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NAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE Prof. Francis Vallee

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MIGRATION, ADJUSTMENT, AND
INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN
INTO THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

by

Don N. McCaskill

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies in Partial
Fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
August, 1970

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis
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submitted by Don N. McCaskill, B.A.,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.

Robert B. Valleer
.....
Thesis Supervisor

Arnold White
.....
Chairman, Department of
Sociology

Carleton University

September 8, 1970

ABSTRACT

This work is an analysis of the migration, adjustment, and integration of the Canadian Indian and Metis into the urban setting. It is based on data collected in 1968 from a 64-item interview schedule administered to a sample of 71 families moving into the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba.

After reviewing the literature pertaining to the above processes an attempt is made to account for the major historical, social, economic and psychological reasons for the rural-to-urban migration. This section also discusses the role of primary group and organizational assistance on urban adjustment.

The second section examines the settlement patterns of the native people in the city and outlines a theoretical scale of 'urban adjustment'. In addition, the role of returning 'home' to the Reserve or Metis Community is analyzed in relation to urban adjustment.

The final section provides two possible answers for successful urban integration - the formation of an ethnic identity and community organization.

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In conclusion tribute should be paid to the Indian and Metis people who took part in the study. It is to their efforts in the urban setting that this work is dedicated.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A great deal of sociological literature has been devoted to the study of the processes involved in the migration, adjustment, and integration of new members into a group or society. This is largely the result of the study of two major social phenomena which have taken place within the U.S. and Canada, namely the large influx of immigrants to this continent within the last century, and the considerable shift in population from rural areas to urban centres¹. The studies relating to the former area have tended to concentrate on such aspects as: the "push-pull" factors affecting international migration; the cultural backgrounds, the personal and social characteristics of immigrants; the processes involved in their absorption into the receiving society; and their contributions to Canadian or American life.

¹(a) Indeed, it can be argued that Sociology as a discipline in the U.S. "emerged largely as a response to the rapid urbanization and industrialization of the post-Civil War era" see: R. Hinkle and G. Hinkle, The Development of Modern Sociology, (New York, Random House Inc., 1954) pp 1-4.

(b) This rural-urban shift in Canada can be easily seen in the following statistics. In 1901 Canada was 64% rural and 36% urban, whereas in 1961 Canada was 30% rural and 70% urban. source: D.R. Whyte, Rural Canada in Transition, (Unpublished Monograph, Department of Sociology, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1965), p 2.

Regarding the latter phenomenon, the literature has focused on such topics as: the situational factors in the community of origin; the migration differentials characteristic of the people moving; the motivational and decision-making process involved in the shift; the ecological and demographic factors entailed in settling in the urban environment; and the process of adjustment and absorption into the new community.

A third related stream of study within the social sciences has dealt with the integration of the various groups from the point of view of the development of a group consciousness within their new environment. These works have been both sociological and psychological in nature and have examined such themes as: the mechanisms involved in the formation of an ethnic identity; the symbols of ethnic differentiation; the accommodation of the group within the 'host' or 'dominant' society; the role of ethnic leaders, associations, organizations, media, and churches in the maintenance of a group identity; the formation of ethnic interest groups and political parties; and the transformation of minority groups into new ethnic categories.

In the sociological literature these three areas of concern have been discussed from the following perspectives: international and internal (rural-urban) migration studies; assimilation, absorption, adoption, or diffusion of individuals or groups; and ethnic or minority group relations.

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Within the field of anthropology a parallel development has taken place. Much of the Canadian anthropological literature has concerned itself with the encounters of the white population with the native people of this continent and the consequent 'acculturation' of the Indian population. These writings have tended to examine the various aspects of the social structure of the reserve or reservation; the archaeological history of the different regions; the tribal heritages of assorted groups; and the results of the cultural contact of the two peoples. However, with few exceptions,² there has been little published work done on the migration of the Indian to the large urban centres in Canada.

Such an investigation is becoming increasingly necessary due to the large influx of people of Indian ancestry from the reserves and Metis communities to the urban areas. The reason for this migration has been largely due to the pressures of over population on the reserves and Metis communities, together with a decreasing availability of employment opportunities in the rural areas. Coupled with this has been the "pull" of the cities with their promise of a better life. However, when he arrives in the city the Indian and Metis usually finds that because of his lack of preparation for the

²The studies which are specifically concerned with the Indian in the urban setting are cited in the following chapter.

urban environment, his low level of education and marketable skills, and discrimination, he is usually forced to settle in the slum areas of the city and occupy the lowest rung on the occupational ladder.

The literature on this subject has been scarce and largely descriptive in nature. This is partly due to the fact that the migration of the Indian and Metis in large numbers to the cities and towns is a relatively recent phenomenon, and partly because there has not been a single agency responsible for this area of Indian affairs. The studies that have been done usually take the form of reports of conferences dealing with the 'problem' of Indian and Metis adjustment in the cities. These conferences have been sponsored largely by social work agencies or government organizations which are directly concerned with aiding this group in their new community. Consequently the work on this topic has been mainly problem-oriented, with little attempt to examine the phenomenon in the light of the already existing conceptual frameworks or theoretical knowledge and findings which the social sciences have elaborated in their investigations of related phenomena.

It is therefore the purpose of this thesis to attempt to unite the contributions of sociology and anthropology in examining the migration, adjustment, and integration of the native people of Canada into the urban environment. More specifically, the thesis will analyze these processes as they

are seen to affect a sample of Indian and Metis people who have migrated to the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba. In doing so it is hoped that the knowledge and findings of both sociology and anthropology can be utilized to gain a fuller understanding of this social phenomenon.

The thesis will thus have four specific aims. The first is to set forth a scheme or conceptual framework for the study of the "total" migration and settlement process involved in moving from a rural setting to an urban environment. This will include the time of the decision to move, the migration from one community to another, and the actual settlement in and integration into the new environment. It will also entail a synthesizing of many studies in the related areas in sociology, as was previously mentioned.

Secondly this study will attempt to add to the findings regarding the increasing number of people of Indian ancestry who are migrating to the large urban centres of Canada and the U.S. This will involve looking at such factors as the reasons for moving, the adjustment to the city, community participation, the socio-economic background of the migrating families, their settlement patterns, and the role the reserve and Metis community play in the urban experience. In addition to a general analysis of these factors, one aspect will be examined in detail. First, in the section on migration, the relationship between previously

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existing primary group contacts and organizational assistance in the city on the one hand, and the individual's first impression of the urban environment on the other, will be examined under two main hypotheses.³

Hypothesis I - Migrants who do not receive help from already existing primary group contacts in the new community are more likely to have a negative first impression of the city than those who receive such assistance.

Hypothesis II - Migrants who do not receive assistance from any agency or organization are more likely to have a negative first impression of the city than those who receive such assistance.

The rationale for these two hypotheses is that help from primary group contacts and organizations already in the city will function to "cushion the shock" experienced by the rural migrant, thereby giving him a better impression of the urban situation than one without such support. Furthermore the migrant who receives such assistance is more likely to have an easier "adjustment" to his new community, since the latter can perform such tasks as finding the individual a job, providing a place to stay, and generally orienting the new resident to city life.

Secondly, in the section entitled "adjustment", the migrant is examined after he has settled in his new environment. Throughout the analysis the migration and adjustment patterns of the sample will be compared to those

³See Chapter 2.

of other migrant groups. The Indian and Metis can be viewed as similar in many ways to both international immigrant groups and rural-urban migrants. However, it will also be argued that their migration is different in several important ways from that of these other groups. This study will focus particularly on two important areas of dissimilarities which, it will be hypothesized, are able to account for much of the lack of "successful" integration into Canadian society.

The first of these factors is the Indian's history regarding the reserve system and his special status as a group. These factors have functioned to isolate the Indian from the mainstream of the "dominant" society, geographically, socially, and economically. They have further served to keep the Indian from attaining the levels of education and skill necessary to obtain an adequate occupation within the larger society. Furthermore geographical isolation in some regions, coupled with the welfare given under the Indian's special status, has tended to maintain traditional patterns of rural existence longer than among other comparable rural groups. As a result of these and other factors, the Indian has undergone the rural-urban migration later than other groups. Thus he enters the labour market at a time when the economy is no longer rapidly expanding and able to absorb large numbers of people with low levels of skills

and education. He therefore tends to remain in the slum areas of the city with an unstable occupational situation.

The other major factor which tends to make the Indian and Metis different from other immigrant groups is the fact that the Indian and Metis can and does go "home" to the Reserve or Metis Community when he feels that he is unsuccessful in his attempt at urbanization. This frequent returning to the home community often serves to compound the difficulties encountered in the urban area, such as, for example, maintaining a steady job for any length of time.

Chapter four is devoted to this relationship between the Reserve or Metis Community and the adjustment patterns in the city. Therefore the third major purpose of this thesis is to try to account for some of the problems experienced by the Indian and Metis by examining this unique situation. This will be accomplished by the examination of these two hypotheses:⁴

Hypothesis III - Migrants from reserves and Metis communities which score "low" on the economic and acculturation scales will also tend to score low on an "adjustment" score based on

- (a) intention to stay in the city permanently;
- (b) social 'cognition';
- (c) community participation;
- (d) positive or negative attitudes toward the city.

Hypothesis IV - Migrants who settle in the most "unstable" lower class areas tend to come from reserves or Metis communities which score lower on the economic and acculturation scales than those who live in the more "stable" lower class areas.

⁴See Chapter 4.

In order to test these hypotheses three scores had to be computed. The first two consisted of scales ranking the sample Reserves and Metis communities according to two criteria - economic resources and potential, and degree of acculturation. A score of one (low) to five (high) was then assigned to each community.

The third score is concerned with the level of "adjustment" to the urban environment. An eight-point scale was constructed based on several variables related to the individual's attitudes and activities in the city. Each individual was ranked along this continuum which served as a rough measure of the amount of "adjustment" he had made in the city.

These three scores were then examined in relation to one another to determine the effect that an individual's coming from a reserve or Metis community which scored "high" or "low" has on successful or unsuccessful adjustment to the urban environment.

The fourth and final aim of this thesis is to examine the urban Indian and Metis group as a whole in the light of the experiences of other immigrant groups. It will concentrate on the efforts of such groups in trying to form and maintain a viable ethnic identity in their new social setting. This will be accomplished by examining such processes as the formation of a sense of group consciousness, the mechanisms

by which such an identity is maintained, the role of ethnic leaders as a liaison between the group and the larger society, and the extent to which the Indian and Metis population in the urban centres can be compared with already existing ethnic groups. It will be argued that an Indian and Metis ethnic group identity and structure must evolve before there can be a successful adjustment to the urban situation and a movement up the economic ladder in the near future. The further opinion will be advanced that this process is beginning to take place through the efforts of the new groups of Indian and Metis leaders active in the establishment of national organizations and associations which can legitimately speak on behalf of the native peoples of Canada. In this way the Indian and Metis will come to have a more realistic opportunity to become fully "integrated" rather than simply "assimilated" into Canadian urban society.⁵

The five chapters of this study have been arranged with these four major aims in mind. These chapters have been organized into three parts corresponding to the time sequence involved in the movement and settlement in the urban area - migration, adjustment, and integration. The first chapter, similarly broken down, provides a review of the major sociological and anthropological studies in these three related

⁵See Chapter 4 for the distinction between "integration" and "assimilation".

areas as well as briefly mentioning some comparative research pertaining specifically to the Indian and Metis.

Chapter two focuses on the migration process itself. It begins with an overview of the situational factors on the reserves and Metis communities which precipitates the movement to the cities. The next two sections introduce the sample under study by dealing with the background characteristics of the migrants and the motivational determinants of their decision to move. The chapter concludes with an hypothesis regarding the association between primary group or organizational contacts in the community of destination and the migrant's first impression of the city.

Part II examines the individual's adjustment upon reaching the city. Chapter three follows the migrant's settlement patterns in the urban milieu analyzing his activities and attitudes towards the new environment. The next chapter concentrates on the role of the Reserve and Metis community on the process of urban adjustment. Specifically it attempts to demonstrate a correlation between the 'type' of community of origin (as measured by an economic and acculturation scale) and adjustment to the city. A final section looks at the effect that returning 'home' to the rural area has on urban adjustment.

The last major part analyzes the native people living in the city as a group. It speculates as to the possible

formation of an Indian and Metis ethnic group as a vehicle to successful integration into the urban areas across Canada. Finally, after a brief concluding section, an appendix will be furnished outlining the methodological procedures utilized in this thesis.

In this way it is hoped a fuller understanding of the processes involved in the urbanization of a group of rural migrants will be gained and guides to further research in this area provided.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION:

The introduction of new members into a group or society has been the focus of much study and speculation within the fields of sociology, anthropology, and social psychology. Within each of these disciplines, there is a great diversity with regard to the aspects of the problem to be studied, the methods to be applied, the level of analysis to be utilized, the conceptual frameworks to be emphasized, and so forth.

Furthermore, few studies attempt to set forth a theoretical scheme for the 'total' process involved in the movement of a group of people from one social setting to another. The total process stretches from the time the decision is made to move through the migration process, to the actual adjustment and integration into the new social environment.

Therefore, there is a need not only to provide an integrated approach which synthesizes the work, theoretical and empirical, done in the various academic disciplines in regard to this subject matter, but also to furnish a theoretical framework with which to study and understand the 'total' migration and settlement process.

This chapter consisting of four sections, will attempt to provide a review of the literature that deals with the various ways in which this phenomenon has been studied. The first three sections correspond to the three broad areas in the literature regarding the 'total' process--migration, acculturation-assimilation, and integration (ethnic group relations). In each area, an attempt has been made to structure the literature from the theoretical to the empirical, with any works pertaining specifically to the Indian and Metis being mentioned at the end of each section.¹

A fourth and final section is devoted to five comparative studies which deal with Indian and Metis in urban areas and which provide a direct comparison for the findings of the study carried out by the author.

MIGRATION:

Broadly defined, migration simply refers to the geographical movement of people which involves a change in their permanent residence.² The first major steps in the

¹It should be noted that two studies have been reviewed in detail. This is because one is an example of the 'total' approach as advocated by this study C.V. Kiser, Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centers (New York, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 368, 1932), and the other S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1955) provides the major theoretical framework of this work.

²D.R. Whyte, "Social Determinants of Inter-Community Mobility: a Inventory of Findings (Unpublished monograph, Department of Sociology, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1967) p.1.

process under study are the decision to move and the actual migration. Studies on migration usually attempt to isolate those factors which influenced the decision to move and outline patterns of migration and eventual assimilation into the 'dominant' or 'receiving' society. In these studies, the process of migration is examined in relation to such variables as: sex, intelligence, levels of education, occupational and educational aspirations, family background factors, reference group orientation, and actual or perceived opportunities to migrate.³

There is a vast amount of literature on the various types of migration--international, rural-urban, labour mobility, institutionally aided relocation--but this review will restrict itself to the first two types. Moreover, two assumptions will be made here: first, that regardless of the distance travelled by the migrant, it is possible to identify a common migration process; and second, that the Indian and Metis, although actually only internal migrants, can, for purposes of comparison, also be considered on the level of international immigrants.

One of the early 'classical' works in the field of migration is Ravenstein's The Laws of Migration⁴ in which he sets forth his six laws of migration. Much of the subsequent.

³Ibid., p. 1.

⁴Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, (Vol. 48, 1885), pp. 167-227.

empirical work on migration can be viewed as attempts to quantify, measure, and test these laws. The six general laws are:⁵

1. Most migration covers only short distances.
2. Migration proceeds by stages, one person filling the gap left by another who moved earlier.
3. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.
4. Long distance movers generally go to big cities.
5. Town dwellers are less migratory than rural residents.
6. Females are more migratory than males.

An example of an attempt to quantify Ravenstein's Laws is provided by Stouffer's Cleveland Residential Mobility Study⁶ which hypothesizes that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.⁷ Despite some difficulties in defining 'units of distance' and 'intervening opportunities', Stouffer's work has been widely utilized in migration studies and represents a useful quantification of Ravenstein's Laws.

In the literature on migration, the two most important questions that arise are: who goes, and why? In an attempt to answer these questions, D.S. Thomas reviews and examines the various hypotheses and findings which have appeared in

⁵Ibid., p. 221.

⁶S.A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance", American Sociological Review (Vol. 5, 1940), pp. 845-867.

⁷ Ibid., p. 846.

the literature on rural to urban migration.⁸ He accomplishes this by examining in detail all the migration differentials which have been isolated by previous authors: age, sex, family status, physical health, mental health, intelligence, occupation and motivation.

