

JOB SATISFACTION AND ABORIGINAL LABOUR MOBILITY AMONG NON- RESERVE POPULATIONS *An Overlooked Variable?*

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With a focus on the non-reserve Aboriginal population of Manitoba, this article examines the extent to which job satisfaction influences labour mobility. The study incorporates into the analysis a comparison of this factor to such other variables as job security, gender, age, education, as well as Aboriginal identity (i.e., First Nations, Métis, etc.). The author concludes that among those who are employed in the non-reserve population, two variables stand out as being statistically significant in association to mobility: age and job satisfaction. At the same time, many other variables in this population of employed individuals do not stand out as being statistically significant, most notably gender and education. It is hoped that this paper will further discussions among policy makers and program strategists regarding the “whys” behind population mobility rather than simply the “who” when addressing issues involving labour mobility. This study therefore pertains directly to the topics of demography, human resources, and social policy as they together apply to Métis, non-status Indians, and First Nations people residing off-reserve. The results for this study are based on a random and representative sample of 1,019 self-identified Aboriginal respondents, of which 362 were employed full-time at the time of the interview and were residing in a non-reserve community in Manitoba.

INTRODUCTION

Three aspects of the labour market as it applies to Aboriginal people have received extensive attention in recent years. These are population

growth, education, and mobility. Based on census and labour force data, Statistics Canada in 2007 reported that by “the end of 2017, Aboriginal people of working age (15 and older) will number close to a million [which is] about 3.4%

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of the working age population" (Luffman and Sussman, 2007). Studies regarding this population growth are numerous and include those done by Andrew Siggner (2003), Jerry White and Paul Maxim (2003), Stewart Clatworthy (2007), Stewart Clatworthy, et al. (2007), and Doug Norris (2008). An important aspect of this growth is the extent to which these individuals have the education and skills to fully participate in the workforce. As such, attention is paid to the impact of teaching, curriculum development and high school completions (Richards and Vining, 2003; Morin, 2004; White et al., 2009), recruitment and retention studies pertaining to post-secondary education (Mendelson, 2006; Canadian Millennium Foundation, c2008), and post-secondary training coupled with employment outcomes (Hull, 2004; Maxim and White, 2006; Hull, 2009). Found alongside these examinations are a large number of reports regarding mobility, both in regard to First Nations on-reserve to off-reserve shifts in population as well as within the currently existing non-reserve population (see, for example, Norris and Clatworthy, 2003 and 2007; Norris, et al., 2003; Adams, et al., 2008; Norris, 2008). In these studies, and for the purposes of this journal article, being "mobile" is defined as having moved out of one community to another, that is, to one's current place of residence from another Census Sub-Division.¹

Why is the study of mobility, and the specific issue of labour mobility, important? Major population shifts will usually precipitate major economic, social and cultural changes for the societies in which these occur, with the most notable example being the shift from "country" to "city" in Europe as the industrial age unfolded (Polanyi, 1957; Moore, 1967). With regard to Aboriginal people in Canada, high levels of labour mobility has consequences in such areas as: personal identity and being connected or not connected to one's location, the character of social and family networks, the composition of the communities from which the population is drawn and to which the population is pulled, labour market skill surpluses and shortages, and social needs as they relate to health, education, and other government services.

In Manitoba, which will be the focus of this research article, the extent to which Aboriginal people are found to be highly mobile is revealed by 2006 Census data which show that 42% of

self-identified Aboriginal people (of all ages) changed their place of residence in the previous five years, compared to 36% of those who are non-Aboriginal. When this population is examined more closely, 62 percent of those who are classified as "North American Indian" who were living off-reserve and aged five or over had moved between 2001 and 2006, while 47 percent of Métis had moved during the same time period (Census data cited by Norris, 2008). Close to one-quarter (24%) of off-reserve First Nations people, and sixteen percent of Métis, had moved from one Census Sub-Division to another.

