY NUMBER

Reason Category	Degree of Satisfaction				
	Total	Very Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Dis- Satisfied	Don't Know
Total	17	9	2	5	1
A	1	1	-	-	-
B	-	-	-	-	-
C	1	1	-	-	-
D	-	-	-	-	-
E	-	-	-	-	-
F	2	2	-	-	-
G	10	4	2	4	-
H	2	1	-	1	-
I	1	-	-	-	1

The most noteworthy aspect of this table is the fact that 6 of 10 Indian respondents said they were very satisfied or moderately satisfied with their last move in spite of the fact that the reasons

they gave for moving related to involuntary causes.

Table 17 illustrates the cross-classification for the mobile non-Indian sample from the poverty area.

TABLE 17

RELATIONSHIP OF MAJOR REASON CATEGORY FOR LAST MOVE WITH
DEGREE OF SATISFACTION FOR NON-INDIAN SAMPLE BY NUMBER

Reason Category	Degree of Satisfaction			
	Total	Very Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Dis- Satisfied
Total	71	40	27	4
A	19	14	5	-
B	6	3	3	-
C	5	3	2	-
D	10	5	3	2
E	-	-	-	-
F	9	4	5	-
G	20	9	9	2
H	1	1	-	-
I	1	1	-	-

Two interesting features stand out in this table. First, the non-Indian group also overwhelmingly said they were very satisfied or moderately satisfied with their last move in spite of the fact that it was an involuntary one. In fact, 18 out of 20 expressed this feeling. Second, it is interesting to note that the non-Indian sample are totally

very satisfied or moderately satisfied (19 out of 19) with their last move when the reason expressed for moving was related to features of housing.

The following chapter will present a summary and interpretation of the findings and some of the conclusions that may be drawn from them.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This research project, using an exploratory design, studied the residential mobility of Indian and non-Indian family units living in designated poverty areas of the City of Winnipeg. A small sample of middle income family units living in a designated middle income area was also studied for comparative purposes. The research group sought to determine the extent of mobility, reasons for mobility, family characteristics of the mobile family units and satisfaction of the mobile family units with their last move. The most common reasons for mobility and certain characteristics of mobile family units were examined in order to establish whether any relationships exist between these factors. Data was recorded on standardized interview schedules which were personally administered to a total sample of 214 family units. The classification of the poverty family units into Indian and non-Indian groups was based on the respondent's perception of his own ethnicity and in doing this, our research group questioned whether accepting the reliability of the respondent's answer might to some extent limit the accurateness of the study. We had no way of checking on the validity of the responses given to most of the questions on the schedule and this might also place some limitation on the findings of this study and the conclusions subsequently drawn.

In the interpretation of the research findings and the formulation of conclusions, reference will be made to the nine questions listed in Chapter I which were originated by the exploratory nature of this study.

Question One: "What is the extent of residential mobility for each of the three sample groups--Indian, non-Indian and middle income?" Our study found that approximately one-half (45.8 per cent) of the total sample moved at least once in the three year study period, with the poverty sample being more mobile than the middle income sample. Similar findings were reported in the 1961 Census of Canada for the mobility of family units over a five year period. The Census data revealed that approximately one-half of the residents of Winnipeg had moved at least once in the five year period, with the family units living in a poverty area, Lord Selkirk Park, having the highest rate of mobility.

Within the poverty sample of this study, the Indian group had an extremely high rate of mobility, more than twice that of the non-Indian group. Of further significance was the fact that although the Indian family units initially were more likely to move than the non-Indian and middle-income family units, the Indian family units actually moved less frequently, generally making only one move. It was the mobile middle-income family units, the least mobile as a group, that had the highest frequency of movement. It may be speculated that the middle-income family units move frequently until established in a home and job, at which time they become more stable in regards to their mobility. The large percentage of involuntary movement of Indian family units may partially explain the high rate of mobility among the Indians as a group and may further account for why the mobile Indian did not move again. A reluctance to move unless forced and other cultural factors such as housing aspirations might possibly explain this occurrence. This seemed to indicate to the research group an important area for further study.