Regarding age differentials in migration, he states:

The one generalization about migration differentials which can be considered definitely established...is the following: there is an excess of adolescents and young adults among migrants, particularly migrants from rural areas to towns, compared with the non-migrating in the general population.⁹

However, even this generalization Thomas qualifies due to the methodological difficulties involved regarding the operation of age-selective migration. These difficulties he cites as our lack of precise information about the operation of communities of varying economic and social structure upon age selection, our lack of information concerning the operation of distance as a factor limiting or extending the range of age-selective migration, and, finally, our lack of information regarding the effects of upswings and downswings in economic conditions upon age-selective migration.

In examining the other variables listed, Thomas is not optimistic regarding the extent to which sociology can make generalizations about the migration process. For

⁸D.S. Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, (New York; Social Science Research Council, 1938). Thomas' appendix presents an excellent review of all the early studies on rural to urban migration in comparative perspective.

⁹Ibid., pp. 11-12.

example, he claims that Ravenstein's 'law' of migration stating that "females are more migratory than males" has been widely accepted without systematic proof. He qualifies the 'law' by stating that the data suggest that the 'rural exodus' has been selective of females but that urbanization per se is not selective of females. Rather, the pull upon the two sexes to the city probably varies with such things as the type of city, the employment opportunities, and the distance from the area of origin.

In examining another important migration differential, occupation, he similarly concludes that in sociology, "... we find less known about this process of occupational adjustment than almost any other aspect of migration differentials".¹⁰ He feels that sociology needs an accurate classification of occupations as well as a logical arrangement of these occupations in a hierarchy or a system of hierarchies which represents both the extent to which they offer economic advancement and security, and the extent to which they satisfy certain wants, e.g. prestige and workmanship.

Thomas feels that this gap in sociological knowledge regarding occupational differentials must be corrected because the latter are essential for the understanding of the economic motives for migration and the sociological adjustment following migration.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 129.

He concludes by pointing out that the significance of occupational differentials lies not so much in the extent to which migrants are selected from specific occupational groups in the community of origin as in the extent to which change of occupation is a concomitant of migration, and the extent to which the migrant becomes occupationally differentiated from the settled population in the community of destination.

The crux of the problem is, in the former case, whether the migrants better themselves occupationally in the process of migrating; in the latter, how far up the occupational ladder they are able to climb, and how long it takes to achieve positions on that ladder equivalent or superior to those held by their non-migrant competitors.¹¹

In conclusion, Thomas sets forth what he considers to be the 'ideal type' outline for the adequate study of the migration process. His seventeen point outline is as follows:¹²

1. Statements of the problem.
2. Area and period of time considered.
3. Method of data collection and analysis.
4. Composition of sample.
5. Situational factors in community of origin.
 - Economic characteristics of area:
 - Natural resources;
 - Employment opportunities;
 - Degree of industrialization or type of agriculture.
 - Population increasing or decreasing.
 - Phase of the business cycle.
 - Etc.

¹¹Ibid., p. 126.

¹²Ibid., p. 9. This outline (with some exceptions) will be followed by the thesis under the headings: migration adjustment integration.

6. Amount of migration in relation to population.
7. Direction of migration.
8. Distance spanned in migration.
9. Factors facilitating or impeding migration, (government assistance, intercommunity contacts, etc.).
10. Demographic qualities of migrants:
 - Age;
 - Sex;
 - Nativity;
 - Marital and family status.
11. 'Other' qualities of migrants:
 - Psychophysical status;
 - Intelligence;
 - Education;
 - Occupation and standing in occupation;
 - Personality patterns;
 - Behaviour patterns.
12. Comparison of migrants and non-migrants, or of specified migrants with other specified migrants, or of migrants and the general population.
13. Situational factors in community of destination (same as #5).
14. The process of spanning the distance between community of origin and community of destination.
15. Settlement after migration or re-migration.
16. Changes in status and behaviour following migration:
 - Occupational change;
 - Social climbing;
 - Unemployment and family changes;
 - Marriage;
 - Child bearing;
 - Divorce;
 - Behaviour changes;
 - Communal changes;
 - Crime.
17. Main generalizations.

In explaining his scheme, Thomas includes items 10 and 11 as the qualities of migrants the 'selection' of which, positive or negative, is to be investigated, with item 12 indicating the basis for determining differentials. Items 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 13 are considered the minimum essentials needed for defining the situations surrounding the migration.

Items 15 and 16 are concerned with post-migration differentials, 9 and 14 indicate the dynamics of migration, and 3 and 4 are essential for evaluating the validity of the findings and the reasonableness of the generalizations in 17.

Thomas feels that an excellent example of a work incorporating his seventeen categories has been done by Clyde Kiser in his study of Negro migrants from St. Helena Island.¹³

Selected areas of this latter study will be examined in detail because it represents both an example of Thomas' 'total' approach to the study of migration and because it has major similarities with the migration of the Indians and Metis under study. These similarities are basically two: first, the migration is from a rural area to a large city and, secondly, both groups of migrants represent 'visible' minorities in their respective societies.

For his method of data collection, Kiser enumerated all the Negro households of St. Helena, recording age, sex, marital status, date of departure, and destination of all persons who had migrated. He then interviewed the immigrants in their cities of destination recording circumstances surrounding their departure from home, their general conditions

¹³C.V. Kiser, Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centres, (New York, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 368, 1932) p. 214.

in the city, and their attitudes toward returning to St. Helena.

He found that much of the early migration was directly facilitated by the encouragement of northern whites in terms of providing work and a place to stay. Later migration was greatly influenced by letter, contact with and assistance from the earlier migrant, and many permanent migrations started as 'visits' to friends and relatives who had previously migrated. Thus a communications network had been set up to facilitate migration from the rural to the urban area. This pattern is also very common with the Indian and Metis moving to the cities.

With regard to the motives of the migrants, Kiser found that the dislike of rural life was the main reason.

Some dislike the country because the conveniences are few, some because life for them is dull there. Islanders hear of the 'conveniences' and life in the cities. Letters from friends, oral statements from migrants visiting St. Helena, visits to friends in cities, and temporary sojourns to near-by places for seasonal work, lead many to believe that the 'city offers more joys than does the country'.¹⁴

Kiser thus generalizes that the motives for migration for the islanders are the same as those which one might attribute to individuals involved in the general drift from rural areas to urban centres.

In contrast, the non-migrants who stayed in St. Helena placed greater value on the unhurried rural life, community

¹⁴Ibid., p. 82.

relationships, and independence than they did on economic advance or other reported advantages of city life. For them, farming is not only a means of livelihood, but a way of life itself.¹⁵

Kiser found that the migration process typically proceeded in two fashions: first directly to the destination of permanent residence, and secondly, movement to their present destination via one or more intermediate residences. Once established in their final destination (New York), there was little re-migration from the city.

Regarding occupation, over four-fifths of the sample came to the city with no marketable skills and therefore many experienced "...prolonged periods of search for work, of drifting from job to job, of being fired, of total unfamiliarity with jobs".¹⁶ In addition, as far as livelihood is concerned, the labouring classes in New York complained of "...the excessive rents which had to be met, the coldness of employers and landlords, and the swift tempo of the works".¹⁷ Again the similarity between this group and the native peoples of Canada is striking.

Kiser sums up the difficulties that the Negro faces when he moves from the rural environment to the urban centre

¹⁵Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 193.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 200.

by stating:

When Islanders come to the cities, they are immediately confronted with many novel situations surrounding the problem of earning a livelihood. They must deal with a man-made environment. Their work is more specialized and is gauged closely by the clock instead of the natural environment. They must work for others, directed in the time at which they shall work, and constantly supervised. They find themselves in competition with other labourers. As Negroes, they are subjected to various degrees of discrimination and handicaps in the several cities to which they go.¹⁸

In dealing with group contacts and cohesion among the migrants, Kiser notes that despite the urban influences which tend to break down the insularity of migrants within the cities, a considerable amount of cohesiveness exists. He cites examples such as the tendency for the Islanders in New York to care for unemployed relatives during the period of finding a job as well as the high frequency of intermarriage among the migrants after they leave home. Furthermore, two

¹⁸Ibid., p. 209. Footnotes 15 and 18 should be compared to the following statement regarding the reasons for migration and the difficulties experienced by the Indian and Metis in the cities, difficulties which are the result of so-called distinct Indian 'cultural' differences in relation to the white man. The statement is typical of both Indian and white made by the reports of conferences held concerning the problems of adjustment to the urban environment:

"The major problems...are difficulty in finding good accommodation, difficulty in finding a job, difficulty in adjusting to a new environment (one of clocks, responsibility, hurry, impersonality, loneliness, the need to plan and save for tomorrow)... He is unprepared for living by the clock, paying rent... This poses one of the most difficult questions because it is so enwrapped with the culture and way of life of the Indian." Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada; National Conference on "Indians and the City", Winnipeg, Manitoba (October 1966), pp. 12-14.

organizations of St. Helena Negroes have been set up in New York.¹⁹

This early study of the process of rural to urban migration is important for several reasons. First, in the area of methodology, it indicates that the first hand reports of the migrants themselves (an approach seldom used before this study) offer a valuable means of studying the process of migration as it is actually experienced. Secondly, it alludes to the necessity of examining the 'total' situation of migration, considering the migrant before as well as after he has established himself in the place of destination. Thirdly, Kiser's study points to many gaps and inaccuracies in our knowledge of the process of migration. For example, the migration from St. Helena does not substantiate certain frequently expressed opinions concerning the reasons for the movement of Negroes to cities. In accounting for this migration, various authors had apparently dwelt too exclusively on unsatisfactory Negro-white relations. Rather, Kiser's study indicates that the underlying causes for departure are practically the same as those which are widely known to be responsible for the general drift of young people -- white or coloured -- from farms in various sections of the country.

Increased industrialization has given rise to large cities and the corresponding development in means of communication and transportation has served

¹⁹The question of group contacts and cohesion as well as the role of ethnic organizations will be dealt with specifically in Chapter 5.

to break the isolation of rural areas... After hearing stories of the economic and recreational opportunities available in the city, the uneventful life on the farm seems dull to many.²⁰

A more recent study of the migration process has been undertaken by Beshers and Nashiura who try to test some of Stouffer's findings and develop a general conceptual scheme from his results.²¹ In their conceptualization of the migration process as being more complex and differentiated than the simple rural-urban dichotomy would have it, the authors set out to test ten hypotheses relating to the following eight "streams" of migration--rural-urban, rural-suburban, rural-rural, urban-rural, urban-suburban, urban-urban, suburban-urban, and suburban-rural. They are specifically examining the relationships between environment, social structure, and the decision process to migrate. Some examples of the hypotheses they test are these: 'when a change in locale is involved, the amount of migration within the professional category will be greater than the amount of migration within other occupational categories'; and, 'migration among young adults will be greater than that among any other age groups when the area of origin is rural to suburban'.²²

Perhaps the best recent inventory of findings regarding the internal migration process in Canada is the paper by D.R. Whyte²³ previously referred to. The purposes of his report are to:

²⁰Kiser, p. 91.

²¹Beshers and Nashiura, *A Theory of Internal Migration Differentials*, Social Forces (Vol. 39, 1960).

²²*Ibid.*, p. 215.

²³Whyte.

....examine the singularities of inter-community grants, to isolate those factors which influenced their decision to migrate, and to outline patterns of migration and assimilation of rural migrants into the urban milieu.²⁴

Whyte, like Kiser, cites two major causes of the significant amount of rural to urban migration in Canada. The first is the limited number of employment opportunities in rural areas and the second is the apparent attractiveness of urban living for many rural youth. Besides these two reasons, Whyte feels that individual and situational factors play a major role in determining migration from a particular place or region.

In similar fashion to Thomas' work, Whyte goes on to examine a number of important migration differentials. These include age, sex, intelligence, level of education and attitudes toward education, occupational and educational aspirations, family background factors, reference-group orientation and actual or perceived opportunities to migrate.²⁵

The literature regarding age-sex selectivity of migration reveals that the most mobile age group among Canadian males is the group 25 - 29 years of age, with females being the most mobile between 20 and 24 years of age.²⁶

²⁴Ibid., p. 1.

²⁵Ibid., p. 1.

²⁶Ibid., p. 8.

Studies in the United States by Beshers and Nashiura²⁷, Hamilton,²⁸ Bohlen and Wakeley,²⁹ and Mauldin³⁰ support the generalization that females migrate at an earlier age than males. However, Brunner³¹ found that sex selectivity of migration was related to the destination of migration, with females being more likely to migrate to urban centres.

Regarding the relationship between intelligence and migration, Whyte concludes that the more intelligent are more predisposed to migrate out of rural areas and into urban centres³². Support for this contention is found in several recent studies including Sewell³³ and Martinson³⁴.

Several studies dealing with the correlation between migration and level of education demonstrate that persons with higher levels of formal education change their place of residence more frequently than persons with a lower level.³⁵

²⁷Beshers and Nashiura, Op. Cit.

²⁸C.H. Hamilton, Population Pressure and Other Factors Affecting Net Rural-Urban Migration, Social Forces (Vol. 30, 1951).

²⁹J.M. Bohlen and R.E. Wakeley, Migration of High School Graduates, Rural Sociology (Vol. 15, 1950).

³⁰W.P. Mauldin, Selective Migration from Small Towns, American Sociological Review, (Vol. 5, 1940).

³¹E. Brunner, Internal Migration in the U.S., Rural Sociology, (Vol. 13, 1948).

³²Whyte, p. 11.

³³W.H. Sewell, Community of Residence and College Plans, American Sociological Review, (Vol. 29, 1964).

³⁴F.M. Martinson, Personal Adjustment and Rural Urban Migration, Rural Sociology (Vol. 20, 1955).

³⁵Whyte, p. 12.

Supporting this relationship are studies by Sandford,³⁶ Taeber,³⁷ Brunner,³⁸ and Beshers and Nashiura.³⁹ More specifically, Beshers and Nashiura found that people with five years or less of formal education were the least migratory.⁴⁰

Educational and occupational aspirations among rural and urban residences show that in general farm residence is negatively correlated with high educational aspirations.⁴¹ In accounting for this phenomenon, S.M. Lipset suggests that it is due principally to certain structural characteristics of rural areas, such as few immediately visible occupational roles and relatively poor elementary and secondary schools which limit the rural youth's awareness of the range of

³⁶C.A. Sandford, Selective Migration in a Rural Alabama Community, American Sociological Review, (Vol. 5, 1940).

³⁷C. Taeber, Migration and Rural Population Adjustment, Rural Sociology, (Vol. 5, 1940).

³⁸Brunner, Op. Cit.

³⁹Beshers and Nashiura, Op. Cit.

⁴⁰This finding is directly opposed to some of the speculation regarding Indian and Metis migration in Canada. See Hanson, Shadow Reserve, p. 23.

⁴¹Burchinal, Lindstrom and Mulligan, Differences in Educational and Occupational aspirations of Farm, Small Town, and City Boys, Rural Sociology, (Vol. 26, 1961); D.E. Lindstrom, Educational and Vocational Needs of Rural Youth, Illinois Agricultural Economics, (Vol. 4, No. 2, 1964); R.A. Mulligan, Socio-economic Background and College Enrollment, American Sociological Review, (Vol. 16, 1959).

non-agricultural occupational alternatives.⁴² Lipset feels that since an individual takes his cues about educational and occupational alternatives from his immediately visible social environment, there will be a direct correlation between size of his community of orientation and the number of cues to which he is exposed.

This generalization pertaining to educational and occupational aspirations and rural background was supported by Orenstein⁴³ who listed a number of structural characteristics of the rural environment which serve to limit the aspirations of rural youth:

Limited opportunities for formal education in many rural areas; inaccessibility of many visible occupational alternatives due to insufficient training; a limited range of peer-group associations which reinforces and stabilizes the low aspirations levels; and the lower socio-economic status of the majority of rural families which limits the degree of assistance which parents can provide their children in the attainment of higher ranking positions.⁴⁴

Another area in which there has been a great deal of research is the relationship between the value orientations

⁴²S.M. Lipset, Social Mobility and Urbanization, Rural Sociology (Vol. 20, 1955). Perhaps a more important variable than size of community is relative isolation of community. This argument is also common when accounting for low levels of Indian and Metis education. Indian and Metis education will be discussed in Chapter 2.

⁴³A.M. Orenstein, and W.H. Sewell, Community of Residence and Occupational Choice, American Journal of Sociology, (Vol. 70, 1964).

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 553. Again, the characteristics pertain to the rural Indian and Metis.

of rural and urban youth in relation to educational and occupational choices. Schwarzweller found that planning for a high prestige occupation was positively related to a high valuation of mental work and negatively related to a high valuation of physical work.⁴⁵ This again points to the fact that aspirations and values are determined by the social milieu in which the individual has been socialized.