What causes mobility among Aboriginal people? There are many factors that have been identified, including poverty, child-rearing and community safety-related issues, especially among woman, many of whom are single parents (RCAP, 1996; Cooke, 1999; Probe Research, 2005), the need to pursue education and training (Hull, 2004; Maxim and White, 2006; Stonechild, 2008; Hull, 2009), and job seeking and employment-related activities (Stanbury, 1975; Clatworthy, 1980; Clatworthy and Gunn, 1981; Norris, et al., 2003; Adams et al., 2008). Perhaps due to the ready availability of reliable population-related data, most notably the Census and the Aboriginal Peoples Surveys (APS), which together reach into First Nations communities and other segments of the Aboriginal population (Statistics Canada; 2008), and the Labour Force Survey (LFS), which now includes a question regarding Aboriginal identity in its western Canadian surveys (Luffman and Susman, 2007), most of the published studies regarding labour market trends and mobility as they pertain to Aboriginal people focus on social demography. As such, it can be argued that this literature while empirically strong, uses what can be termed a "sociological prism" in which mobility is studied with a focus on life circumstances and group belonging; this includes Aboriginal or First Nations identity, whether one lives on- or off-reserve, well-being and health-related conditions, as well as gender, age and education.

There is a sense, however, that something might be missing here. That is, the current literature shows how being born into an Aboriginal community affects the likelihood of a person being raised by a single parent, and becoming a single parent, facing unsafe living conditions, poverty, and having an incomplete high school



Source: Based on D. Norris, 2008

education. All these elements are said to feed into employment outcomes and mobility. However, might there also be a social psychological aspect of mobility? In order to see if this might be the case, this article examines the extent to which those with full-time employment among the non-reserve Aboriginal population in Manitoba² are satisfied with the work they do, and the extent to which job satisfaction serves as a better predictor of mobility within this population when compared to such socio-demographic variables as gender, age, and education. In other words, this takes the research a little further along the road by moving from the “who” to a further exploration into the “why” of labour mobility, at least among those who currently hold full-time employment.

JOB SATISFACTION

It should be of no surprise to the reader to hear that employee retention is inextricably linked to how employees feel about their jobs (Rust, et al., 1996). That is, being happy with where you work should signal a reluctance to change jobs.

This is verified by numerous studies regarding numerous occupations including social work (Vinokur-Kaplan, 1994), healthcare (Cowin, 2002; Ingersoll, et al., 2002), and information technology (Nelson and Todd, 2004). In the case of Manitoba, major employers such as Manitoba Hydro go to great lengths to demonstrate to prospective job applicants who are Aboriginal that they are important to the company and therefore are offering “well-paid, skilled jobs opportunities” (Manitoba Hydro, 2009). The North West Company, another major employer in Manitoba which is headquartered in Winnipeg and operates a large number of stores across Manitoba and elsewhere, including Northern Stores, Northmarts, and the Giant Tiger retail chain in western Canada,³ seeks to reduce employee turnover among its Aboriginal workforce through the provision of workplace training programs, which have been linked to improved worker motivation, job satisfaction, and worker retention (Campbell, 2002).

Clearly employee satisfaction should tie into the study of labour mobility, yet to date there is a dearth of published studies pertaining to this topic as it applies to Aboriginal people. Perhaps

this deficiency in the existing literature is rooted in the reality that measuring "satisfaction" usually requires asking people attitudinal questions, something not typically provided by the Census, labour force surveys or other large scale databases produced by Statistics Canada. In other words, while it is possible to *infer* job satisfaction through employee behaviours (especially when it involves career changes or job resignations), human resource directors generally accept the principal that people should be *asked* whether or not they are satisfied with their job before drawing conclusions that relate to job retention. This is a major reason why the Manitoba Liquor Control Commission, a provincial Crown corporation that regulates and operates the alcohol retail system in Manitoba, pays a great deal of attention on this topic by conducting employee satisfaction surveys (Yerema, 2009), as too do many other Crown corporations, organizations, and private sector companies in Manitoba.

For this study, survey data will be used in order to answer the following questions as they apply to the non-reserve Aboriginal population of Manitoba:

- To what extent are non-reserve Aboriginal people (mostly consisting of Métis and off-reserve First Nations) who are employed in full-time positions satisfied with their jobs?
- Does job satisfaction differ when comparing the non-reserve employed Aboriginal population in Manitoba with other members of the employed population in Manitoba?
- Does employee satisfaction among non-reserve Aboriginal people who hold full-time employment vary according to gender, age, education, and whether or not one resides in a city?
- Among those with full-time employment, are there links to be found between different socio-demographic variables, especially gender, age, and education and the likelihood of moving?
- Finally, to what extent does job satisfaction correlate with labour mobility among the non-reserve Aboriginal population? And, does this variable serve as a strong predictor of being likely to move compared with many of those socio-demographic characteristics that are studied by others when seeking to understand labour mobility?

THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF MANITOBA

Aboriginal people in Manitoba mostly fall into two very large groups: First Nations and Métis.⁴ Within the province the First Nations include: Cree, Ojibway, Oji-Cree, Dakota, and Dene peoples (McMillan, 1995; Brownlie, 2007). Provided in Table 1 is an overview based on the 2006 Census of the province's Aboriginal populations for both Winnipeg and Manitoba. The First Nations population is roughly split in half between those who usually live on-reserve (51,965) and the other half residing off-reserve (49,850). Another large population group in Manitoba is the Métis people who are of mixed ancestry with many having ancestors who resided within, or near, the Red River Settlement and who had some involvement in the region's fur trade economy (Jantzen, 2004; Brownlie, 2007).⁵ As of 2006, a total of 71,810 Manitobans identified themselves as Métis, of which close to 41,000 were residing in the City of Winnipeg. By removing the on-reserve First Nations population, and combining together all off-reserve First Nations, Métis, Inuit and those who report other identities in this population, a total of 126,710 can be categorized as "non-reserve" Aboriginal people, making up close to one-tenth of the total population of Manitoba.⁶ Due to the high levels of unemployment within many First Nations reservations, the difference in conditions between many First Nations reserve communities and other parts of Manitoba, and the simple fact that this population is very hard to reach through random telephone sampling,⁷ this study's focus is on the non-reserve portion of the Aboriginal population.

METHODOLOGY

The survey results used in this paper are based on two datasets. The first consists of survey interviews conducted with Aboriginal people based on a sample drawn from 12,000 randomly conducted telephone interviews with the general Manitoban population that were conducted by Probe Research between March 2005 and December 2008. During each interview respondents were asked whether or not they identify themselves as Aboriginal and, if so, if they considered themselves a "Status Indian" (and if they

TABLE 1
Manitoba Aboriginal Population — Based on Self-Identification

	<i>Winnipeg</i>	<i>Manitoba</i>
North American Indian	25,900	101,815
On-Reserve	—	51,965
Off-Reserve	—	49,850
Métis	40,980	71,810
Inuit	350	560
Other/Multiple Identity	1,150	2,375
Total Non-Reserve Aboriginal Population	42,480	126,710
Total Provincial Population	694,668	1,148,401

Source: Aboriginal Population, 2006 Census, Statistics Canada.

resided off- or on-reserve), “Métis”, or something else. Out of a total of 1,019 respondents who reported being Aboriginal, 688 stated that their principal place of residence was in a non-reserve location. Of these, 442 identified themselves as being Métis, 154 said they were “Status Indians” who reside off-reserve, 61 reported being a “non-Status Indian,” 28 said they were of no particular category, and three reported being Inuit. In order to provide comparisons with the general population, a second dataset consisting of 1,000 randomly conducted telephone interviews that were conducted by Probe Research in March 2009 with the general adult population was also used.

EMPLOYMENT AND JOB SATISFACTION

To what extent are non-reserve Aboriginal people who are employed full-time satisfied with their jobs? In order to answer this question, the research population within the survey database needed to be narrowed down. Of the 688 non-reserve respondents who were interviewed, 368 reported being employed full-time. All others were excluded: 96 who reported having only part-time employment, 222 who reported not being employed, and two who did not respond to the question. Because part-time employment varies greatly in terms of the level of commitment that is required of employees, most notably the number of hours required per week, these indi-

viduals, along with those who reported not being employed, were removed from the analyses. This facilitated the production of Table 2 which provides a picture of job satisfaction among those who are employed full-time in the non-reserve Aboriginal population with a total sample of 286 respondents. Provided also are the results as they apply to Métis (of which 203 were full-time employees and responded to the question), off-reserve First Nations (60 being employed full-time), as well as the non-Aboriginal population (of which 521 were employed full-time and responded to the question).⁸ When comparing each of these Aboriginal populations (Table 2), there appears to be little or no variation when comparing satisfaction levels among Métis and off-reserve First Nations employees, and only a small difference when compared to non-Aboriginal full-time employees in Manitoba (with the bottom row showing that the small differences are not statistically significant at the 95% confidence level ($p < .05$)).