The research project found that approximately one-half of the total

mobile sample made only one move within the three year period, with a small percentage making a disproportionately large number of recorded moves. All of the family units making more than five moves were in the non-Indian poverty group. Chronic mobility was not exhibited by the Indian or middle income groups. It therefore appeared that, although the residential mobility of the total poverty sample was high, it was a small number of family units which accounted for a majority of the moves. This is similar to the findings of Copperman's study of public welfare clients and of Mann's study of families living in the central city slum of Toronto.¹

As questions two and three are related, the answers are considered together.

Question Two: "What were the reasons for moving from the last residence?"

Question Three: "Are there reasons for moving common to each group?"

The findings revealed that there are many and varied reasons for the residential mobility of the groups studied. The reasons given by the respondents coincided with the reasons the research group had anticipated finding, with one exception--the category of improved financial state. No family units in any of the three groups gave this as a reason for moving. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that if an increase in income did occur in the poverty family units, it was not sufficient to allow a move or, if it was sufficient, it may have enabled these family units to move to improved housing in another area of Winnipeg. In the middle income group where housing is generally comfortable, the urgency of moving is not generally so great that an improved financial state alone would account for the move at this time. We

¹These studies are discussed in Chapter II.

would also expect that this factor may be included in other reasons given, such as life style and features of housing.

The reasons for the last residential move most frequently listed by the family units living in the poverty area fell within the categories of reasons signifying involuntary movement and reasons related to features of housing. Within these categories, specific reasons such as personal discomfort, condemned housing and urban renewal accounted for a large number of the reasons given by the poverty group. Because of these factors, it would appear that inadequate housing is a major contributing factor of the residential mobility of the poor. This coincides with Northwood's findings (as discussed in Chapter II) that the residential mobility of the poor in the inner city is characterized by a "perennial search for better housing." It indicated to our research group a need in the community for more adequate housing at lower costs to be made available to the people in this area.

The most frequent reason category given by the middle income group was reasons related to features of housing. Although this trend appears to be common to that of the poverty group, differences were apparent when specific reasons within this category were considered. Within the middle income group, no families moved for personal discomfort. A qualitative difference therefore exists between the poverty and middle income groups in movement caused by reasons related to features of housing. It would seem that the nature of the moves in the poverty group are directed towards the fulfillment of the basic necessities of life, such as warmth, shelter, etc. Middle income movers, having all their basic needs met, do not seem to move for reasons of such urgency. They can, in their decisions to move, be more concerned with matters of convenience, life style and housing adequate for family comfort.

Reasons related to housing structure given as a major reason for moving was common to the non-Indian and middle income groups, indicating a possible culture continuum between these two groups. On the other hand, reasons related to features of housing were perceived by the Indian group as contributing factors in the family's decision to move, but not as a major precipitating factor. This can be seen by the fact that although these reasons rated strongly when all reasons were given, they did not appear too often when major reasons for moving were given.

The predominant reasons given by the Indian group were those signifying involuntary movement. It seems reasonably conclusive that while housing features impinge on the Indian group, it is not to alleviate these discomforts that ultimately creates the mobile Indian group. We feel that it is quite likely that culture and discriminatory factors might account for the Indian family units being more susceptible to involuntary moves and less concerned with reasons related to features of housing as a major precipitating reason than the non-Indian family units. Other factors may also be involved and this seems to be an area where further study is needed.

Question Four: "What variables are related to the reasons for moving and the rate of residential mobility?" The variables that were studied include the family characteristics of annual income, family size, marital status, and stage of family life cycle. These variables were related to the two most predominantly appearing major reasons--reasons that signified involuntary movement and reasons related to features of housing. The research group realized that variables other than these four family characteristics might also have relevance. We were also aware that if we had compared the family characteristics of the mobile groups with those of the corresponding

non-mobile groups rather than those of the total sample, the differences shown would probably have been much greater.

The mobile non-Indian family units who gave reasons for their last move as being involuntary were characterized by a lower annual income when compared with the total poverty sample. Indian family units moving for this reason, however, did not have a lower income.

Two characteristics of family size were evident in those family units who moved for involuntary reasons. The study found that the non-Indians who moved for this reason were often (40 per cent) single member family units. Also, in each group of the poverty sample, the mean family size of the involuntary movers was larger than in their respective total poverty sample groups.

There is a tendency for the involuntary mover to be in the separated marital status category, especially in the Indian sample. By the same token, the involuntary movers in the poverty sample were characterized by fewer married family units.