Inducement to migrate from rural areas will require preparation in the form of higher levels of formal education, which, in turn will necessitate certain modifications in the social situation if the individual is to desire more training, and if he is to share values which will facilitate his entry into the non-agricultural occupational milieu.⁴⁶

It has further been shown that value orientations which predispose individuals to seek higher educational levels and non-farm occupations are associated with particular patterns of familial and peer-group influence such as parental level of education,⁴⁷ social class,⁴⁸ and prestige of father's occupation.⁴⁹ Studies by Lindstrom⁵⁰ and Youmans⁵¹ have also,

⁴⁵Schwarzweller, H.K. Value Orientations and Occupational Choice, Rural Sociology, Vol. 29, 1964.

⁴⁶Whyte, p. 18.

⁴⁷H.K. Schwarzweller, Value Orientations and Occupational Choice, Rural Sociology, (Vol. 29, 1964).

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹L. Siemens, "The Influence of Selected Family Factors on the Educational and Occupational Aspiration Levels of High School Boys and Girls", (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 1965, No.1).

⁵⁰Lindstrom, Op. Cit.

⁵¹E.G. Youmans, "Factors in Educational Attainment", Rural Sociology, (Vol. 24, 1959):

noted a consistent positive correlation between the degree of parental encouragement to obtain more education, and mobility and educational aspirations.

An area of research which has particular relevance for the rural Indian and Metis is the effect which migration has had upon the relationships among family members and on the bonds of solidarity which unite these members into a cohesive primary unit.⁵² There is considerable evidence suggesting that a greater prevalence of family migration is accompanied by a weakening of internal family integration and a higher incidence of family disorganization.⁵³ A major reason for this is that migration frequently brings the family into a new social milieu characterized by new behaviour patterns. There are also often differential rates of assimilation of individual family members, a fact which increases the probability of differential standards of conduct existing within a single family, and thus lays the basis for increased role-conflict.⁵⁴ Furthermore, evidence suggests that the migration of a single member away from the family tends to weaken the bonds of attachment which were formerly shared with other family members. Schwarzweller found that the geographical

⁵²This relationship will be examined in detail in Chapter 4 when the role of returning to the Reserve or Metis Community on urban adjustment is examined.

⁵³Whyte, pp. 23-24.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 24.

distance separating the migrant from the rest of the family is the principal reason for this decline.⁵⁵

However, evidence to the contrary has been put forth by Litwak⁵⁶ who maintains that the migrant acts as a communicant to other members of his family and thus provides a form of anticipatory socialization for other family members who may wish to migrate. He can also function as a 'cushion' of support for other family members when they first encounter the urban environment. He does this by providing passage for the relatives to come to the city, giving them a place to stay, finding a relative a job, and so on. Hence there is conflicting evidence in the literature concerning the effect of migration on kinship cohesion or family ties.

Thus far in this review, the studies cited have dealt largely with the question of who migrates rather than the question of why. The studies relating to this latter question are less numerous, possibly because of the problems in trying to isolate and measure individuals' motives.

This general problem of motives is usually dealt with in terms of declining socio-economic conditions that 'push' and opportunity and prosperity which 'pull'. But this economic 'push-pull' model over-simplifies the migration process by

⁵⁵Schwarzweiller, p. 251.

⁵⁶E. Litwak, "Geographical Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion", American Sociological Review, (Vol. 25; 1960).

assuming that all motives can be adequately subsumed under the concept of maximization of want-satisfaction.

Despite such difficulties, there have been several studies which have been fairly successful in dealing with the question of motives. One such study is Rossi's book Why Families Move.⁵⁷ In it, he attempts to get at the question by setting forth two indices: a 'Mobility Potential Index' which consists of the background characteristics of households which predispose them to be mobile and is an indication of a household's housing needs; and a 'Complaints Index' consisting of the number of complaints made by the household concerning the important aspects of its home and neighbourhood and indicating how the house which is occupied at present meets these housing needs. Rossi then calculates a "dimension of satisfaction" and relates it to mobility aspirations to predict the possibility of migration.

Another attempt to deal with this question is provided by Mayer in his African study, Townsmen or Tribesmen⁵⁸. He does so by developing an "aspiring-satisfied" typology of motivation which focuses on the aspirations an individual has in relationship to his choice to migrate.

Tourainne and Ragazzi distinguish between 'déplacement' where the migration is not the expression of personal design but rather the result of a set of accidental circumstances,

⁵⁷P.H. Rossi, Why Families Move, (New York; The Free Press, 1958).

⁵⁸P. Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen (London; Oxford University Press, 1961).

'départ' where the personal intention exists at a conscious level, and 'mobilité' where migration is motivated by deliberate aspiration.⁵⁹ Those types are related to adjustment in the city. In the first case, migration is likely to be transitory, or if it is permanent, the acculturation will be lacking or incomplete, and participation in urban structures as a consequence may be very restricted and the probability of maladjustment higher. In the case of 'mobilité', assimilation to urban life will be easier and more complete.

Another study of the motivation behind migration was carried out by Richardson and Leslie in their article, "Life Cycle, Career and Decision to Move".⁶⁰ This study of residential mobility sets forth the following analytic framework regarding migration:⁶¹

Independent Variables	Intervening Variable	Dependent Variable
Stage in Family Cycle Career Pattern	Complaints about Present Dwelling	Residential Mobility

Another study which attempts to isolate 'types' of mobile persons carried out by Herbert Gans in his community study of The Levittowners.⁶² Gans identifies three types:

⁵⁹Tourainne and Ragazzi, "Ouvriers d'Origine Agricole", (Paris, 1961). This typology is in many ways similar to that of M. Nagler in his article "Status and Identification Groupings Amongst Urban Indians", (Unpublished paper, Department of Sociology, McMaster University, Hamilton, 1968).

⁶⁰Richardson and J. Leslie, "Life Cycle, Career, and Decision to Move", American Sociological Review, (Vol. 26, 1961).

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Herbert Gans, The Levittowners, (New York Phanthéon Books, 1967).

the 'transients' which are service and corporation employees transferred from one area of the country to another; the 'mobiles' who are young people beginning the child rearing cycle and occupational climb; and the 'permanents' which were the older families near the end of their occupational climb. Other writers on the motivation for migration such as Brown⁶³ and Germani⁶⁴ concentrate on the decision-making process in migration.

Hanson and Simmons⁶⁵ advocate a 'total' approach to the study of migration utilizing what they call the 'role-path' concept. They criticize studies which do not deal with the time dimension in migration -- from the time of decision to the adjustment process. The 'role-path' approach follows the individual migrant step by step from the social-psychological angle in his process of 'resocialization' into the urban setting. In studying a group of Mexican migrants in Denver, he finds significant differences between the role-paths of 'successful' migrants and those of whom the adjustment is 'unsuccessful'. The most important variable associated with a 'successful' role-path was the fact of an individual's

⁶³H. Brown, "English Migrants to New Zealand: the Decision to Move", Human Relations, (Vol. 13, 1960).

⁶⁴L. Germani, "Migration and Acculturation", in P. Hauser, ed., Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas, (UNESCO, 1964).

⁶⁵R. Hanson, and O. Simmons, "The Role Path: A Concept and Procedure for Studying Migration to Urban Communities", Human Organization, (Vol. 27, No. 2, 1968).

having relatives or friends to help him in the city.

In one of the relatively few Canadian studies of the rural to urban adjustment process, J.A. Abramson employs this 'total' approach and isolates nine phases in the decision process to migrate from the farm situation:⁶⁶

1. Recognition that the farm fails to satisfy the family's wants;
2. Attempts at farm reorganization;
3. A search for reinforcements from external sources;
4. Exploration of off-farm alternatives;
5. Rejection of the farm, at least in a temporary sense, in favour of other alternatives;
6. Reconciliation of any family differences;
7. Liquidation of farm assets;
8. Choosing among off-farm alternatives;
9. Arranging for the physical transfer of family and possessions to a new location.

In examining the various differentials involved in the migration process, Abramson found that nearly 75% of the migrants to Saskatoon studied had been born and raised on farms in Saskatchewan. Furthermore, most of the sample still regarded farming as the most desirable environment for family life and migrated only because of other drawbacks of the farm situation.⁶⁷ This reluctance to leave rural life was further reflected in their stated reasons for choosing Saskatoon as their place of destination:

In choosing Saskatoon, the majority were selecting a place which would permit them to preserve social ties with friends and family, to find better opportunities

⁶⁶ J.A. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment (A.R.D.A. Report, 1968), p. 136.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 115-17.

for themselves or their children, and to find some extension of, or continuity with, their former farm lives.⁶⁸

In addition, nearly 40% of the sample through various means made provision for their possible return to rural life.⁶⁹

These findings would seem to point to the importance of studying the effect that the former community of residence has upon the adjustment to the new setting. This is particularly true if there is a pattern of returning to that community after settlement in the new milieu has taken place.⁷⁰ However, a factor which might possibly account for this wishing to return to the former rural life in this study is the relatively older group of migrants in the sample. The group that migrated was considerably older than the male labour force in Saskatoon with a median age being forty-five years.⁷¹ As has been pointed out in references to certain previous studies, this is an unusually old group of migrants.

Few studies in Canada or the United States address themselves to the various factors involved in the migration of Indians or Metis from their Reserves or rural Metis communities to the urban areas. Most studies relating to this group concentrate on the actual adjustment process once the

⁶⁸These responses should be compared to the Indian and Metis motives in Chapter 2.

⁶⁹Abramson, p. 114.

⁷⁰Chapter 4 deals specifically with this phenomenon.

⁷¹Abramson, p. 33.

place of destination is reached,

One paper which endeavours to deal with the situation before the Indian or Metis reach the city is that of W.F. Hanson.⁷² His main thesis is that the reason why the various agencies' programmes have proved ineffective in helping the Indian or Metis to adjust to the urban environment is that the designers of these programmes fail to understand the social system of the Indian Reserve or Metis community. Hanson identifies a social stratification system on the Reserves similar to that in urban areas.⁷³ He sets forth a "tri-strata" system based largely upon the attitude and aspirations of the individuals on the Reserve.⁷⁴ The "upper level" is constituted by change oriented persons who have rationalized their positions and chosen to follow the structured way of the main society, and have developed or are in the final stages of developing attitudes and skills necessary to compete in the main society. The "middle level" or marginally oriented people are those who feel that they personally cannot cope with the conditions of urban living, and would rather accept employment in or near their own settlements. The "lower level" are locally or reserve

⁷²W.F. Hanson, "Implications of Social Stratification in Rural Communities", (Winnipeg; unpublished paper, 1968).

⁷³Ibid., p. 2. Upper, middle and lower classes each populated with cliques or groups who share similar aspirations, styles of life etc.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 4.

oriented. Hanson advocates that any relocation programme should recognize this stratification system and take only those who are "change oriented", since they will tend to make the most successful adjustment to the urban milieu.

However, he goes further and suggests what he calls a "shadow reserve concept" regarding the relocation of Indian and Metis. This would take the form of a reserve located just outside a major city where the Indian and Metis could have the "best of both worlds". It would function as an ethnic neighbourhood, providing the psycho-social environment of the reserve while at the same time giving him an opportunity to become accustomed to life in the city.

A second author who stresses the fact that we do not understand the Indian's process of migration is N. Lurie.⁷⁵ Her basic idea is that Indian people 'commute' rather than 'migrate' to the cities. Moreover she feels that urbanization for the Indian and Metis is an expansion of on-going life experience rather than a breaking away from an old way of life.⁷⁶ This approach assumes that Indian urbanization is fundamentally different from that of other immigrant groups coming to the cities.⁷⁷ The main reason which accounts for this difference

⁷⁵N. Lurie, "The Indian Moves to an Urban Setting", in Resolving Conflicts - A Cross-Cultural Approach, (Department of University Extension and Adult Education, The University of Manitoba, 1967).

⁷⁶This idea would seem to be supported by the attitudes expressed by the urban migrants in Saskatoon. See Abramson.

⁷⁷Lurie, p. 76.

is the ability for the Indian and Metis to return "home" to the Reserves and Metis communities during their process of urban adjustment. During this process, there is a constant feedback of ideas which are part of "...an unbroken, viable, growing and changing tradition that remains Indian in its outlook".⁷⁸ She therefore advocates that this pattern should be recognized and encouraged by whites who are dealing with Indians and Metis coming into the city.

ACCULTURATION-ASSIMILATION:

The second section of this review of the literature has to do with the migrant once he has come into the city. The literature on this aspect of the total process is probably even more extensive than that covered in the previous section. The general process of adjustment has been widely studied not only by sociologists but also by anthropologists and social psychologists. Herein, only brief mention will be made of cultural and psychological variables; the major portion of our attention will be directed to the various approaches which have been utilized by sociologists in their attempt to understand and isolate the many variables involved in an individual's or group's being introduced into a new group or

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This assumption is also made by A. Renaud, "The Possible Development as Ethnic Groups of Indians and Metis", in Resolving Conflicts - A Cross Cultural Approach (Winnipeg: Department of University Extension and Adult Education, The University of Manitoba, 1967), See p.121.

society. Therefore, after briefly considering the anthropological works on acculturation, this section will set forth several important theories and empirical studies relating to what is usually termed assimilation. Finally, two relevant psychological studies will be looked at as examples of this alternate approach.

The term 'acculturation' was first introduced into the anthropological literature in 1936 by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits who defined it as: "...those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups".⁷⁹

Despite several difficulties involved in this definition⁸⁰ it remains the basis for the many anthropological studies on the subject.

However, due largely to the problems in dealing with the dynamics of such a broad concept as culture⁸¹, most of the

⁷⁹R. Redfield, R. Linton, Herskovits, "Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation", American Anthropologist, (Vol. 38, 1936), p. 150.

⁸⁰Such as: what is meant by 'continuous first hand contact', 'groups of individuals', and the lack of specification of the direction of the cultural change.

⁸¹Part of the difficulty in studying a concept as broad as 'culture' is the lack of agreement on a single accepted definition. Two common definitions of culture are:

(a)...the social heritage of man--the ways of acting and the ways of doing things which are passed down from one generation to the next; and not through genetic inheritance but by formal and informal methods of teaching "demonstration". (M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York; Oxford U. Press, 1964) p.32).

(b)...the sum total of knowledge, attitude and habitual behaviour patterns shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society. R. Linton, ed., Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, (Gloucester; Appleton-Century, 1940) p.446.

studies on acculturation have been descriptive rather than analytical. Furthermore, most studies in this area have viewed acculturation as a one-way process in investigating the impact of European culture on primitive tribes. Studies of such cultural contact have usually begun with an inventory of the geographical distribution of particular traits rather than with a study of the contact of specific peoples in a concrete historical setting. They usually study what occurred rather than how it occurred. An example of such a conceptual framework for the study of the acculturation of a given tribe is presented by Ralph Linton in his book, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes.⁸²

Given the difficulties inherent in such an abstract concept as culture, the studies often examine particular changes in the individual's activities, attitudes, behaviour, etc. Cultures, as such, never meet, but rather it is people who meet through interaction with different cultures, so that modifications in the mode of life of one or both of the peoples take place.

In other words, the analysis of cultural changes always leads us from our initial descriptive abstractions of stabilized cultural forces, through a series of processes involving conditions that have led to re-adjustments on the part of individuals and then back again to the socially discernible effects of such re-adaptation which can once more be described as a new or modified cultural form.⁸³

⁸²Linton, Op. Cit.

⁸³I. Hallowell, Culture and Experience, pp. 314-15 (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955).

Thus, anthropologists study the process of adjustment made by individuals who find that their own culture does not equip them to function successfully in a new cultural milieu. This assumes that each culture has intrinsic limitations in terms of such things as language, beliefs, social and economic institutions, etc., which must be adapted when entering another culture. In other words, acculturation studies examine what changes result from contact of peoples with different modes of life.

A second major difficulty in attempting to systematize and measure acculturation has to do with methodology. The methodological problems in this area fall into two categories: formal organized schemes for study, and general discussions of problems with actual research. On reviewing the literature on acculturation, Beals sets forth six schemes to which recourse has been had for the study of acculturation.⁸⁴

Probably the most widely utilized scheme has been that of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits who present the following outline for the study of cultural contact:⁸⁵

1. Definition (as stated earlier);
2. Approach to the problem--direct observation, interviews, documents, historical analyses, etc.;
3. Analysis of acculturation--types of contacts, kinds of situations, and processes involved; whether contacts

⁸⁴R. Beals, "Acculturation", in Sol Tax, ed., Anthropology Today, (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1952) p. 375.

⁸⁵Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, p. 151.

are friendly or hostile, differences in size and complexity of both groups, existence of force, equality or inequality of groups, traits held by different groups, strength of traits, time, and process of adjustment;

4. Psychological mechanisms--examining the individual in terms of class, role status, and personality differences.
5. Results of acculturation--these are defined as:
 - (a) acceptance;
 - (b) adaptation;
 - (c) reaction.