VARIATIONS IN JOB SATISFACTION WITHIN THE NON-RESERVE POPULATION

While little variation occurs with regard to job satisfaction among those who have full-time employment when comparing Métis, off-reserve First Nations people, and the non-Aboriginal population, Table 3 provides a picture of how job satisfaction varies across each of the major

TABLE 2
Full-time Employment and Job Satisfaction

<i>Job Satisfaction</i>	<i>Total Non-Reserve FT Employed (286) %</i>	<i>Métis (203) %</i>	<i>Off-Reserve First Nations (46) %</i>	<i>Non-Aboriginal Population FT Employed (N=521) %</i>
Satisfied	89	89	89	92
Not Satisfied	11	11	11	8
Chi Sq. Sig. P<0.05			n.s.	

TABLE 3
Job Satisfaction and Demographic Groups

<i>Job Satisfaction</i>	<i>Total Non-Reserve FT Employed (286) %</i>	<i>Gender (286) %</i>		<i>Age (279) %</i>			<i>Education (205) %</i>			<i>Residence (286) %</i>	
		Men	Women	18-34	35-54	55+	<HS	HS	PSE	Wpg	Non-Wpg
Satisfied	89	90	88	87	90	84	90	87	91	89	88
Not Satisfied	11	10	13	13	10	16	9	13	9	11	12
Chi Sq Sig. P<0.05		n.s.		n.s.			n.s.			n.s.	

socio-demographic groups, including gender, age, education, and whether or not one resides in Winnipeg or elsewhere in the province. Only slight variations are found between employed men and women, between each of the different age groups, and between different levels of educational attainment; and, as shown in the bottom row, such differences are not statistically significant at the 95% confidence level ($p < .05$).

VARIATIONS IN MOBILITY AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS IN THE NON-RESERVE POPULATION

When studying factors underlying mobility, it is both useful to examine past behaviour, as is the case when examining Census data with regard to the previous five years (as shown earlier in Figure 1), and to also examine the beliefs or intentions of individuals as they pertain to the future. Here we examine this latter form of reported mobility, that is, the extent to which individuals who reside outside a reserve community believe that they are likely to move in the future, what is termed here as "expected mobility." Respon-

dents were asked the following question: "Thinking about the next twelve months, how likely is it that you will be moving to a different neighbourhood or community?" Examined first is how expectations of mobility among full-time workers might be connected to which major non-reserve Aboriginal group one belongs.

Table 4 shows that of those with full-time employment, close to one-out-of-five (19%) non-reserve respondents reported being likely to move.⁹ With differences that are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level ($p < .05$), full-time workers who identify themselves as being a First Nations person and not residing on a reserve are much more likely to say they are likely to be mobile in the coming twelve months (29%) compared to full-time workers who are Métis (18%) or those who belong to the other population category (10%). Unfortunately, expected mobility among the non-Aboriginal population in Manitoba has yet to be measured, and must be left for another time.¹⁰

When the results are broken out by gender, age, education and whether or not one resides in Winnipeg (Table 5), two of the four variables

TABLE 4
Non-Reserve Population Identity and Expected Mobility

	<i>Total Non-Reserve FT Employed (362) %</i>	<i>Métis (255) %</i>	<i>Off-Reserve First Nations (59) %</i>	<i>All Other Aboriginal (N=48) %</i>
Likely to Move	19	18	29	10
Not Likely to Move	82	82	71	90
Chi Sq. Sig. P<0.05			0.042	

TABLE 5
Expected Mobility and Demographic Groups

	<i>Total Non-Reserve FT Employed (362) %</i>	<i>Gender (362) %</i>		<i>Age (356) %</i>			<i>Education (N=258) %</i>			<i>Residence (362) %</i>	
		Men	Women	18-34	35-54	55+	<HS	HS	PSE	Wpg	Non-Wpg
Likely to Move	19	21	16	35	12	7	18	19	16	23	13
Not Likely to Move	82	79	84	65	88	94	82	81	84	78	87
Chi Sq. Sig. P<0.05		n.s.		0.000			n.s.			.019	

exhibit statistically significant results among the full-time working population, while two do not. The key findings from Table 5 can be summarised as follows:

- Not surprisingly, younger Aboriginal adults (35% of those aged 18 to 34) who are employed full-time are much more likely to say they are moving compared to middle aged (12% of those aged 35 to 54) and older aged (7% of those aged 55 or over) non-reserve Aboriginal adults.
- Residents of Winnipeg who are Aboriginal and have full-time employment are more likely to say they will be moving than are those workers who are Aboriginal and residing in other parts of the province. However, this statistically significant finding is likely due to the fact that some urban respondents plan to move from one Winnipeg neighbourhood to another Winnipeg neighbourhood, thereby artificially inflating the incidence of expected mobility for this group.
- Males with full-time employment are slightly more likely than their female counterparts to report a likelihood of moving (21% compared

to 16%); however, these differences are not statistically significant at the 95% confidence level and therefore may not be valid.

- Surprisingly, there appears to be almost no variation in expected mobility when comparing individuals of different levels of educational attainment. Sixteen percent of those who have completed a program of study at either a college or university say they are likely to move, compared to 18% of those with less than a high school degree and 19% of those with a completed high school degree. In other words, educational attainment among those with full-time employment does not appear to be associated with expectations of mobility.

JOB SATISFACTION AND MOBILITY

At this point the discussion shifts from focusing on socio-economic groupings and expected mobility to how attitudes about one's job might be connected to mobility. Compared to many of the socio-demographic variables already considered, might there be a stronger link between job

satisfaction and mobility among those who are employed full-time? Of course, what is expected and what actually occurs in a person's life may be different. It is possible that individuals who are more vulnerable than others may be less capable of predicting whether or not they will be moving, this might include individuals who unexpectedly find themselves in a lone parent situation, become unemployed, need to flee an unsafe community, or lose their place of residence. Unfortunately a full exploration of this aspect of the research as it applies to full-time workers is beyond the capacity of the data that were acquired for this study, and therefore needs to be pursued through other avenues at a later date.

What is possible to examine using the data, however, is to look at the extent to which concerns about losing one's job¹¹ may be linked to job satisfaction, and therefore expected mobility. Table 6 below shows that there is a statistically significant link between having a concern about losing one's job and its link to job satisfaction. More than 9 out of 10 respondents (92%) who are *not* concerned about job loss are satisfied with their jobs, while only 78% of those who

have concerns about job loss are satisfied with their jobs. At the other end of the scale, more than one out of five (22%) who are concerned about job loss, are also dissatisfied with their jobs, compared to only 8% of those who are not concerned about job loss. Therefore, expectations regarding losing one's job appear to feed into job dissatisfaction.

Table 7 allows us to explore the extent to which job satisfaction might serve as a stronger predictor of mobility compared to many of the socio-demographic variables examined earlier. Among those with full-time employment there is a much higher incidence of expected mobility for those who are not satisfied with their current job (31%) compared to those who say they are satisfied (17%), with the differences between these two groups on the cusp of statistical significance at the 95% confidence level (.051). The table also shows that there is a slightly higher tendency of expected mobility among those who are concerned about losing employment (28%) compared to those who are not concerned (16%).

TABLE 6
Concern about Job Loss and Job Satisfaction

	Total Non-Reserve FT Employed (286) %	Not Concerned (222) %	Concerned (63) %
Satisfied	89	92	78
Not Satisfied	11	8	22
Chi Sq. Sig. P<0.05		0.003	

TABLE 7
Job Satisfaction, Job Security, and Expected Mobility

	Job Satisfaction (283)		Job Security (361)	
	Satisfied (252) %	Not Satisfied (31) %	Not Concerned (278) %	Concerned (83) %
Likely to Move	17	31	16	28
Not Likely to Move	83	69	84	72
Chi Sq. Sig. P<0.05		0.051		0.013

TABLE 8
Job Security, Satisfaction and Expected Mobility

	<i>Not Concerned (221)</i>		<i>Concerned (61)</i>	
	<i>Satisfied %</i>	<i>Not Satisfied %</i>	<i>Satisfied %</i>	<i>Not Satisfied %</i>
Likely to Move	16	22	23	43
Mobility Gap (Those Not Satisfied minus Satisfied)		+6		+20
Chi Sq. Sig. P<0.05		n.s.		n.s.