In the non-Indian group, family units with children over the age of sixteen (stage four of the family life cycle) and single member family units over the age of sixty (stage five) very often moved for involuntary reasons. Family units with children sixteen years of age and under (stage three), on the other hand, were not predominant for those giving involuntary reasons.

The above observations point out differences in family characteristics that define the Indian and non-Indian poverty groups as being vulnerable to involuntary movement. The Indian family units may be particularly vulnerable because of their ethnic origin, because the family units are more often separated and because they have larger family units than the non-Indians. They had by far the highest proportion of family units moving for involuntary

reasons. The non-Indian family units with separated marital status, those single-member family units (especially over sixty years of age), those family units with children over sixteen years of age, or those with larger than average family size are also very susceptible to involuntary movement. It can be speculated that the low income of the poverty family units (especially the non-Indian), family disintegration (especially in the separated Indian families), and large family size would generally result in sub-standard housing. As the specific reasons given for the involuntary moves were largely related to inadequate and sub-standard housing conditions, a hypothesis for further study could be formulated concerning a correlation between sub-standard housing and involuntary movement. This also indicates a critical area towards which social welfare services should be directed if these families are ever to break through the "vicious circle of poverty." Lack of money, sub-standard housing, family breakdown are all problems which characterize these Indian and non-Indian family units, acting one upon the other to perpetuate the culture of poverty. By making available to these people subsidized, adequate housing, family counselling service, family planning information, employment opportunities or welfare assistance above a subsistence level of payment much could be done towards meeting their very real needs.

The second most frequently mentioned category of reasons for moving were those related to features of housing. Only one Indian family unit gave a reason for moving which fell within this category. Non-Indian and middle income family units moving for reasons related to features of housing were characterized by married families with larger than average family size and higher than average family income when compared to the total sample. Fewer family units in both of these groups were in the separated and never married

marital status, than in the total sample.

In terms of family life cycle, the middle income family units moving for reasons related to features of housing were characterized by family units having children under sixteen years of age (stage three). This concurs with Rossi's finding (as discussed in Chapter II) in his study of middle income families in which he concluded that the major function of residential mobility is to enable families to adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition accompanying life cycle changes.

In contrast to these middle income families, the non-Indian family units giving this reason were characterized by family units married with no children (stage two).

The family units showing these characteristics were also characterized by higher than average income. It can thus be speculated that the non-Indian family units whose children are under sixteen years of age did not move for reasons related to features of housing because their income, although higher than average, was not sufficiently high to enable them to move for this reason because of the additional expense involved in raising a family. This might also explain in part why only one Indian family unit moved for this reason as the majority are those with children under sixteen years. The responsibility of raising a family adequately could possibly have higher priority than moving for reasons related to features of housing. It follows that the non-Indian family units married with no children characteristically give reasons related to features of housing because higher income and lack of family responsibility enables them to be more selective in choice of housing.

Question Five: "Was the move from the last residence voluntary or

involuntary?" Slightly more than two-fifths (43.2 per cent) of the mobile family units from the poverty area perceived their last move as involuntary. Relative to the number of respondents from the middle income group who perceived their last move as involuntary (20.0 per cent), a very large number from the Indian group (52.9 per cent) perceived their last move as involuntary. To a lesser degree (40.0 per cent), the same perception was experienced by family units in the non-Indian group. This reinforces the opinion expressed earlier in this chapter concerning mobile family units whose moves we perceived as being involuntary according to our reason classification system. Involuntary movement appears to be a compounding factor in family units which already have problems because of size, low income, ethnic origin, old age, or missing spouse. As such, these family units need special consideration, study, and increased services to help them move more effectively into places where there is less likelihood of being forced to move again, thus removing one extra pressure from their lives.

Question Six: "Were the mobile family units satisfied or dissatisfied with their last move?" The study revealed that a vast majority of mobile family units in the middle income group and in the non-Indian group (94.4 per cent) were very or moderately satisfied with their last move. The Indian family units, a large proportion moving involuntarily in the first place, were the only ones expressing a noticeable proportion of dissatisfaction (29.4 per cent). However, when considering the total mobile Indian group, a large number of family units, even when moving for involuntary reasons, expressed satisfaction with their last move. Further study concerning the living conditions and standards of those family units who were forced to move and yet expressed satisfaction with their last move seems to be indicated.