However, it can be easily seen that such a scheme, although pointing to the various processes and problem areas to be examined, is too general for any precise measurement to be made. Accordingly, Beals concludes that although there is general agreement about the possible results of acculturation, there is a great need for studies to provide a general theoretical framework from which generalizations about the process can be made.⁸⁶

The concept 'assimilation', like acculturation, refers broadly to the coming into contact of two or more groups of people. Studies of assimilation are extremely numerous in sociology due mainly to the study of the large-scale immigration to North America and its corollary, namely, how these groups were to become part of the larger American society.

As was the case with the concept of acculturation, there have been many attempts to define and measure assimilation. The classical definition is that of Park and Burgess:

⁸⁶ Beals sets out seven steps for the improvement of future studies in acculturation. (see p. 385).

...a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.⁸⁷

Others define assimilation as simply an extreme form of acculturation. For example, Brewton Berry defines it as "...the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture".⁸⁸ Other writers on the subject de-emphasize the cultural aspects and stress the behavioural processes. Joseph Lichter states that "assimilation is the process through which two or more persons or groups accept and perform one another's patterns of behaviour".⁸⁹

Writers such as Vallee and Gordon, however, point out that these commonly accepted definitions fail to make the important distinction between 'cultural' or 'behavioural assimilation' and 'structural assimilation'.⁹⁰ As Porter points out:

...the first means the extent to which the minority group has absorbed the cultural patterns of the 'host' society and even perhaps had an effect on it, whereas, structural assimilation means the

⁸⁷M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 62.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 63.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 65.

⁹⁰F.G. Vallee, M. Schwartz and F. Darknell, "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, (Vol. 23, 1957), and Gordon, p. 543. A notable exception is S.N. Eisenstadt who will be reviewed in detail in this section.

process by which ethnic groups have become distributed in the institutional structure of the receiving society, and in particular, have assumed roles in general civic life.⁹¹

Gordon feels that cultural assimilation will almost always take place even if other forms of assimilation do not. However, there are important exceptions to this initial cultural assimilation due to either spatial isolation in a rural area (such as is the case with the Canadian Indian and Metis), or universally strong discrimination which deprives the minority group of educational opportunities.

Gordon sets forth six variables which he considers as an "ideal type" situation in which full assimilation both behavioural and structural will occur:⁹²

1. Changes in culture patterns of one group to another;
2. Entry into the societal framework of the dominant groups and institutions;
3. Intermarriage between the two groups;
4. The development of a sense of peoplehood or ethnicity of the minority group to the majority;
5. The minority group encounters no discriminating attitudes;
6. The minority group incorporates unquestioningly all the values of the dominant group.

The extent to which this "ideal type" model of assimilation has actually taken place in American and Canadian society has been the subject of much study and speculation.

⁹¹J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 72.

⁹²Gordon, p. 70.

Gordon isolates three central ideological tendencies regarding the nature of the assimilation of immigrants into American society.⁹³ The first is what he calls 'Anglo-conformity', which demands the complete renunciation of the immigrants' ancestral culture in favour of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group. The second is the idea of a 'melting pot' emerging from a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American or Canadian type. Finally, 'cultural pluralism' is the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship.

Although early writers on United States society generally accepted the idea of a melting pot, there has recently been serious questioning of the concept.⁹⁴ As Porter testifies:

In the United States in recent discussions on minority groups, there has been a tendency to reject the melting pot theory as both inaccurate and undesirable. Retention of ethnic identity and continued participation in ethnic communities is seen as an important form of adaptation in or adjustment to the mass society.⁹⁵

⁹³Gordon, p. 85.

⁹⁴N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge; M.I.T. Press, 1964).

⁹⁵Porter, p. 72.

Furthermore, the assumption of the early studies, that the immigrant would after one or two generations become fully assimilated into American society and thereby lose their ethnic identity, has also been seriously questioned:

...it would seem, that second and third generation members of the non-Anglo-Saxon groups in the United States, after experiencing difficulty in being accepted as 'true Americans', have returned to their ethnic heritages rather than accept the principle of "anglo-conformity" which is a precondition of status equality with the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority.⁹⁶

It will be assumed in this work that Canada, even more so than the United States, represents an ethnically plural society with strong ethnic institutions, associations, etc., which serve to promote the interests and security of the group.⁹⁷

Today, nearly 30% of Canada's population is of neither British nor French origin, which is evident in the fact that approximately 200 foreign language publications are produced regularly in Canada in twenty-seven different languages.⁹⁸

In particular, Winnipeg (the city under study) can be considered ethnically plural as it contains over 250 ethnic

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 72.

⁹⁷This fact can be seen from the number of people in Canada today from different ethnic origins. For example: Ukrainian, 473,337; Polish, 325,000; Indian and Metis, 500,000; German, 1,041,599; Hungarians, 128,000; Italians, 535,000; Jewish, 266,000; etc. This will be dealt with in detail in the next section and in Chapter 5.

⁹⁸Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, The Canadian Family Tree (Ottawa; The Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 21.

organizations contained within thirty-eight ethnic groups in the city.⁹⁹

Perhaps the single most comprehensive and valid study on the total approach to the movement and adjustment of immigrant groups is S.N. Eisenstadt's book The Absorption of Immigrants. In this work, Eisenstadt examines in detail the sociological and psychological characteristics of the transition of a group from one social setting to another; in doing so, he provides the most adequate theoretical framework in this area. For this reason, his work will be reviewed in detail as it provides the major resource work for this thesis.

Eisenstadt begins by setting forth three stages in the migration and adjustment process:¹⁰⁰

1. The motivation to migrate;
2. The social structure of the actual migratory process;
3. The absorption of the new immigrant into the social and cultural framework of the new society.

In dealing with the first stage, he assumes that every migrating movement is motivated by the migrant's feeling of some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in his social setting. This can be due to many factors including over-population, shrinkage of economic channels, and the like. Eisenstadt also assumes that each immigrant comes to the new society with certain expectations which provide him with his initial and predisposing attitude toward his new country. However, mi-

⁹⁹D.N. McCaskill, "Ethnic Organizations in the Winnipeg Area," (Winnipeg; Report submitted to the Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State, 1968).

¹⁰⁰Eisenstadt, p. 1.

gration does not mean that the immigrant necessarily drops attachment for this old society and way of life. Migration only means that in some spheres, there have been feelings of frustration and inadequacy. Eisenstadt¹⁰¹ delineates four such spheres:

1. He may feel that his original society does not provide him with a situation which allows him to maintain a given level of physical existence;
2. His migration may be prompted by the feeling that certain goals, mainly instrumental, e.g., economic, cannot be attained within the institutional sphere of his own society;
3. He may feel that the old society cannot gratify his aspirations to solidarity, e.g., political refugees;
4. He may feel that his old society does not afford him the chance of attaining a worthwhile pattern of life.

The stability of a society depends upon an optimum number of its members' finding satisfaction in all four spheres in accordance with the society's institutional arrangements. Lack of gratification in any of them necessarily upsets social stability and gives rise to social change. Often an immigrant is dissatisfied in only one sphere and thus retains his old views in the other spheres.

Thus...analysis of the immigrants' motives for migration and his consequent 'image' of the new country... is of crucial importance for understanding his initial attitudes and behaviour in his new setting.¹⁰²

The second stage is the actual transplantation of the immigrant from one society into another, entailing a reforming of his social field. This usually means a shrinkage

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 4.

in the individual's field of social participation and group life, a change in reference groups, a disruption of the individual's status-image, and the necessity of acquiring new roles, expectations, and values. Absorption from the immigrant's point of view can therefore be seen as the institutionalizing of his role-expectations in the new society. In other words, it involves a kind of resocialization process. However, this process takes place from already given social bases such as his primary group, associations, cliques, etc., which already possess a determined set of role-expectations. Therefore, when studying the institutionalization of the immigrant's role-expectations, it is necessary to examine the extent to which original aspirations and values have changed in response to the orientations of the new society:

The institutionalization of roles can thus best be seen as a process of transformation of the immigrant's primary basic groups and fields of social participation--those groups which are the ground of his active participation in society. It is in the interweaving of these groups into the social structure of the receiving country that the immigrant's behaviour becomes institutionalized, i.e. that his expectations become both compatible with the roles defined in the new society and capable of being realized in it.¹⁰³

In this second part of his framework, Eisenstadt recognizes the importance of looking at the absorption process from both the individual and societal points of view. In addition, he points out the necessity to examine the formation

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 7.

of new channels of communication with the wider society as the immigrant moves his sphere of participation beyond his primary groups. This is usually carried out by the immigrant's identifying with the values of the new society and increasing the scope of his associational activities. It is also affected by the extent to which stable social relations develop with 'older' members of the social structure, leading to the establishment of new primary groups in common with them.

Only insofar as the various channels of communication between the immigrant's primary groups and the absorbing social structure develop and continue to function smoothly may the institutionalizing of the immigrant's behaviour be said to be achieved.¹⁰⁴

This points to the importance of two other variables: the role of leaders within the immigrant group, and the extent to which the new society will accept the immigrant. Eisenstadt feels that only rarely are immigrant's expectations and the demands of the absorbing social structure fully compatible.

Turning to the third stage in the adjustment process, Eisenstadt discusses the question of the possibility of an ethnically plural society. He points out the importance of the immigrant's retaining some sense of ethnic identity in this type of society. This is often accomplished through membership in various associations which serve to balance the immigrant's relation to the total society. In this way,

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 8.

a separate ethnic identity is preserved. However, such a balance can be maintained by an ethnic community only insofar as its members perform the universal roles of the society, its particularist tendency agrees with the premises of the social structure, and its structural peculiarities fall within the legitimate institutional limits of the society.

The adjustment process is often not a smooth one, with various tensions developing within the immigrant. Common forms of deviant behaviour include personal disorganization, aggression and the breaking of social norms, and inadequate identification and solidarity with the absorbing structure.

Thus the process of institutionalization embraces the transformation of the immigrant's basic groups and the extension of his participation and orientation beyond these groups to the main institutional spheres of the absorbing society. In addition, Eisenstadt feels that the creation of a new status image and set of values by the immigrant is the best index of full absorption or assimilation:

Unsuccessful institutionalization of immigrant behaviour and the development of various types of deviation and tensions mean in the long-run that the immigrants are unable to create a new coherent status-image and set of values in their new society.¹⁰⁵

In summarizing the process of immigrant adjustment, Eisenstadt sets forth a number of variables which should be

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 23.

considered by any research on the subject.¹⁰⁶

1. The motivation for migration;
2. The social structure of the immigrant groups;
3. The new process of institutionalization of immigrant behaviour in the new country;
4. The process of institutionalization of immigrant behaviour from the viewpoint of the new country;
5. The extent to which the pluralistic structure of a specific type of immigrant community emerges;
6. The types of disintegrative behaviour which develop.

Following his theoretical framework, Eisenstadt examines the process of absorption of immigrants in Israel. He characterizes the most important factors in successful adjustment as a predisposition to change on the part of the immigrant.

...the immigrant with a positive predisposition to change is usually one with considerable strength of personality enabling him not to cling 'ritually' to various status characteristics as prerequisites of self-esteem and social acceptance, and whose strength is...connected with his positive, unconditional identification with the Jewish community as a source of security and 'belongingness'.¹⁰⁷

Further, he generalizes that only in the measure that there is this constant source and focus of overall social solidarity within the ethnic group is there a possibility of the individual's developing enough strength of personality to have a predisposition to change.

Turning to the receiving society, Eisenstadt analyses the need to set up new institutions to deal with the waves of immigration and the resulting relationships between the

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 116., It will later be seen that this group consciousness is lacking for the Indian and Metis.

immigrant and the 'older' members of the host society.

Using such indices as predisposition to change, personal stability, institutional participation, positive or negative identification with the values of the new country and a feeling of 'belongingness', Eisenstadt delineates six main types of immigrant groups.¹⁰⁸ They are: isolated apathetic family; isolated stable family; isolated active family; cohesive traditional group self-transforming cohesive group; and instrumentally cohesive group.

For purposes of this thesis, the urban Indian and Metis in Canada can be loosely fitted into the isolated apathetic family group. This group is the most negative group from the point of view of institutionalization of behaviour. They can be considered 'marginal people'. Their characteristics are: rapid breakdown of the solidarity and activity of primary groups; aggressive or apathetic behaviour; limited social participation; unstable social relations; negative identification with the new social structure and its values; little predisposition to change; poor working capacity; minimal contacts with the larger social system; and a large amount of personal disorganization.

In consequence the extent of their activity in various spheres--economic, educational, etc.--is minimal and unstable, and it is almost impossible for them to acquire any secure place in the new social structure.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 144.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 144.

Eisenstadt feels that when different immigrant groups are set in more or less equal absorbing conditions it is their own predisposition and orientations that will determine their rate of absorption. This in turn depends mainly upon the stability and continuity of some primary or more extended groups among the immigrants.

Only insofar as such groups continue to exist as more or less solidary units do most of the immigrants develop any status-images and aspirations at all.¹¹⁰

The extension of the immigrant's roles beyond these primary groups is dependent on the extent to which it is possible to link the aspirations of the small group to wider orientations and reference groups. This is usually done by establishing primary connections with leaders and elites, who transfer these wider orientations to the various members.

However, as mentioned previously, this partly depends on the situation within the new country. Eisenstadt isolates three main factors regarding conditions of absorption in the host society. These are: the framework of bureaucratic absorption; the impact of such societies' institutions as the school, army, etc.; and the patterns of mobility and leadership selection.

Finally, Eisenstadt sets forth what he considers to be the major aspects of the transformation or assimilation of immigrant groups into American society. These six stages of

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 166.

assimilation are the following,¹¹¹

1. Growing acquisition and performance of the various universal roles of the society in both the political and cultural fields;
2. Continuous development of economic aspirations and a rise in their standard of living;
3. Continuous development of status-aspirations in accordance with the criteria within American society, and a consequent gradual inclusion within the main strata of the society;
4. Continuous limitation of the sphere of purely ethnic activities and symbols;
5. Use of the ethnic associations and groups as channels for transmitting the main social and cultural values of the dominant society;
6. Development of transitory leadership, i.e. leadership oriented towards the transmission of new values and attainment of status.

On the other hand, Eisenstadt also isolates five important factors which may serve to retard successful assimilation:

1. Original migrational intentions of temporary settlement;
2. Family structure with patterns of maintaining customary status and of parental determination of status;
3. Order of a group's appearance in the city, because the earliest groups encounter local conditions which no longer operate when later groups arrive;
4. Large groups of population, a condition increasing the resistance to mobility;
5. Proximity to the homeland, a factor for the slowing of acculturation processes and therefore for the curbing of status advance.¹¹²

The number of empirical studies on the process of assimilation into American society is immense. It is possible, however, to divide the studies into two broad categories: those dealing with the various social determinants of the immigrants as they encounter their new conditions, and those

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 247.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 102. The importance of this variable as an impediment to successful adjustment of the Indian and Metis in the city is the subject of Chapter 4.

that attempt to set forth a conceptual framework for the study of the assimilation process. Regarding the first category, much of the literature on the immigrant in the urban environment has been concerned with his location in the urban occupational and class structure. One of the basic questions is to what extent are the recent immigrants forced into occupations which are at the lower end of the economic and prestige hierarchy? Studies of rural to urban migrants give no conclusive answer. On the one hand, some studies show that the majority of rural migrants took up jobs of the manual work variety in the cities.¹¹³ On the other hand, the alternate hypothesis, that rural to urban migrants are not disproportionately represented in the lower prestige occupations also finds some in the literature.¹¹⁴

With regard to the actual characteristics of migrants in the urban areas, it has been generally found that rural migrants participate less in formal organizations than urban people, a notable exception being the church.¹¹⁵

Studies of personal adaptation to the urban environment show that the rural migrant often experiences a loss of community support and consequently a period of personal

¹¹³H. J. Crockett, "The Achievement Motive and Differential Occupational Mobility in the U.S.", American Sociological Review, (Vol. 27, 1962).

¹¹⁴There can be no doubt that the Indian and Metis migrating to the city in Canada would support the first hypothesis. See Chapter 2.

¹¹⁵R. Freedman and D. Freedman, "Farm-Reared Elements in the Non-Farm Population", Rural Sociology, (Vol. 21, 1956).

disorganization.¹¹⁶ They point out that one important factor which accentuates this disorganization is the difference between rural and urban life concerning the conceptions of time.¹¹⁷

The other major category to which the studies on assimilation can be roughly assigned is composed of attempts to put forth a conceptual scheme to study the process. Several examples can be cited. Richardson identifies three stages involved in the process of assimilation in his study of British immigrants in Australia.¹¹⁸ These are isolation, accommodation and identification. A similar framework is provided by Germani¹¹⁹ who distinguishes three separate processes--adjustment, participation, and acculturation. A slightly different approach is utilized by Rose and Warshay¹²⁰ in their study of the urban adjustment process. They adopt a Symbolic-Interactionist approach which concentrates on the interaction among persons in terms of a set of shared perceived expectations. If these

¹¹⁶G. Beiger, "Rural Migrants in the Urban Setting", (The Hague, 1963).