TABLE 9
Correlations with Expectations of Mobility

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Job Satisfaction</i>	<i>Expected Job Loss</i>	<i>Expected Mobility</i>
Gender (Female 0, Male 1)	n.s.	-0.150 0.004	n.s.
Age	n.s.	n.s.	-0.312 0.000
Education	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Job Satisfaction	—	-0.186 0.002	-0.115 0.054
Job Loss Concerns	-0.186 0.002	—	0.129 0.014

As a second step, a three-way table (Table 8) helps to show the links between job satisfaction and expected mobility and how these might be intertwined with job security. Among those who feel secure about their jobs *and* at the same time are satisfied with their current employment, only 16% reported that they expect to be moving in the coming twelve months, while 23% of those who feel insecure but satisfied with their jobs expect to be moving. Among those who report being both insecure in their employment *and* at the same time not satisfied with their job, more than four out of ten (43%) expected to be moving. While the results for this three way table as they apply to job satisfaction do not pass a test of significance at the 95% confidence level, they do indicate that further research into how these three variables interact together is certainly warranted.¹²

CORRELATIONS WITH EXPECTED MOBILITY

Provided here in Table 9 are the survey results as they pertain to those with full-time employment according to gender, age, education, job satisfaction, and job security and how they correlate¹³ with expectations of mobility (which is treated as a binary variable with 0 being “unlikely to move” and 1 being “likely to move”). Age remains the strongest of the variables with a negative direction (-.312) which signifies that as one gets older, expectations of moving decline. Two other variables stand out as well: job satisfaction is negatively associated with mobility (-.115 with the results being very close to the 95% confidence level) and concerns about job loss (.129), meaning that as one becomes concerned about unemployment so too is there an expectation of being likely to move. At the

same time, gender and education appear unrelated to such expectations among those who hold full-time employment.

BUILDING A MULTIPLE REGRESSION MODEL FOR EXPECTED MOBILITY

This section takes the data analysis one final step forward by studying expected labour mobility through the use of multiple regression. Here the results are provided in Table 10 using most of the variables discussed previously, including specific Aboriginal group identity, gender, age, education, Winnipeg residence, and job satisfaction. This model produces an adjusted r^2 of .147 (for those who are unfamiliar with regression

analysis, an adjusted r^2 result of 1.0 would signify that all changes in the dependent variables are explained by all the variables in the left-hand column¹⁴). Because there are many variables that are not at, or even near, statistical significance at the 95% confidence level ($p < .05$ — as shown in the right hand column), including specific group identity, gender, and educational attainment, these need to be removed from the model.

Table 11 shows the multiple regression results after having the statistically insignificant variables removed from the model (i.e., being “trimmed”). The adjusted r^2 is .134 with all statistically significant variables included. This signifies that together, these variables have a small yet statistically significant predictive effect on expected mobility. An examination of the middle column containing the standardized coefficients,

TABLE 10
Multiple Regressions on Expected Mobility (Untrimmed)

	<i>Unstandardized Coefficients</i>		<i>Standardized Coefficients</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	<i>B</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>		
(Constant)	1.274	0.155		8.225	0.000
Being Métis	-0.110	0.072	-0.128	-1.520	0.130
Being Status Off-Reserve	-0.135	0.091	-0.125	-1.486	0.139
Being Male	-0.076	0.050	-0.097	-1.529	0.128
Age	0.112	0.020	0.350	5.523	0.000
Level of Education	0.022	0.021	0.066	1.053	0.294
Resident of Winnipeg	0.093	0.050	0.118	1.880	0.062
Job Satisfaction	0.145	0.077	0.117	1.875	0.062

Dependent Variable: Expected Mobility

TABLE 11
Multiple Regressions on Expected Mobility (Trimmed)

	<i>Unstandardized Coefficients</i>		<i>Standardized Coefficients</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	<i>B</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>		
(Constant)	0.613	0.091		6.764	0.000
Age	-0.112	0.019	-0.338	-6.031	0.000
Job Satisfaction	-0.141	0.069	-0.115	-2.051	0.041
Resident of Winnipeg	0.109	0.044	0.138	2.458	0.015