Despite the fact that they show a high degree of satisfaction with their last move, the mobile non-Indian family units constitute the highest proportion intending to move again within the next year. In contrast to this, the most dissatisfied group, the mobile Indian family units, do not express intention to move again to the same extent. It might be speculated here that the housing aspirations or standards of the Indian family units are not as high as those of the non-Indian family units. The Indian may be more accepting of their situation, whereas the non-Indian family units indicate a desire to perpetuate mobility despite movement satisfaction. Factors in the cultural life style of the non-Indian may lead to this increased sense of self-determination which is not as evident in the Indian group. Further study may be very valuable in this area.

Question Seven: "Are the circumstances that caused the last move still present?" It can be assumed that movement to be effective should place the family units in a situation where the reasons causing the move are eliminated. The great majority of non-Indian and middle income family units reported that the reasons for their last move were no longer present. However, almost one-fourth of the Indian family units stated that the reasons for their last move had not been resolved by the move. This may indicate that the movement of Indian family units is inefficient and tenuous in that the same circumstances still exist that caused the original move and may in turn provoke further undesired movement.

As perceived by the two mobile groups from the poverty areas, Indian and non-Indian, residential mobility is a qualitatively different phenomenon. Indian family units tend to be forced into unsatisfactory movement to another situation which may or may not lead to further mobility. It is possible that

the Indian does not perceive himself able to muster resources for further movement that would be more satisfactory and would give him a greater control over his future. This may be because of a more passive and fatalistic outlook on life. On the other hand, the non-Indian moves less for involuntary reasons, achieves greater satisfaction with his moves and places himself in a situation where the reasons for his last move usually do not exist. The fact that the non-Indian family unit often intends to move again indicates that he may see mobility as a self-determined tool by which he can adjust his life-space situation to his needs. This seems to point out an area for additional research around which a possible hypothesis could be formulated concerning the degree of perceived self-control over life and its situations and effective view of mobility between the Indian and non-Indian poverty groups.

Question Eight: "Are there relationships between certain reasons for moves and dissatisfaction or satisfaction with the moves within the groups studied?" The cross-classification of the major reasons for moving with the degree of satisfaction with the last move as expressed by the poverty groups sought to answer this question. On the whole, contrary to what we expected to find, the study showed a negative relationship between reasons for moving and degree of satisfaction. Both the Indian and non-Indian family units expressed general satisfaction with the move in spite of the fact that the reasons they had given for moving indicated an involuntary move. The sub-cultural values of present orientation and passivity in the face of social pressures may partially explain this occurrence. It may also indicate that the groups within the poverty area invest their energy in other more vital areas of life and that the priority given to housing conditions by the middle income group and our own research group may simply represent a difference of

sub-cultural values.

Question Nine: "Are there relationships among the variables we are exploring which could lead to hypotheses regarding residential mobility in the poverty group?" Reference has already been made throughout this chapter to various areas where further study is needed and around which hypotheses might be formulated. Two additional areas which could lead to hypotheses concern the large percentage of separated Indian family units who tend to move more for involuntary reasons and also, the trend that the lower the income the greater the likelihood of moving for involuntary reasons while the higher the income the greater the likelihood of moving for reasons related to features of housing.

This exploratory research study of Indian and non-Indian groups in the poverty areas of Winnipeg does provide some initial insight into the extent of, reasons for, and factors involved in the residential mobility of the poor. The interpretations and conclusions drawn from the study reveal that the residential mobility of the Indian and non-Indian groups is both a qualitatively and quantitatively different phenomenon, as is also its expression in the poverty group as compared to the middle income group. The study points to various areas of concern around which attention must increasingly be focused. Family units characterized by lower annual income, large family size, separated marital status, and single members over sixty years of age have been shown to be particularly vulnerable to involuntary movement. Many of these family units simply shift their residence from one inadequate, sub-standard house to another. Through the provision of a guaranteed annual income and by making available to the poor adequate low-rent housing, a foundation could be laid which would begin to alleviate some of the pressures which are keeping these

families trapped within the self-perpetuating culture of poverty. Social work intervention, at all levels of prevention, is needed to provide social services for the poor and help them make full use of these services in order that they can take their rightful places in our modern, affluent society.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. Identifying Information. (Transfer from NULIFE schedule)