¹¹⁷Richardson, "The Assimilation of British Immigrants in Australia", Human Relations (Vol. 10, 1957), p. 61. This is often mentioned in the literature on the Indian and Metis as being a peculiar cultural trait of the Indian. (Beyer, pp. 316-17).

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 61.

¹¹⁹Germani, p. 61.

¹²⁰Rose and Warshay, "The Adjustment of Migrants to Cities", Social Forces, (Vol. 36, 1957).

shared expectations are not forthcoming for the migrant, personal disorganization will often result. This leads then to the hypothesis that:

...migrants without already existing primary group contacts in the new community are more likely to feel disheartened and/or pessimistic about their life chances and life accomplishments than those with such contacts.¹²¹

Finally, two studies in this category deal with the problems of urban adjustment of Indians in the United States. One such study by Graves conceptualizes the migration of the Navaho to the urban centres as a shift in membership group from a reservation to an urban community.¹²² This shift may or may not involve a similar shift in reference group. He accordingly identifies three types of migrants: those who have shifted their identification to the urban industrial society prior to migration; those who make such a shift subsequent to migration; and those who never make such a shift in reference group. Graves hypothesizes that the process of urban migration and adjustment should prove distinct for each type.

A second empirical work in this category attempts to provide a measurement of assimilation for a group of Indians,

¹²¹Ibid., p. 74. This is the basis for hypothesis I of this present study.

¹²²T. Graves, "Alternative Models for the Study of Urban Migration", Human Organization (Vol. 25, 1966) Cf. also Eisenstadt's predisposition to change.

relocated in Spokane.¹²³ Roy breaks assimilation into three processes: acculturation, social integration, and amalgamation (miscengenation). He also affirms that these processes proceed in chronological order and should be visualized and studied as a three-step sequence of assimilation into the host culture.

Each of these three steps was measured by different variables, such as level of education, level of living, occupation, participation in formal organizations and intermarriage. He found that the Indian scored significantly lower than his white counterpart on all variables, although there has been progressively more assimilation over time.¹²⁴

To complete this picture of a sample of studies on the assimilation-acculturation process, it is necessary briefly to cite a few studies which dwell primarily on psychological rather than structural or cultural variables. Such studies are usually carried out by social psychologists or anthropologists in such areas as 'national character' and 'model personality' or the 'marginal man'. They most frequently use such psychological tests as the T.A.T. or Rorschach to delineate a specific type of personality¹²⁵ in order to predict who will

¹²³P. Roy, "The Measurement of Assimilation: The Spokane Indians", The American Journal of Sociology (Vol. 28, 1958).

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 543.

¹²⁵The validity and reliability of such instruments as measures of personalities culturally have come under serious questioning.

or will not be successful in adjusting to a new set of conditions. The importance of personality variables in the process of adjustment to a new situation, whether it be immigrant or not, cannot be doubted. Acculturation obviously involves various readjustments in the habits, attitudes, goals and motivations of individuals. This leads Hallowell to conclude that "...a comprehensive understanding of the acculturation process...demands an approach that is psychologically, as well as culturally, orientated".¹²⁶

Hallowell, in his study of the Ojibway personality, utilizes the psychological approach to distinguish different levels of acculturation according to different modal personality structures. In comparing groups at different levels of acculturation, he found that there was little change in the basic personality structure of the Indian, and concludes:

...there is no reason to believe that the process of acculturation in itself involves any change in the psychological core of the individual.¹²⁷

Another example of a study using mainly psychological variables is provided by Nash and Shaw,¹²⁸ in their study of

¹²⁶I. Hallowell, "Ojibway Personality and Acculturation", in Sol Tax, ed., Selective Papers of 29th Congress of American-ists (1952), p. 105.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 308.

¹²⁸D. Nash and L. Shaw, "Personality and Adaptation in an Overseas Enclave," Human Organization (Vol. 2, No. 4, 1962-63).

a Japanese settlement in Cuba. Focussing on the psychological necessity to maintain some personal identity, i.e., a sense of continuity in a strange environment, they argue that when an individual moves to a new milieu, he is faced with an external situation which is incompatible with his sense of self. This provides what they refer to as a 'culture shock' which in turn results in a state of anxiety for the individual. The person, in order to adjust, looks for familiar cues similar to his own values. Thus the immigrants tends to settle together in an 'enclave' that facilitates the transition from one culture to another. It functions to maintain the identity of the immigrants while they adjust to the dominant society.¹²⁹ Using the T.A.T. test, the authors isolated three adaptive types of personality¹³⁰ autonomous man, transitional man, and traditional man--each with different personality traits. They hypothesize that the first two are adaptive types of personalities that are capable of acculturation.

Finally, a study which attempts to deal with both the psychological and sociological phases of assimilation is provided by Flashberger.¹³¹ He is dealing with the concept of 'marginality', i.e. a phase of culture vacuum through which

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 252. Cf. Hanson's concept of the shadow reserve.

¹³⁰Cf. Eisenstadt's 'predisposition to change'.

¹³¹E. Flashberger, "The Marginal Man and his Marginal Attitude", R.E.M.P. Bulletin (Vol. 10, No. 3, 1962).

an immigrant passes in the process of becoming assimilated. He sets up a typology of the various stages that the 'marginal man' goes through in his adjustment.¹³²

TABLE 1-1

	Sociological Phase	Psychological Phase
Break-up	Dissolution of role	Psychological shock
Stage of movement	Dispersion	Numbness
Arrival	Social isolation	Loneliness
New Beginning	Search of social contacts	Hope
Settlement:		
a. as a marginal man		Dissillusionment
b. as a full citizen	Social inte- gration	Satisfaction

Although this thesis will not deal directly with psychological variables, this brief review shows that many consider such variables to be indispensable to such a study.

ETHNIC GROUP RELATIONS:

A study of the 'total' integration process (migration--adjustment--integration) requires an examination of the relations of the immigrant or ethnic group once established within the new environment. This is necessary because the immigrants who settled in Canada and the United States did not automatically become assimilated into the larger society. Rather they

¹³²Ibid., p. 89.

usually settled in areas which were at least partly segregated from the host society and retained many of their own institutions, customs, associations, schools, churches, etc., thereby forming an 'ethnic group'. Thus Canadian and American society became ethnically plural.

The question posed itself for these groups of whether it was possible to attain a sense of community with one's own ethnic group while at the same time taking full part in American society.

The goal of the cultural pluralities is to maintain enough subsocietal separation to guarantee the continuance of the ethnic cultural traditions and the existence of the group, without at the same time interfering with the carrying out of standard responsibilities to the general American civic life.¹³³

In effect, the demands keep primary group relations across ethnic lines minimal enough to prevent a significant amount of intermarriage, while allowing co-operation with other groups and "individuals in the secondary relations".¹³⁴

An ethnic group can be broadly defined as "a group who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others".¹³⁵ Such a group is united by emotional bonds and is concerned with the preservation of its type. With few exceptions, its members

¹³³Gordon, p. 157.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 158.

¹³⁵T. Shibutani, and K. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach, (New York, MacMillan Co., 1965), p. 47.

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speak the same language and share a common cultural heritage. People can either be placed in an ethnic group by virtue of their belief in a common descent or by being placed in such a category by outsiders.

Ethnic groups are basically the result of cultural similarities. Culture in turn is based on communication between people. Thus the extent to which a distinctive culture develops among people depends largely upon the degree of their social isolation from others. There are many cultural traits which facilitate this isolation, with language being the most important. Other less obvious ones include food habits, customs, ways of looking at the universe, dress, and physical characteristics.

Looking at such groups from the point of view of their integration into the dominant society, three types of ethnic groups can be distinguished:¹³⁶ first, there are groups which maintain a high degree of exclusiveness, clinging to cultural patterns while also forming an acceptable part of the general economic and political structure and attaining a relatively high status within it. This exclusiveness is achieved either because they concentrate themselves in a geographically isolated region or because they have relatively great cultural similarity to and identification with the upper strata of the absorbing society.

The second type is made up of groups which are confined,

¹³⁶Eisenstadt, pp. 249-50.

owing to discriminatory practices or cultural incompatibility, to the lowest strata.

In this case, the amount of cultural transformation and formalization is much smaller, but a cultural identification may exist which is purely apathetic or even incompatible with that of the absorbing society.¹³⁷

The process of transformation usually takes the form of gradual disorganization of the group and its traditional patterns along with a parallel weakening of its solidarity without, however, its entering the new formal and associational aspects of the social life of the absorbing society.

The third type of ethnic group is the most common, since most ethnic groups are absorbed into the middle strata of the absorbing society. This type has various ethnic associations and organizations to promote the various goals and behaviour of the ethnic group.

Such associations serve on the one hand as agents which facilitate group transformation and cushion the transition for the immigrants; while on the other hand, they are also a breeding ground for various ethnic leaders' status-aspirations towards the general society. It is within these associations that the internal status-system and community life of the ethnic group is formed and maintained.¹³⁸

Other writers have pointed out the analogies to be drawn between ethnic associations and professional associations in terms of promoting the interests of their respective groups:

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 251.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 251.

...both are concerned with establishing the legitimacy of the group; with enhancing and protecting its status and autonomy; with gaining, to some extent, control over the selection and socialization of its members.¹³⁹

It is usually the case that these associations eventually lose their function or attraction and break down with increased absorption and new generations. An example of this process at work is the decreasing number of publications printed in foreign languages each year.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, other types of associations adapt with time by simply changing their function. For example, what originally began as fraternal aid societies needed in the early part of the century to help immigrants adjust financially have now continued as social and cultural clubs which still serve to maintain an ethnic identity. The many ethnic organizations can be classified into several types including,¹⁴¹ religious, political-ideological, social, economic, cultural, business and professional, veterans, scientific, artistic and literary, and recreational.

As well as examining the functioning of ethnic associations in maintaining the identity of a particular immigrant group, this thesis will concentrate on the actual

¹³⁹F.G. Vallee, M. Schwartz, and R. Darknell, "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science (Vol. 23, 1957), pp. 542-43.

¹⁴⁰For example, in Winnipeg, two of the four Jewish newspapers were forced to merge.

¹⁴¹For a full description of the nature and function of each type, see D.N. McCaskill, "Ethnic Organizations in the Winnipeg Area".

formation of group consciousness and the role of the ethnic leaders and their mediating function between the group and the total society.

The formation of a group consciousness on the part of an immigrant group usually develops because of both differential treatment from the dominant society and a common cultural heritage. Thus factors such as settlement patterns, ease of communication between members of the same group, discrimination, etc. should be examined to gain an understanding of this process. As people are treated differentially, they begin to realize their common interests, and this is the first step toward the development of a sense of unity.

Consciousness of kind on the part of people who share a subordinate position usually does not arise through reasoning or deliberate design. Mutual identification emerges from repeated experiences of denial and humiliation.¹⁴²

However, it should be noted that differential treatment does not automatically produce group consciousness. The people must become aware of being treated alike in an arbitrary fashion by the dominant society. As they are continually treated alike, they come to conceive of themselves in the same manner.

Once this ethnic category has been established, social distance is reduced among those who are defined as alike and communication channels, i.e. ethnic press and organizations, are formed.

¹⁴² Shibutani and Kwan, p. 208.

Since communication within the group is facilitated at the same time that relative isolation from outsiders develops, a distinctive outlook is formed. As they develop a common culture, people in the emerging category develop distinctive characteristics that set them off from others.¹⁴³

Thus the ethnic groups and associations are similar to a primary group wherein people can feel at ease and discuss things which they keep from outsiders. This again reinforces their isolation from outsiders.

It should be remembered, however, that this description of the formation of an ethnic group is an 'ideal type'. In reality, there is a great diversity of attitudes within a particular ethnic group towards assimilation into the dominant group. This is especially true if there is a high possibility of social mobility. If this is the case, there will almost always be a certain number of individuals leaving the ethnic group and attempting to enter the social life of the dominant group.

The motivation or circumstances for leaving the ethnic group, however, may not always be voluntary.

Often individuals who are most anxious to assimilate are those who have been involved in a long succession of conflicts, especially with their parents. They want desperately to escape because they cannot tolerate the people they encountered in their unhappy childhood.¹⁴⁴

And Vogt¹⁴⁵, in a study of assimilated Navahoes, found that

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 214

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 515.

¹⁴⁵A.Z. Vogt, "The Acculturation of American Indians", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (May, 1957), p. 515.

those who preferred to go the way of the white man were those who lacked satisfactory ties with other Navahoes.

When individuals do succeed in becoming assimilated, the extreme ethnic pluralists often regard them as deserters of their 'natural' home and phrases such as 'Uncle Tom' or 'white man's nigger' are used in reference to such individuals.

In addition, mobile persons often encounter difficulties in becoming accepted into the institutions and groups of the dominant society. This is so because the stereotype of the ethnic group as being somehow inherently 'different' and usually 'inferior' must be broken down before acceptance is possible. Thus, such an upwardly mobile person often takes on the status of a "marginal man" between the group he has left and the group he wishes to enter.

A rough continuum can be set up representing the different attitudes towards assimilation into the larger society. Irvin Child in his study of the Italians in New Haven pointed out three types of orientation: those who rejected Italian culture and identified with America; those who rejected American culture and identified strongly with Italy; and those who were apathetic and avoided choosing between the two.¹⁴⁶

For purposes of this study, the two extreme types will be referred to as the 'assimilationists' and the 'integrationists'. The latter category are not as radical as Child's group

¹⁴⁶I. Child, Italian or American (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943), p. 525.

insofar as they cannot totally reject the culture of the dominant Canadian society. Rather they hold to the view that an Indian or Metis ethnic group can exist with distinctive customs, institutions, associations, etc., while still engaging in many of the structures and roles (e.g. occupations) of the larger society.

The final area of interest for this work has to do with the role of the ethnic leader in the process of adjustment and integration. The ethnic leader acts as a type of liaison between his group and the larger society. Robin Williams¹⁴⁷ outlines three areas of influence:

1. In the determination of the extent of wider social orientation, or conversely, of regressive tendencies of the immigrant;
2. In the crystallization of symbols of group identification;
3. In the upholding of common frameworks and norms, within which the various structural diversities can co-exist.

Eisenstadt¹⁴⁸ distinguishes between two types of

leadership selection--automatic and selective. The ethnic leaders can be fitted into the same two types as were outlined above. The leader who favours an integrationist stance has a strong positive identification with the group of origin; he wishes to serve the group in its new environment and sees himself as its representative who has to help it in its relations with the 'outside'; he wants to be accepted by the group and not to have to force himself on it; he aspires to transmit to

¹⁴⁷R. Williams, American Society, (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1951), pp. 523-28.

¹⁴⁸Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, p. 176.

it some new values, and he usually does not want to exploit it or use it directly as a means of personal aggrandizement.

In contrast, the assimilationist has a negative attitude toward the values and members of the group of origin. Although usually connected to it with strong emotional attachments, he wishes to force on it the values of the new society and demands obedience and power in order to transmit these values, and he aspires to a strong authority position within the group which he sees as a channel of self-aggrandizement.¹⁴⁹

There is also a third group of ethnic leaders the radical or separatist militants--which often emerges and which can be seen as an extreme case of the integrationists in advocating the use of violence and often holding an ideology of the superiority of their group. The so-called 'black' or 'red' power groups are of this third type.

Far fewer empirical studies on the various aspects of ethnic groups mentioned above have been done than on the previous two topics. However, there have been some notable exceptions. Regarding membership in voluntary associations, Rossi¹⁵⁰ found that high-status areas tend to have more voluntary associations than lower-status areas. Glazer and Moynihan go further and argue that the main difference which accounted for the rapid rise in social status of some immigrant

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 176.

¹⁵⁰P. Rossi, Why Families Move, (New York, The Free Press, 1956).

groups and the slower rise of others was the lack of voluntary mutual aid associations in areas occupied by the latter.¹⁵¹

Possibly the best study on the role of ethnic institutions in immigrant adjustment is one carried out by Raymond Breton who introduces the variable 'institutional completeness' of an ethnic community.¹⁵² Instead of focussing on the characteristics of the individual immigrant, he examines the ability of the ethnic community in the receiving society to attract the immigrant into its social boundaries. He finds that this ability is largely dependent on the degree of institutional completeness of the ethnic group. He points out that ethnic communities vary greatly in their social organization. Therefore, some provide their members with a great many types of organization, examples of which have been pointed out previously. Institutional completeness will be at its extreme when the ethnic community can provide all the services required by its members.

Breton studied thirty ethnic groups in Montreal to

¹⁵¹N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, (Cambridge, The M.I.T. Press, 1963), p. 77.