Dependent Variable: Expected Mobility

which provides figures showing the proportionate force of each variable as part of the whole, age is the strongest variable with a contribution of 34%, followed by residing in Winnipeg (14% of the model) and job satisfaction serving as the third strongest driver (12%). This informs us that individuals who are employed full-time in the non-reserve Aboriginal population are less mobile as they get older and more satisfied in the type of jobs they do, but are more mobile if living in the City of Winnipeg. The reader might recall that this final factor, being a resident of Winnipeg, is probably affected by intra-urban mobility rather than moves into and outside the city.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this article has been to shed a little bit more light on the topic of mobility among Aboriginal people, especially among those who are employed full-time and not residing on a reserve. Using survey results derived from interviews with non-reserve Aboriginal people in Manitoba, it is clear that social researchers need to continue pushing beyond demographically oriented discussions regarding employment outcomes, the labour market, and mobility. That is, they must move from the "who" as it relates to mobility, into developing more questions regarding the "whys." It is clearly important to examine how individuals *feel* about their current situation, including job satisfaction and job security. By doing this, those involved in policy-making and program design might be able to design better strategies to address mobility-related issues. Other areas of interest should include how individuals view and evaluate their local economy, community conditions, personal and family safety, and the future of youth.

The survey results examined in this article demonstrate that when those who hold full-time employment are studied with regard to their expectations about mobility, the variables of age and job satisfaction both stand out as statistically significant. The survey data also reveal that (i) job security and (ii) factors of mobility as they specifically pertain to the urban labour market need to be studied further in order to better understand labour mobility and Aboriginal people. Overall, it is the author's hope that this

research article will help to inform further research and discussions among those who are involved in developing labour market strategies relating to Aboriginal people and the communities in which they reside, and to underline the fact that attitudes and perceptions are important aspects when seeking to design policies and programs relating to labour mobility.

NOTES

1. This would be having moved from a different city, town, village, township, municipality, or Indian reserve in Canada, or a community outside Canada.
2. Because the incidence of full-time employment is much lower among the on-reserve population, with sample sizes in the data being too small to warrant analysis, and because community conditions are much different compared to those of other communities (Adams, 2009), this population is excluded from this particular study. The reader is referred to the discussion on methodology found later in this document.
3. Giant Tiger is separately owned in central and eastern Canada.
4. This discussion of the Aboriginal population in Manitoba is largely drawn from Christopher Adams (2009). The term "First Nations" and that used by Statistics Canada and other government entities, "Status Indian", are treated in this paper as pertaining to the same population.
5. There are many ways by which Métis can be defined. As discussed in the next section, the simplest approach is used here: self-identification.
6. The author recognizes that there would be a small number of non-First Nations people living on a reserve either due to family connections or employment.
7. However, it should be noted that alternative representative sampling approaches can be used for incorporating the on-reserve population into a cross-provincial study. See Christopher Adams (2009).
8. Those who report being employed full-time and categorize themselves as non-status (N=33), Inuit (N=1), or of no particular category (N=14) are included in the total column but do not have their own specific column in this or in the other tables provided in this study. Of the general population, 58 were self-identified Aboriginal people with full-time employment. These were removed in order to provide the non-Aboriginal population results. The reader should note that the job satisfaction question was not included in one wave of the surveys conducted. N-sizes will vary depending

on the questions that are examined for each table.

9. Worth noting is that this is a lower incidence than that found among the total adult Aboriginal population of Manitoba which reported a 25% incidence level of expected mobility (Adams, 2009).
10. At the time of writing (September, 2009), Probe Research has been surveying a representative sample of 1,000 Manitobans regarding their expectations of moving in the next twelve months. The results from this survey will be available for any future versions of this research article.
11. It should be noted that the question pertains to whether or not the respondent is concerned "that someone in your household" will undergo an unwanted reduction of hours or job loss. Because it is only those with full-time employment that are studied here, it is expected that most respondents would be thinking of their own personal employment situation when responding to the question. The category of those who reported "being concerned" includes those who responded "yes" plus those who stated "maybe".
12. The reader should note that interviews continue to be conducted for this project by Probe Research, and a future study on this topic is anticipated based on a larger dataset for the year 2011.
13. Pearson's r is used here, in which a perfect positive association between the two variables would produce a +1.0 score, and a perfect negative association would produce a -1.0 score.
14. For a clear description of the use of multiple regression models, see Chapter 19 in Alvin Bush and Ronald Bush, *Marketing Research: Sixth Edition* (2009).

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