1. Address _____
2. Ethnic background - Indian/Metis _____
Non-Indian _____
3. Marital Status - Married _____
Divorced _____
Separated _____
Widowed _____
Never Married _____
4. Total family income (annual) _____
5. No. of members in family unit _____
6. Ages of children _____

B. 1. How long have you lived in this dwelling?

(house, apartment, room) - months _____
- years _____

2. How many times have you moved in the last
three years?

- 1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____ or more _____

3. Are you making definite plans to move
within the next year?

- yes _____

Comments: _____

- no _____

- D.K. _____

4. Did you feel you had any choice in the decision to move from your last place? - yes _____
- no _____

Explain _____

5. (a) Thinking back to your last move, there are usually a number of reasons that make a family move. What were the reasons that made you move out of your last place?
(Establish respondents perception of most important reasons for the move, accepting up to 3).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

- (b) Did one of these reasons influence your decision to move more than the others?
(If yes, indicate which one). - 1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

6. Is this reason(s) (given in question 5) still bothering you?

Comments: _____ - yes _____
_____ - no _____
_____ - N.A. _____

7. How satisfied were you with your last move?

Very Satisfied _____

Moderately Satisfied _____

Dissatisfied. _____

Comments: _____

APPENDIX B

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR MOVE

A. Reasons related to features of housing

- 1) space deficiencies - rooms, yard, parking
- 2) space excess
- 3) inadequate housing - structural defects, inadequate utilities
- 4) personal discomfort - noisy, hot, cold, dirty, smelly, lack of privacy

B. Reasons related to family composition

Increase 1) marriage

2) birth

3) incorporation of extended family into unit

Decrease 4) death

5) children leaving home

6) separation or divorce

7) desertion

8) institutionalization

9) setting up own household

C. Reasons related to life style

- 1) dissatisfaction with groups and aesthetic features of the neighbourhood
- 2) racial discrimination
- 3) ethnic and kinship solidarity
- 4) problems with landlord
- 5) wanted to purchase home

D. Reasons related to insufficient money

- 1) loss of job
- 2) debt and increased expenses
- 3) rent too high
- 4) raise in rent

E. Reasons related to improved financial state

- 1) gain of job
- 2) raise
- 3) clearance of debt

F. Reasons related to convenience

- 1) distance from work
- 2) distance from public assistance
- 3) distance from institutions (schools, hospitals, etc.)
- 4) distance from service facilities (store, bus, etc.)
- 5) availability of work
- 6) availability of public housing

G. Reasons related to involuntary moves

- 1) eviction
- 2) natural disaster
- 3) condemned housing
- 4) urban renewal
- 5) geographic transfer
- 6) children not allowed
- 7) other
- 8) welfare insisted on a move

H. Other reasons

I. Reasons not known

APPENDIX C

TABLE C1

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME IN TOTAL SAMPLE BY NUMBER AND
PER CENT

Annual Family Income	Total Sample		Poverty Area						Middle Income Area	
			Total		Indian		Non-Indian			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	214	100.0	172	100.0	18	100.0	154	100.0	42	100.0
\$ 0 - 999	21	9.8	21	12.2	2	11.1	19	12.4	-	-
1,000 - 1,999	34	15.8	34	19.8	3	16.7	31	20.1	-	-
2,000 - 2,999	32	14.9	30	17.4	3	16.7	27	17.5	2	4.8
3,000 - 3,999	41	19.2	39	22.7	5	27.8	34	22.1	2	4.8
4,000 - 4,999	24	11.2	18	10.5	1	5.6	17	11.0	6	14.3
5,000 - 5,999	11	5.1	6	3.5	-	-	6	3.9	5	11.9
6,000 - 6,999	20	9.3	8	4.6	2	11.1	6	3.9	12	28.6
7,000 - 7,999	12	5.6	3	1.7	-	-	3	1.9	9	21.4
8,000 and over	5	2.3	3	1.7	-	-	3	1.9	2	4.8
Unknown	7	3.3	5	2.9	2	11.1	3	1.9	2	4.8
Refused	7	3.3	5	2.9	-	-	5	3.2	2	4.8

TABLE C2.