¹⁵²R. Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", in Blishen et al., eds., Canadian Society (Toronto; MacMillan, 1964), p. 82.

establish their degree of institutional completeness.¹⁵³ He found that the communities showing the highest degree of institutional completeness have a much greater proportion of their members experiencing most of their personal relationships within the ethnic group. In other words, the existence of ethnic institutions tends to enhance group cohesiveness.

He isolates several functions that the ethnic organization performs:¹⁵⁴ extension within the community of the personal networks of the participants, provides a psychological security for its members and raises new issues or activate old ones for public debate.

¹⁵³It is interesting to note that with few exceptions, the ethnic groups which scored 'high' and 'low' on Breton's scale of institutional completeness in Montreal, scored similarly in a study carried out by the author in Winnipeg. Those that scored 'high' for Breton were: Greek, German, French, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian. Those classified as 'low' were: Albanian, American, Austrian, Belgian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Danish, Dutch, English, Indian, Irish, Latvian, Portuguese, Romanian, Scotch, Spanish, Swiss, Yugoslavian, West Indian.

Those groups which were 'high' in Montreal but 'low' in Winnipeg were: Greek and Russian. Those 'low' in Montreal and 'high' in Winnipeg were: Dutch, Latvian and Swedish. The Chinese, Croatians, Icelandic, Canadian Indian, and Jewish also scored 'high' in Winnipeg, but were not mentioned by Breton.

It might seem strange that the Canadian Indian and Metis would score 'high' on institutional completeness when they have not formed a group consciousness or ethnic group in Winnipeg. However, in this case it is not the number of organizations which is important but rather the nature of the organizations. This will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 4.

¹⁵⁴Breton, p. 84.

Breton argues that the existence of an informal structure within an ethnic community is a prerequisite for the appearance of formal organizations and conversely,

But is it also true that once a formal structure has developed it has the effect of reinforcing the cohesiveness of already existing networks and of expanding these networks. This expansion is achieved mostly by attracting within the ethnic community the new immigrants. A community with a high degree of institutional completeness has a greater absorbing capacity than those with a more informal social organization.¹⁵⁵

Finally, Breton speculates about the determinants of institutional completeness within an ethnic community. He cites three factors. First, the ethnic group may possess some differentiating social or cultural attribute which can set it apart from the native community. Language is probably the most important. The second set of factors has to do with the level of resources among the members of the ethnic group. If most of the members have few resources then there is in this ethnic group an important 'clientele' to support welfare and mutual benefit organizations. The third set of factors related to the degree of institutional completeness is the number of immigrants of a given ethnic group and the rate at which they arrive in the community.

Another variable which has often been cited as important in the literature on ethnic group relations is that of the relative size of the two groups. Frank E. Jones in his article

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 202.

"Sociological Perspectives on Immigrant Adjustment"¹⁵⁶

criticizes sociologists for neglecting this aspect of integration. He reports that the majority of the studies in this area cannot be correctly called 'sociological' because the unit of analysis is most often the individual rather than the group.¹⁵⁷

In this article Jones is dealing specifically with the relationship between population size and rates of interaction. He suggests that it might be more fruitful for sociologists to examine this relationship in terms of the broader concept of socialization rather than adjustment. A second suggestion is to subject the problem of socialization to functional analysis utilizing one of the following two approaches to the problem.¹⁵⁸

1. to study what occurs between socializer and socializee as interaction structured in a system of roles. This socialization role system can then be regarded as a social system and the interaction analyzed in terms of the functional requirements of the system.

¹⁵⁶Frank E. Jones, "A Sociological Perspective on Immigrant Adjustment", Social Forces, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1956.

¹⁵⁷Some notable exceptions are: S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, (New York, The Free Press, 1954), Philip Hauser, "Present Status and Prospects on Research in Population", American Sociological Review, Vol. 13, 1948, W.F. Ogburn, "On the Social Aspects of Population Changes", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 4, 1953, Kingsley Davis, Human Society, (New York, Macmillan, 1949), C.H. Cooley, Social Organization, (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labour, (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1947), Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1949), and George Simmel, The Sociology of George Simmel, (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1950).

¹⁵⁸F. Jones, "Sociological Perspective on Immigrant Adjustment", p. 45.

2. To study the significance of new members to a social system with emphasis on the relation of the system's functional requirements to its methods of dealing with new members.

He feels that both of these approaches are legitimate sociological formulations and have the advantage of being sufficiently general to encompass a variety of empirical situations. In this type of analysis the influx of immigrants is seen to have functional significance to the system and is examined according to such problems as; the coordination of action relative to system requirements, the mutual cathexis of actors and cathexis to system norms, the problem of authority, the extent to which the new group's goals and expectations are compatible to those of the receiving society and so on. Jones feels that this formulation:

provides an orderly means of differentiating classes of responses to immigrants and for relating these responses to basic aspects of interaction systems.¹⁵⁹

Before ending this section on ethnic relations mention should be made of a paper which actually makes an attempt at comparing the Indian and Métis living in the city with other ethnic groups. Andre Renaud¹⁶⁰ concludes that the Indian and Métis in their immigration to the cities cannot be compared to any large extent to other immigrant groups, as their patterns of adjustment are significantly different.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁶⁰Renaud, "The Possible Development as Ethnic Groups of Indians and Métis", p. 1.

He lists three characteristics of an ethnic group settling into the city which differ from the settling pattern of the Indian and Metis. First, the ethnic group settles in a certain area of the city which becomes an ethnic district. This Renaud considers to be done by choice in order to be together to share common ethnic characteristics. (This last point is questionable, however, since although immigrant groups usually settle together, the area in the city is usually not chosen with free will. This is a situation similar to that of the Indians who have settled in one or two areas in Winnipeg--two slum areas--probably not by choice.) A second characteristic of ethnic grouping in urban communities is to provide mutual practical help in adjusting to their new situation. This is done through such things as association, mutual aid groups, and the like. The third function of ethnic urban grouping is the maintenance and diffusion of what is considered the best from the original culture. This is done through cultural and social organizations, conferences, etc.

In pointing out the basic differences between the Indian group and other ethnic minorities, Renaud points out that contrary to other groups, the Indian and Metis reserves and settlements did not come into existence out of the free choice of the founding generation. This process not only saved a portion of their ethnic identity and communal way of life, but also reinforced their already strong group cohesion and sense of

separateness. He feels that the reserves soon became home to the Indians as the old countries were home for the European immigrant but with a very important difference, namely, that the Indian migrating into non-Indian communities could always go back 'home' when his attempt at integration failed. This is not usually the case for the European immigrant.¹⁶¹ He cites this difference as being very significant in terms of motivation towards social and economic integration. Another major difference between the Indian and other ethnic groups is that the Indian has little responsibility for his local situation. Practically all administration has been in the hands of 'outsiders' such as the Indian Affairs Branch.¹⁶²

Therefore Renaud speculates that although other ethnic groups at first often occupy the lower rental areas of the city, they can usually move out to better areas and move up the economic ladder whereas, as a group, the Indian and Metis population is constantly changing, but individuals and families either move back to the reserve or Metis communities or to another depressed area of the same city.

¹⁶¹This is the same thesis as that presented by Nancy Lurie; see p. 73. Also see Chapter 4 of this thesis for the effect of 'being able to go home' for adjustment to the city for the Indian and Metis.

¹⁶²This situation may of course change with the implementation of the new Indian policy which will turn the reserves into self-governing municipalities and abolish the Indian Affairs Branch and the Indians' special status.

The effects of this 'outside' administration, both on the reserves and in the city, is the subject matter of Chapter 5.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES:

Before completing this review of the literature on migration, acculturation-assimilation, and ethnic group relations, brief mention should be made of the studies upon which this thesis is directly based. Empirical studies of Indian and Metis adjustment into the urban environment with which to compare the findings of the present study are, for the most part, few and far between. However, there are some notable exceptions which will be briefly outlined in this section.

The first such study does not pertain directly to the Indian and Metis but does provide a wealth of recent data on other immigrant groups with which to compare the data of this study. Richmond's study of the experiences of post-war immigrants in Canada examines¹⁶³ such areas as: economic absorption; incomes and standards of living; kinship, marriage and family; acculturation and social integration; attitudes to life in Canada; and the amount and significance of returning to the native country. In this way, Richmond not only provides a great amount of data for comparison, but also sets forth an excellent framework for the study of any ethnic group. The findings of this and other studies will be constantly referred to in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

¹⁶³ A. Richmond, Post War Immigrants in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).

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Two studies of Indian urbanization have been chosen from the United States. The first ¹⁶⁴ is a study of the influx of Indians into Los Angeles over a six year period. In the period from 1960 to 1966, the Indian population in Los Angeles doubled from 12,405 to 25,000¹⁶⁵ as a result of a relocation programme carried on by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Under this programme, a screening process takes place on the reservation before the Indian enters the city. Also each Indian is assigned a social worker in the urban area who helps him with his orientation, e.g. housing, jobs, use of public transportation, etc. In addition, the Indian attends two orientation meetings on such things as medical plans, geography and social attitudes, etc.¹⁶⁶ Price goes on to break down the process of adaptation into three processes--assimilation, which includes marriage, formal associations and informal associations; acculturation, including recreational activities, level of formal education, occupation, and the loss of the ability to speak the Indian tongue; and adjustment, which includes such psychological difficulties as suicide, crime rates, mental illness,

¹⁶⁴J.A. Price, "The Migration and Adaptation of American Indians to Los Angeles", Human Organization, (Vol. 27, No. 2, 1968).

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁶⁶Such orientations and relocation programmes to help the Indian for life in the city are scarcely lacking in Canada. Authors such as John Melling call for such programmes for advance preparation. See chapter 11-12, John Melling, Right to a Future (Don Mills: T.H. Best Printing Ltd., 1967). See also Conference on Indians and the City, report sponsored by the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada of a national conference held in Winnipeg in 1967.

and unemployment.¹⁶⁷

The second American study focuses on the urban adjustment and formation of an ethnic group among Indians in the San Francisco area.¹⁶⁸ The major purposes of Molohon's paper are to show how a visible identity is instrumental in the development of mechanisms of adjustment to urban life, to show how urban relocation has catalyzed the development of a general Pan-Indian "Indian" identity and its accompanying political organization, and to point out how the creation of a new, three-levelled identity is vitally linked to the development and structure of an urban Indian community based on interaction.¹⁶⁹

The concept of 'tri-levelled' identity involves simultaneous identification as: (a) a member of a specific tribe; (b) as a pan - Indian, and; (c) as a member of the larger American society¹⁷⁰. The author postulates that this mechanism seems to reinforce successful adjustment to the urban milieu. The urban environment provided a situation which would allow for an ease of communication among different Indian elements

¹⁶⁷Price, p. 172.

¹⁶⁸K.T. Molohon, "The American Indian and Urban Adjustment: Tri-levelled Identity and the Catalysis of Organization", (Paper delivered at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 1967).

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 1.

which was absent on the scattered reservations.

The Indians in the Bay area began to form an ethnic group consciousness which was later extended to include other urban areas and eventually a Pan-Indian identity was formed similar to that of any other ethnic group. Now cultural events such as Pow Wows are formed to reinforce this sense of 'Indian-ness'. Events such as the Pow Wows serve many functions including a public display of Indian identity and show the solidarity of the Bay area Indians as an ethnic group. The Indians are also producing an increasing number of publications dealing with activities of Indians across the country. In short, the Indian is developing full status as an ethnic group in American society on both the local and national levels. It is interesting to note that this group consciousness could not take place until the Indian had moved into the urban areas, obtained an increased level of income and skills, and established formal lines of communication.

Molohon states that the two levels of identity are inseparable.

...Pan-Indian organization and mechanisms for bolstering Indian identity are both growing at the same rapid pace. They are inseparable, each necessary for the other to function, and both necessary for successful adjustment to, and survival in, the city; it is the congregation of Indians in cities which has brought these mechanisms into full play.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 24.

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he feels that rather than losing their identity and becoming assimilated, the Indians are successfully performing their roles on these three levels of identity and thus maintaining the group consciousness of a full ethnic group.

In Canada, the number of studies on the Indian in the city is minimal. Most of the concern with this topic is carried out in conferences sponsored by the various social agencies who deal with the problem; these conferences usually centre on specific problems of immediate concern to these agencies, and thus give little theoretical or systematic knowledge of the phenomenon.¹⁷²

A typical example of such a conference is one held in Winnipeg in 1966. It focuses on the various difficulties that the Indian encounters in the urban environment, such as: the problem of finding adequate housing; finding a job with the low level of marketable skills the Indian possesses; the difficulties of adjusting to the bureaucracies, crowded conditions, pace and impersonality of the city; the lack of preparation for city life when coming from the rural areas; the difficulties with the law often encountered by the Indians and Metis; the cultural differences like time, saving, sharing, etc.; discrimination; the need for educational and vocational training; and the problems of finding a satisfactory social life with other Indian and Metis people.¹⁷³

¹⁷²Indian-Eskimo Association, "Conference on Indians and the City", (Winnipeg, 1966).

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 14.

These reports, however, are largely descriptive and provide little more than an orientation to the situation. Nevertheless, some analyses of the Indian and Metis in the city have been attempted by three empirical studies in three different areas of Canada. The first¹⁷⁴ is a study carried out on a sample of Indians and Metis in Winnipeg ten years ago. The second¹⁷⁵ concentrated on the Indians of the urban areas of northern Saskatchewan. The third is an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation carried out on the Indian population in Toronto.¹⁷⁶

The Legasse study concentrated on aspects of the urban environment such as: residential mobility; housing; schooling; occupations and earnings; finances; use of communications media and transportation facilities; community participation; prejudice and morals. His findings in many of these areas will be used for direct comparison to illuminate any changes which have taken place over the ten year period from 1959 to 1969 in Winnipeg.

The second study focuses more on the process of migration and ecological patterns of the Indian and Metis in

¹⁷⁴J.H. Legasse, A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba (Vol. I, II, III; Winnipeg, Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959).

¹⁷⁵A.A. Davis, A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers (Vol. II; Report on the Urban Indians in Saskatchewan, Calgary, 1965).

¹⁷⁶H. Nagler, "Urbanization of Canadian Indians and Related Consequences", (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, 1967). Many of the ideas and instruments for the present study have been taken from these three comparative studies written by Legasse, Davis, and Nagler.

three northern Saskatchewan urban areas--Prince Albert, North Battleford, and Meadow Lake. It deals with such areas as: where they came from; why they came; social characteristics of the households such as family size, language, patterns etc.; the occupational structure; housing and household facilities; income; social participation; and problems and aspirations.

Finally the Nagler study of the Toronto Indian examines largely the same variables as the other two and provides a basis for comparison with another area of the country. In addition, Nagler provides a typology of the various groups of Indians who are in the city based on occupational and associational patterns.

These five studies carried out in the United States and Canada provide a background of data with which to compare many of the findings of the present study as well as a test for much of the theoretical and empirical literature reviewed in the three previous sections of this chapter.

PART I
MIGRATION

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE UNDER STUDY I - THE MIGRATION TO THE CITY

INTRODUCTION:

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the sample of Indians and Metis who will be studied in this thesis, and analyze the processes involved in their migration to the city. The first section of this chapter will focus on the Indian and Metis population as a whole, whereas the subsequent sections will deal with the individual and primary group.

This difference in the level of analysis is important to keep in mind to avoid confusion. Chapters two, three and four will deal mainly with the Indians and Metis included in the sample although at times the analysis will include references to the urban Indian and Metis group as a whole. This will be done when referring to reports and studies which supplement the data presented by the author.

In Chapter five the analysis again moves to the group level when we examine the possible formation of an ethnic group identity among the Indians and Metis in the urban setting. The present chapter will follow the migrant

from his community of origin, through his decision to move, to an examination of some of the factors in the new community.

It will first provide a brief general background of the Indians and Metis in Canada in discussing the situational factors on the reserves and Metis communities in Manitoba. Data from several reports, documents, and papers will be utilized to describe the economic and social conditions in these rural areas which have contributed to the large scale migration to the cities and towns. Secondly the chapter poses the two major questions asked in the literature on migration - who goes, and why? The sample of Indian and Metis migrants will be examined by asking these two questions. The final section concerns itself with the migrants entering the urban setting and the role of previously existing primary group contacts and organizational assistance.

SITUATIONAL FACTORS IN COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN:

THE RESERVE AND METIS COMMUNITY

1. Historical Sketch:

There are two main groups which will be referred to as "people of Indian ancestry". The first such group is composed of the so-called "treaty" or "registered" Indians, who, since 1763, gave over their land in Canada to the Crown in a series of treaties which established a system

of 2,200 reserves across Canada in which they resided in order to retain their Indian status in the legal sense. The Indian was guaranteed special rights within these areas, including hunting, fishing and the like. In addition, the treaties provided for a small cash payment to each individual Indian. To administer these lands and rights a special federal department of Indian Affairs was formed. This department remains to this day to oversee many aspects of reserve life,¹ although organizations such as band councils exist to deal independently with some matters pertaining to local government.

In 1967 the registered Indian population in Canada numbered 238,000 or 1.1% of the total population of Canada.²

¹The future of the Indian Affairs Branch is now in doubt, as the Minister has presented a proposed policy change regarding the Federal Government's role in administering Indian lands. This policy provides for the abolition of the Indian Affairs Branch, the system of Reserves, and the cancellation of the treaties.

On the other hand the government's policy has been received with strong opposition among many of Canada's Indian leaders because of its threat of assimilation into the White society. Harold Cardinal, president of the Indian Association of Alberta, has described the policy as: ".....a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation for the Indian to survive, says the government in effect, he must become a good little brown white man.....
.....In our eyes, this new government policy merely represents a disguised move to abrogate all our treaty rights".

(Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians, Edmonton, M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969, pp. 1 and 31)

²K.B. Cooke, Notes on Background and Demography, unpublished monograph, 1967, p. 1.

The second group of native peoples of Canada are a group referred to as the "Metis" or "half-breed". These are people who are of mixed Indian and European (usually French or Scottish) ancestry. Historically these people grew out of a distinctive ethnic group whose function it was to act as a commercial liaison between the Indian and the whiteman in the early fur trade in the West. The majority of Metis lived in the three Prairie provinces; they resided on the peripheries of white settlements. They served to provide continuity and stability in the trading of the furs that came from the more nomadic Indian population. The vast majority of the children of these mixed marriages have eventually become completely assimilated into their European groups. However it is estimated that today the number of Canadians who can readily identify themselves as Metis exceeds 250,000.³

These two distinct groups of native peoples are the subject matter of this study. It should be noted, however, that within the larger society this distinction is not often made; both groups are generally lumped together and simply referred to as 'Indians'. This is largely due to the 'Indian' physical characteristics shared by the two peoples.

³Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, The Canadian Family Tree, (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 229.

2. Social and Demographic Characteristics

(a) Population Increase

At the beginning of this century there was serious concern that the Indian population in Canada would die out from epidemics of such diseases as small pox which the Indian contracted from the white man and against which he had little resistance. By 1900 the total Indian population of Canada had dwindled to 99,010 from the estimated 200,000 and more present when the European first landed on this continent.⁴ However, the population recovered and steadily increased to the point where the Indian is now the fastest growing ethnic group in Canada with an overall increase of 3.2% per annum (based on a 4 year average from 1963 to 1967) as compared with a 1.9% increase per annum for Canada as a whole.⁵

This increase occurs in spite of a high infant mortality rate among the Indian bands. The average rate is 40 per 100 live births as compared to 27 per 1,000 for Canada as a whole.⁶ The life expectancy for the Indian, even excluding persons in the 0-4 age group, is also a great

⁴Indian Affairs Branch, Winnipeg.

⁵Cooke, p.1.

⁶Ibid., p.5.

deal lower than that for the Canadian population.⁷

The following table illustrates the significant population increase since the beginning of this century for registered Indian groups in Manitoba and for all of Canada.

TABLE 2.1
POPULATION OF REGISTERED INDIANS
SINCE 1912 FOR CANADA AND MANITOBA*

Year	Canada	Manitoba
1912	104,956	10,725
1929	108,012	12,263
1954	151,000	19,837
1963	198,220	26,667
1965	204,338	28,961
1967	218,156	31,201
1968	238,000	32,313

* Source: Indian Affairs Branch, Winnipeg, 1967.

⁷(a) The life expectancy rates for Indians in 1963 (excluding the first twelve months of life) are, 46 years for males and 48 years for females. The national averages for 1963 are 60.5 years for males and 64.1 years for females.

(b) Another relevant statistic is the cause of death for Indians. The five main causes are: first and most important, "colds" and pneumonia; second and nearly as important, accidents; third and much less important heart trouble and "strokes"; fourth, infant diseases, and fifth, stomach disorders. All other causes of death including tuberculosis, taken together hardly add up to a quarter of all the deaths of Indians from all causes. The point to be made here is how preventable most of these deaths are given adequate medical facilities in these rural, and often isolated, reserves.

See Community Welfare Planning Council, "A Survey of Welfare Services for Indians and Metis People in Manitoba", (Winnipeg, 1967), p. 4.

Furthermore, this upsurge in Indian population is expected to continue at a similar rate for a number of years. Assuming a constant rate of increase based on 1963-1967 statistics, the estimated Indian population by province for the next ten year period is as follows:

TABLE 2.2
ESTIMATED INDIAN POPULATION 1968 AND 1978*

Province	/ annum rate of increase	estimated 1968	estimated 1978
P.E.I.	2.5	422	547
Nova Scotia	2.2	4375	5439
New Brunswick	2.8	4148	5620
Quebec	2.8	26384	34753
Ontario	2.4	53044	67237
Manitoba	4.0	33510	49603
Saskatchewan	4.3	33843	51559
Alberta	4.3	27752	43566
B.C.	2.6	46393	59968
Yukon	3.4	2517	3517
N.W.T.	3.1	6057	8218
Total	-	238445	330022
Canada	3.2	238388	326634

*Source: Cooke, p. 11.

This rise in population, coupled with the recent government policy decision to abolish the reserve system, will greatly accelerate the rate at which Indian people will be forced to migrate to the urban areas. This migration is compounded by the declining resources on the reserves as well, as will be discussed in the next section.

One set of statistics gives an overall picture of the Indian situation in Canada. It shows the proportional distribution of Indians according to the type of area of residence - rural farm, rural non-farm and urban.

TABLE 2.3

PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE INDIAN AND ESKIMO POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION BY RURAL FARM, RURAL NON-FARMS AND URBAN, 1961, CANADA AND PROVINCES.*

Province	Rural farm		Rural non-farm		Urban	
	Ind. Esk.	Tot. Pop.	Ind. Esk.	Tot. Pop.	Ind. Esk.	Tot. Pop.
P E R C E N T						
Newfoundland	0.0	2.0	83.1	47.3	16.9	50.7
P.E.I.	2.1	33.0	92.8	34.6	5.1	32.4
Nova Scotia	8.2	7.7	78.0	37.9	13.8	54.4
New Brunswick	1.2	10.4	94.3	43.1	4.5	46.5
Quebec	1.6	10.7	76.1	15.0	22.3	74.3
Ontario	3.1	8.1	78.6	14.5	18.3	77.4
Manitoba	3.3	18.6	87.9	17.5	8.8	63.9
Saskatchewan	13.3	32.9	81.2	24.0	5.5	43.1
Alberta	17.9	21.5	73.3	15.2	8.8	63.3
British Columbia	7.0	4.8	81.0	22.7	12.0	72.5
Yukon & N.W.T.	0.0	0.2	83.5	62.7	16.5	37.1
Canada	6.8	11.4	80.3	19.0	12.9	69.6

* Source Census of Canada 1961, D.B.S., cat. No. 92-545.

Because there is no officially recognized Metis group throughout Canada, comparable statistics are not available for this group on the national level.

In Manitoba there are at present approximately 28,113 registered Indians living on fifty-two reserves

scattered throughout the province.⁸ In addition, there are an estimated 4,200 Indian people living in the Greater Winnipeg area. Similarly there are 27,000 Metis residing in over one hundred Metis communities in Manitoba and about 7,800 who have settled in Winnipeg.⁹ Therefore the combined Indian and Metis population in Manitoba is 66,313 or, about 6.6% of the province's total population.

The increase in Metis population in Manitoba has proceeded at a rate similar to that of the Indians. The following table demonstrates this growth over the past ten years.

TABLE 2.4

INCREASE IN INDIAN AND METIS POPULATION
IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN MANITOBA
OVER A TEN YEAR PERIOD 1958-1968*

Year	<u>Rural Manitoba</u>		<u>Greater Winnipeg</u>	
	Indian	Metis	Indian	Metis
1958	22,077	23,579	1,200	3,500
1968	28,113	27,000	4,200	7,800
INCREASE	5,036	3,421	3,000	4,300

*Source: Jean Lagasse, The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg, 1959.
and Cooke, op. cit., p. 9.

⁸See Appendix C for a breakdown of the Indian and Metis population in Manitoba by reserve and Metis community.

⁹Ibid.

(b) Age and Sex Composition

The statistics relating to age and sex distribution for Canada as a whole are again more readily available for the Indian than for the Metis. In comparing the distribution of Indian age groups with those of Canadians generally it is easily demonstrable that there are significantly more Indians in the younger age brackets. These differences are particularly striking in the three Prairie Provinces, as is illustrated by the following two tables.

TABLE 2.5

PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION REGISTERED INDIANS
BY AGE GROUPS, 1965*

Province or Region	Age Groups				
	0-14	15-24	25-49	50-64	65+
<u>Registered Indians</u>					
Maritimes	42.2	19.1	26.3	7.3	5.1
Quebec	40.1	17.9	27.2	8.9	5.9
Southern Ontario	37.9	18.2	26.6	9.6	7.7
Northern Ontario	44.6	19.0	24.1	7.3	5.0
Manitoba	49.7	17.7	21.8	6.5	4.1
Saskatchewan	51.8	17.4	21.3	5.9	3.6
Alberta	51.0	18.1	20.9	6.0	4.0
BC/Yukon	47.6	18.9	22.7	6.5	4.3
N.W.T.	43.7	17.2	24.3	8.1	6.7
Total	46.3	18.3	23.4	7.1	4.9

*Source: Indian Affairs Branch

TABLE 2.6

PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY
AGE GROUPS, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1966*

Province	Age Groups				
	0-14	15-24	25-49	50-64	65+
Newfoundland	40.3	18.3	25.5	10.0	5.9
P.E.I.	34.7	16.4	25.5	12.6	10.8
Nova Scotia	33.7	16.8	27.8	12.8	8.9
New Brunswick	36.0	17.5	26.5	11.8	8.2
Quebec	33.6	18.0	30.8	11.5	6.1
Ontario	31.7	15.6	31.7	12.8	8.2
Manitoba	31.9	16.1	29.2	13.6	9.2
Saskatchewan	33.6	15.7	28.2	13.2	9.3
Alberta	34.9	15.8	30.7	11.5	7.1
B.C.	30.6	15.4	31.0	13.5	9.5
Yukon & N.W.T.	40.8	16.4	32.0	7.8	3.0
Canada	33.0	16.5	30.4	12.4	7.7

*Source: Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-610.

This over representation in the two youngest age groups will probably help to increase migration from the reserves as the youth finish school and find little opportunity for work in the rural areas. This is supported in the migration studies which find that the most mobile age groups in Canada are 20-24 for females and 25-29 for males.¹⁰

(c) Housing

The data on Indian and Metis housing are more plentiful than for most areas. Indeed, several studies have been carried out on this topic in response to concern over the low standards which exist in most reserves and Metis communities.

¹⁰ Whyte, "Social Determinants of Inter-Community Mobility", p. 8.

Two such studies which were conducted in Manitoba and Saskatchewan concluded that, for the most part, the native peoples' housing conditions are far below any acceptable level.

In a study which included 25% of all Metis communities in Manitoba the authors conclude:

The overcrowding, the complete lack of modern facilities, piped water, sewage disposal, hydro, basements, and adequate heating, do not deserve by twentieth century standards to be called 'substandard'; they are 'subhuman'.¹¹

¹¹George McKay, "Report on Metis Housing", Winnipeg, 1968.

a. It should be noted that in some Metis communities the housing situation has improved significantly over the past ten years. In other areas the change is slight. By contrasting Lagasse's findings with those of McKay regarding the percentages of log dwellings which remain in Metis communities we can determine a crude rate of change.

Metis Community	<u>% Log Dwellings</u>	
	1958	1968
Camperville	68%	65%
Cross Lake	83	47
Norway House	68	45
Duck Bay	56	34
Amaranth	89	47

These statistics should be interpreted with care, however, as other factors could account for these differences. For example, the migration of the poorer Metis out of the communities and consequent desertion of the log homes would represent no real improvement in the situation. In addition, even the 1968 rates are far below the standards for adequate housing.

b. This report also points out the importance of distinguishing between Indians and Metis. A major point made by the author is the unfair advantage that the treaty Indian has over the 'unrecognized' Metis. This is due to the superior housing programs under the Federal Government which has recently set up a fairly adequate system of housing aids and loans on reserves. In contrast, the Metis receive no special assistance as they are under Provincial and Municipal authority.

The findings of this report are summarized in Table

2.7. The report on Indian and Metis housing in Northern Saskatchewan provides similar findings.¹²

(d) Education

Educational opportunities for the Indian and Metis have been improving in the past few years. However, in spite of this advance both groups remain well below the Canadian average and consequently find it extremely difficult to compete in the labour market for other than low status occupations. Table 2.8 illustrates the high percentage of Indians in the lowest grade category across Canada.

TABLE 2.8

PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT INDIANS IN
SELECTED BANDS FOR MALES AND FEMALES BY HIGHEST
GRADE GROUPING ATTAINED*

Band	Grades Attained							
	Females Less 9	Males Less 9	Females 9-10	Males 9-10	Females 11-13	Males 11-13	Females over 13	Males over 13
Caughnawaga, Que.	79.2	85.9	17.6	9.7	2.6	2.9	0.6	1.6
Maniwaki, Que.	92.1	13.2	7.9	6.8	-	-	-	-
Walpole Island, Ont.	54.3	64.7	45.7	35.3	-	-	-	-
Six Nations, Ont.	72.4	76.6	27.6	23.4	-	-	-	-
Curve Lake, Ont.	70.1	69.7	23.0	23.4	6.4	6.3	0.5	0.6
Moose Factory, Ont.	94.6	88.7	4.0	8.0	1.3	3.4	-	-
Pikangikum, Ont.	100.0	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tobique, N.B.	85.8	77.4	11.2	10.1	2.2	9.5	0.7	3.0
Shubenacadie, N.S.	96.4	96.2	3.6	3.8	-	-	-	-
Peguis, Man.	90.7	91.7	9.3	7.6	-	0.6	-	-
The Pas, Man.	91.7	84.9	4.4	9.6	3.5	5.0	0.5	0.5
James Smith, Sask.	86.3	86.1	11.5	11.5	2.2	2.4	-	-
Cold Lake, Alta.	84.3	91.5	7.0	4.5	8.1	4.0	0.6	-
Sarcee, Alta.	55.9	82.2	44.1	17.8	-	-	-	-
Shesheht, B.C.	70.5	61.6	22.7	26.0	6.8	12.3	-	-
Squamish, B.C.	86.7	94.1	9.2	3.5	3.6	2.0	-	0.4
Kamloops, B.C.	89.3	88.3	8.3	9.1	2.4	2.6	-	-

*Source, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, 1966.

¹²Arthur K. Davis, "A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers", Calgary, 1965.

TABLE 2.7

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF SURVEYS BY METIS HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS*

Community	Families	Homes	People	Rooms	People Rooms	Frame	Log	Hydro	Water	Phone
Pine Dock	18	18	100	73	1.4	8	10	17	0	0
Moose Lake +	28	26	168	42	4.0	22	4	0	0	0
Fairford +	31	12	180	31	5.8	5	7	3	0	0
Camperville +	140	130	706	386	1.8	45	85	85	3	24
Hole River	42	41	(267)	-	-	20	12	15	0	6
Cross Lake	19	15	118	37	3.2	4	11	0	0	-
Young's Point	10	8	48	11	4.4	0	8	2	0	0
The Pas +	7	6	27	12	2.25	6	0	6	0	1
Amaranth +	45	32	232	56	4.1	14	15	16	0	2
Umperville	28	20	88	38	2.3	13	7	10	0	0
Ebb & Flow +	56	54	319	112	2.85	4	50	22	0	1
Churchill +	37	34	201	63	3.2	34	-	-	0	-
Pelican Rapids	26	25	241	44	5.5	12	13	1	0	0
Duck Bay +	105	92	571	220	2.6	42	31	51	-	6
Berens River +	28	27	167	69	2.42	13	14	2	1	1
Big Black River	11	9	54	41	1.32	9	0	0	0	0
Big Eddy	27	21	97	24	4.0	2	19	0	0	-
Norway House +	78	65	396	210	1.81	36	29	41	0	44
Fisher Bay	8	8	59	21	2.81	5	3	6	0	0
	744	643	4039	1490		294	318	277	4	85
Average people per room = $\frac{4039}{1490} = 2.53$										

January 25, 1968

*Source: G. McKay, 'Report on Metis Housing', Winnipeg, 1968.

+Mark: Metis Communities which are represented in the sample of this thesis.