SIZE OF FAMILY IN TOTAL SAMPLE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Size of Family	Total Sample		Poverty Area				Middle Income Area			
			Total		Indian				Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Total	214	100.0	172	100.0	18	100.0	154	100.0	42	100.0
Single	62	29.0	55	32.0	1	5.6	54	35.1	7	16.7
2	40	18.7	36	20.9	-	-	36	23.4	4	9.5
3	31	14.5	21	12.2	2	11.1	19	12.3	10	23.8
4	24	11.2	16	9.3	4	22.2	12	7.8	8	19.0
5	23	10.7	15	8.7	2	11.1	13	8.4	8	19.0
6 - 8	24	11.2	19	11.0	5	27.8	14	9.1	5	11.9
9 and over	9	4.0	9	5.2	4	22.2	5	3.2	-	-
Unknown	1	.5	1	.6	-	-	1	.6	-	-

TABLE C3

MARITAL STATUS IN TOTAL SAMPLE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Marital Status	Total Sample	Poverty Area				Middle Income Area
		Total	Indian	Non-Indian		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Total	214 100.0	172 100.0	18 100.0	154 100.0	42 100.0	
Married	116 54.2	82 47.7	11 61.1	71 46.1	34 81.0	
Divorced	6 2.8	6 3.5	- -	6 3.9	- -	
Separated	33 15.4	33 19.1	6 33.3	27 17.5	- -	
Widowed	26 12.1	22 12.8	1 5.6	21 13.6	4 9.5	
Never Married	33 15.4	29 16.9	- -	29 18.8	4 9.5	

TABLE C4

STAGE OF FAMILY LIFE CYCLE IN TOTAL SAMPLE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Family Life Cycle	Total Sample	Poverty Area				Middle Income Area
		Total	Indian	Non-Indian		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Total	214 100.0	172 100.0	18 100.0	154 100.0	42 100.0	
Stage 1	19 8.9	15 8.7	- -	15 9.7	4 9.5	
" 2	7 3.3	4 2.3	- -	4 2.6	3 7.1	
" 3	93 43.5	72 41.9	15 83.3	57 37.0	21 50.0	
" 4	50 23.4	39 22.7	2 11.1	37 24.0	11 26.2	
" 5	42 19.6	39 22.7	1 5.6	38 24.7	3 7.1	
Unknown	3 1.4	3 1.7	- -	3 1.9	- -	

TABLE C5

VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY MOVES IN NUMBER AND PER CENT

Type of Move	Total Sample	Poverty Area				Middle Income Area
		Total	Indian	Non-Indian		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	
Total	98 100.0	88 100.0	17 100.0	71 100.0	10 100.0	
Involuntary	40 40.8	38 43.2	9 52.9	29 40.8	2 20.0	
Voluntary	57 58.2	49 55.7	7 41.2	42 59.2	8 80.0	
Unknown	1 1.0	1 1.1	1 5.9	- -	- -	

TABLE C6

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH LAST MOVE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Degree of Satisfaction	Total Sample		Poverty Area				Middle Income Area			
			Total		Indian				Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	98	100.0	88	100.0	17	100.0	71	100.0	10	100.0
Very satisfied	54	55.1	49	55.7	9	52.9	40	56.3	5	50.0
Moderately satisfied	34	34.7	29	33.0	2	11.8	27	38.0	5	50.0
Dissatisfied	9	9.2	9	10.2	5	29.4	4	5.6	-	-
Unknown	1	1.0	1	1.1	1	5.9	-	-	-	-

TABLE C7

REASON FOR LAST MOVE STILL PRESENT BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Reason Still Present	Total Sample		Poverty Area				Middle Income Area			
			Total		Indian				Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	98	100.0	88	100.0	17	100.0	71	100.0	10	100.0
Yes	12	12.3	11	12.5	4	23.5	7	9.9	1	10.0
No	75	76.5	69	78.4	11	64.8	58	81.6	6	60.0
Unknown	11	11.2	8	9.1	2	11.7	6	8.5	3	30.0

TABLE C8

INTENTION TO MOVE BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Intention to Move	Total Sample		Poverty Area				Middle Income Area			
			Total		Indian				Non-Indian	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Total	98	100.0	88	100.0	17	100.0	71	100.0	10	100.0
Yes	32	32.7	32	36.4	5	29.4	27	38.0	-	-
No	56	57.1	48	54.5	10	58.8	38	53.5	8	80.0
Unknown	10	10.2	8	9.1	2	11.8	6	8.5	2	20.0