The reasons for this low educational achievement are numerous. Many of the previously mentioned factors, such as overcrowded housing conditions which do not allow for any privacy or study facilities help, account for this poor record. In addition to these environmental factors, the Indian child is often hampered by psychological handicaps and lack of stimulation.

Indian children do receive stimulation but the variety is limited to a narrow spectrum in comparison with that available to most non-Indian children. Such deprivation has an effect on perception, attention span, patterns of learning, and relations with adults who normally provide corrective feedback, set up expectations for task completions, rewards and punishments and who provide reinforcement in a variety of ways.¹³

Even the curriculum taught in reserve and rural schools has often been cited as a retarding factor for educational attainment. Such curricula are usually overly geared to urban middle class values and situations which are largely irrelevant to the rurally socialized Indian and Metis child. Together with this there has been a pattern of inadequate teachers coming to the reserves with little experience or knowledge of the Indian situation. With all these factors working against the Indian child, it is little wonder that he does not aspire to higher levels of education.

¹³H.B. Hawthorn, (ed), "A Survey of the Contemporary Indians in Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies", (Ottawa, Indian Affairs Branch), Vol. II, p. 112.

It should be mentioned, however, that there are many exceptions, and the overall situation seems to be improving with such programs as up-grading, special vocational and guidance centres, and school integration.¹⁴

(c) Welfare

Turning to the field of social assistance we again find a higher rate for the native peoples than for Canadians as a whole. The administration of welfare services for the registered Indian population is the responsibility of the Federal Indian Affairs Branch whereas the non-registered Indian and Metis groups are under the jurisdiction of the Provinces and Municipalities. This difference in the past has tended to favour the Treaty Indian but as of 1965 the social assistance rates of the Indian Affairs Branch are based on the same schedule of payments as provided under the Provincial allowances program. In some ways the Treaty Indians are not as well off as the Metis. For example only 12 of 52 reserves are served by child welfare services, whereas all the rest of the Province is eligible. In addition, if a Treaty Indian chooses to leave the reserve, many municipalities will not place him under their welfare plans.

¹⁴ For a detailed analysis of Indian education see: H.B. Hawthorn, Vol. I.

A further disadvantage for the rural inhabitant is the frequent inadequacy of the rural municipality's welfare schemes. A report examining Indian and Metis welfare services in Manitoba found that the monthly amounts paid out in welfare services by the rural municipalities ranged from \$50.00 to \$160.00 compared to \$195.00 to \$201.00 paid by Indian Affairs and the Provinces.¹⁵

Table 2.9 presents a sample of reserves across Canada giving the amount of welfare received per capita. In general the reserves of the Prairie Provinces have the poorest record in Canada.

TABLE 2.9
WELFARE DEPENDENCE AMONG BANDS*

Band	% Households Receiving Welfare	Welfare Expenditure per Capita in Dollars
Caughnawaga, Que.	12.76	12.33
Lorette, Que.	2.1	6.3
Six Nations, Ont.	2.3	4.28
Port Simpson, B.C.	28.0	29.4
Kamloops, B.C.	13.7	18.9
Sarcee, Alta.	44.3	24.0
Attawapiskat, Ont.	39.2	45.0
Cold Lake, Alta.	89.3	73.9
Oak River, Man.	83.3	29.0
The Pas, Man.	25.8	14.7
Peguis, Man.	100.0	82.4

*Source: Hawthorn Report, Vol. I, p. 116.

¹⁵Community Welfare Planning Council, "A Survey of Welfare Services for Indians and Metis People in Manitoba", (Winnipeg, 1967), p. 10.

Further, this reliance on government welfare seems to be increasing rapidly. In the last seven years relief payments have increased by 70 per cent and now average \$80. annually for every Indian, man, woman, and child.¹⁶

The effects of this reliance on welfare has been the subject of much concern. It is generally assumed that it has led to a lowering of initiative among the Indian and Metis and a negative attitude toward work. Thus the native person seeking work in the city often suffers from the negative stereotype that stigmatizes him as being lazy and undependable. Further, his reputation for having no sense of "clock" time and of getting drunk as soon as he receives his paycheck merely strengthens in the minds of a potential employer the prejudiced view of the Indian before the latter even applies.

This brief description of selected social and demographic characteristics gives an overall picture of the conditions which prevail on Canadian reserves and Metis

¹⁶It should be remembered that these statistics are influenced by factors not directly related to poverty per se, e.g. rising prices, higher welfare rates, the seasonal nature of much of the Indian's occupations etc. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that these rates are extremely high and will continue to increase as the resources of the rural areas decrease and the Indian population increases.

John Melling, Right to a Future: The Native Peoples of Canada, (Don Mills, T.H. Best Co., 1967), p. 70.

Communities. It is obvious that the situation is bleak - especially in Western Canada. Severe overcrowding, poverty, and low educational opportunities make it extremely difficult to attain a satisfactory existence in the rural areas. Therefore it is not surprising that many Indian and Metis decide to leave their home communities and try to make a better living in the urban centres. This migration has already begun with an estimated 10,000 Indian and Metis moving to Winnipeg from the rural areas in the period from 1961 to 1966.¹⁷ Since 1966 the Indian and Metis population in Winnipeg has probably doubled with estimates as to their actual numbers running as high as 25,000, making them one of the city's largest ethnic groups.¹⁸

3. Economic Situation

(a) 'Types' of Reserves and Metis Communities

Before completing this section on the situational factors in the community of origin which precipitate the

¹⁷Community Welfare Planning Council, "Social Service Audit", Volume III, (Winnipeg, 1967).

¹⁸(a) An accurate count of the Indian and Metis population has not as yet been made. Estimates range from around 12,000 to close to 25,000.

(b) It seems unfortunate that the Hawthorn Report, which surveyed almost every aspect of Indian life, did not include an examination of this great rural-to-urban migration presently taking place among the native people of Canada.

urban migration under study, it is necessary to examine briefly some of the economic characteristics of the reserves and Metis communities. The economic situation in these rural areas is probably the greatest single cause of this migration. Briefly, it amounts to a severe decline in the economic and occupational opportunities of the reserves and Metis communities and a consequent state of economic depression in these areas. As the Hawthorn Report states:

It has become increasingly evident in recent years, as the subject has come into greater public attention, that the majority of the Indian population constitutes a group economically depressed in terms of the standards that have become widely accepted in Canada. They are not sharing equally with others in proportion to their numbers in the material and other gains, satisfactions and rewards that an affluent and rapidly growing national economy has to offer.¹⁹

Table 2.10 illustrates this economic situation by

TABLE 2.10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION ON-RESERVE INDIAN FAMILY INCOME LEVELS FOR MANITOBA, 1967*

Indian Agency and Region	1 9 6 7		
	\$1,000 or less	\$1,001 to \$3,000	\$3,000 and over
<u>Manitoba</u>	<u>60.8</u>	<u>34.3</u>	<u>4.4</u>
Claudeboye (Eastern Region)	56.9	34.7	8.4
Dauphin (Western Region)	78.5	21.5	-
Fisher River (Inter-lake Region)	33.6	62.4	4.0
Island Lake (Northern Region)	71.9	24.1	4.0
Norway House (Northern Region)	79.3	18.8	1.9
Portage La Prairie (southern reg.)	62.0	38.0	-
The Pas District (Northern Region)	54.9	37.0	8.1

*Source: Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, 1967.

¹⁹Hawthorn Report, Volume I, p. 21.

pointing out the low levels of income on the reserves in Manitoba, as classified according to the seven major regions.

For purposes of analysis the province has been divided into five economic regions - East, Interlake, South, West and North²⁰ - roughly corresponding to the agencies of the Indian Affairs Branch in Manitoba. The object of such a division is to isolate the different economic and occupational pursuits in the province. A rough measure of economic prosperity can then be determined for each region and comparisons made.²¹

It can be seen from Table 2.10 that the lowest areas economically, as measured by income levels, appear to be the Western region (Dauphin Agency) and the Northern region (Island Lake, Norway House, and The Pas²² Agencies) with the Eastern region (Clandeboye Agency) being the most prosperous.

An alternate method of 'typing' reserve and Metis communities economically is provided by the Hawthorn Report.

²⁰See Figure 2.1, p. 111

²¹This crude measure of economic prosperity must be interpreted cautiously as the differences between regions could be partly due to other factors eg. type of occupation.

²²The Pas Agency, or, the western part of the North appears to be an exception to the general pattern of that region. This prosperity could be accounted for by the large amount of construction currently taking place in that part of the region eg. the Grand Rapids Power project and the railway and highway projects which tend to hire Indian workers.

Prepared by The Comm
501 - 177 Lombard Ave
June, 1968

Prepared by The Community Welfare Planning Council
 501 - 177 Lombard Avenue Winnipeg 2, Manitoba
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MAP OF MANITOBA Showing Areas Populated by Indians and Metis

LEGEND

- Q Indian Reserves and Communities
- Δ Metis Communities
- Roads
- Railways

Metis Population by Community

Name of Community	Population
1 Vassar	50
2 Woodridge	126
3 Marchand	82
4 Richer	464
5 Craig Siding	56
6 St. Adolph	125
7 Greater Winnipeg	7,800
8 Carman	100
9 St. Claude	100
10 Layland	80
11 Brandon	200
12 Deloraine	125
13 St. Lazare	350
14 Binscarth	159
15 Russell	75
16 Elphinstone	40
17 Minnedosa	50
18 Gladstone	47
19 Portage	860
20 St. Eustache	200
21 Stonewall	46
22 Selkirk and area	1,746
23 Balsam Bay	50
Beaconia and Stoney Point	125
24 Grand Marais	130
25 Great Falls	158
26 St. Ambroise	366
27 St. Laurent	1,000
28 Oak Point	74
29 Lunder and area	60
30 Vestfold	45
31 Langruth	70
32 Amaranth	300
33 Eriksdale	130
34 Kinosota and area	156
35 Vogar	110
36 Bacon Ridge, Ebb & Flow	352
37 St. Rose	195
38 Dauphin	137
39 Roblin	100
40 San Clara and area	1,200
41 Winnipegosis	65
42 Salt Point	52
43 Meadow Portage	71
44 Mallard S. D. and Waterhen	64
45 Crane River	38
46 Cayer and area	16
47 Fairford	18
48 Gypsumville	2
49 Anama Bay	2
50 Hodgson and area	30
51 Riverton	15
52 Manigotagan	10
53 Bissett	21
54 Loon Strait	11
55 Pine Dock and Little Bullhead	1
56 Matheson Island	1
57 Berens River	8
58 Camperville	8
59 Duck Bay	1
60 Swan River	1
61 Birch River	1
62 Barrows, Red Deer Lake	1

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TOTAL

Indian Population by Reserve or Community

No.	Name of Reserve or Community and Tribe	Band Membership	Resident Population
1a	Buffalo Point (Saulteau)	25	0
1	<u>Roseau River</u> (Saulteau)	660	537
2	Swan Lake (Saulteau)	440	350
3	Long Plain (Sioux)	213	190
	Long Plain (Saulteau)	741	690
4	<u>Oak Lake</u> (Sioux)	252	200
5	Oak River (Sioux)	827	700
6	Birdtail (Sioux)	198	150
7	Gamblers (Saulteau)	31	10
8	<u>Waywayseecappo</u> (Saulteau)	682	600
9	<u>Keeseekeowenin</u> (Saulteau)	300	250
10	<u>Rolling River</u> (Saulteau)	296	250
11	<u>Sandy Bay</u> (Saulteau)	1,228	1,000
12	Brokenhead (Saulteau)	419	327
13	<u>Fort Alexander</u> (Saulteau)	1,909	1,545
14	Little Black River (Saulteau)	168	132
15	Hollow Water (Saulteau)	346	299
16	Bloodvein (Cree)	307	269
17	Little Grand Rapids (Saulteau)	658	392
18	<u>Berens River</u> (Cree)	657	586
19	Poplar River (Saulteau)	361	343
20	Jackhead (Saulteau)	234	201
21	<u>Fisher River</u> (Cree & Saulteau)	1,017	754
22	<u>Peguis</u> (Cree & Saulteau)	1,985	1,426
23	Lake Manitoba (Saulteau)	455	368
24	Ebb & Flow (Saulteau)	449	300
25	Crane River (Saulteau)	151	140
26	Valley River (Saulteau)	344	250
27	<u>Pine Creek</u> (Saulteau)	524	470
28	Waterhen (Saulteau)	283	250
29	<u>Fairford</u> (Saulteau)	648	532
30	Little Saskatchewan (Saulteau)	339	245
31	Lake St. Martin (Saulteau)	541	483
32	Shoal River (Saulteau)	468	400
33	Grand Rapids (Cree)	252	240
34	<u>Chemahawin</u> (Cree)	318	305
35	<u>Moose Lake</u> (Cree)	254	245
36	<u>The Pas</u> (Cree)	942	865
37	<u>Norway House</u> (Cree)	1,801	1,720
38	<u>Island Lake</u> (Cree)	2,569	2,250
39	God's Lake (Cree)	972	894
40	Oxford House (Cree)	761	611
41	Cross Lake (Cree)	1,565	1,488
42	Nelson House (Cree)	1,348	1,210
43	Matthias Colom (Cree)	854	726
44	Barren Lands (Chipewyan)	477	450
45	York Factory (Cree)	324	73
46	<u>Split Lake</u> (Cree)	807	550
47	<u>Fox Lake</u> (Cree)	187	185
48	Shamattawa (Cree)	393	280
49	Churchill (Chipewyan)	334	334
50	<u>Greater Winnipeg</u>	—	4,200
51	<u>Selkirk</u> (Saulteau)	—	200
	Remainder of Manitoba & beyond	—	848
	TOTAL INDIAN POPULATION	32,313	32,313

56	Matheson Island	100
57	<u>Berens River</u>	155
58	<u>Camperville</u>	850
59	<u>Duck Bay</u>	825
60	<u>Swan River</u>	125
61	<u>Birch River</u>	161
62	Barrows, Red Deer Lake	265
63	Baden	150
64	Mafeking	100
65	Pelican Rapids	300
66	Grand Rapids	259
67	Easterville	95
68	The Pas	950
	Big Eddy	200
69	<u>Moose Lake</u>	372
70	Wanless	90
71	Clearwater Lake	0
72	Coromant	183
73	Norway House	700
74	Cross Lake	198
75	Gillam	254
76	Pikwitonei	180
77	Thicket Portage	261
78	<u>Wabowden</u>	360
79	<u>Snow Lake</u>	10
80	Cranberry Portage	100
81	Sherridon	150
82	South Indian Lake	150
83	Lynn Lake	296
84	Brochet	215
85	Churchill	300
86	Flin Flon	150
87	Cowan	72
88	Powerview	125
89	St. Anne	150
90	Victoria Beach	69
	Traverse Bay	60
	Belair	26
91	Buchan	12
92	Pukatawagan	45
93	Big Black River	34
94	Eddystone	67
95	Fisher Bay	59
96	Umperville	88
97	Youngs Point	48
98	Hole River	267
99	Nelson House	51
	Remainder of Manitoba	4,718
	Total Metis Population	34,000

• RESERVES REPRESENTED
IN SAMPLE

▲ METIS COMMUNITIES
REPRESENTED IN SAMPLE

SUMMARY

Number Indian Reserves	51
Indian Population	32,313
Metis Population	34,000
Combined Indian & Metis Population	66,313
Combined Indian & Metis Population (Greater Winnipeg only)	12,000

It concludes that the most important variables that determine the economic status of Indian bands are those concerning wage or salaried employment, i.e., proportion of skilled workers, months of employment during the year, and average monthly or annual earnings. The second important set of variables is ownership of household fixtures and appliances, i.e., telephones, indoor toilets, baths, and electricity. The other factors which are found to be correlated with economic development are the number of organizations in the band community, educational level, and rate of population growth.²³

Hawthorn delineates three 'types' of reserve communities based on these variables - the developed, the transitional, and the depressed or under-developed. The 'developed' bands are characterized by a high proportion of adults engaged in steady or regular wage and salaried employment, a high degree of urbanization,²⁴ a high rate of mobility in terms of the number of band members willing or able to reside away from their reserves for extended periods, a considerable amount of ownership of or accessibility to resources, and finally a high degree of organization and participation, both within and outside the band community.

²³Hawthorn Report, Vol. I, Chapter 8.

²⁴There are major exceptions to the positive correlation found between urbanization and economic development. There are several 'under-developed' reserves located in or near urban areas and there are many 'developed' reserves which are non-urbanized.

The 'developed' band communities tend to be located either in relatively well populated areas of Eastern Canada or in British Columbia. This is usually because of their proximity to highly urban and industrialized labour markets where the Indian can find a job or because of the availability of easily accessible natural resources.

The 'transitional' category is meant to include those bands which are in a favourable position with regard to some factors, e.g., access to urban centres or to resources; mobility; organizational activities or leadership, but in an unfavourable one with regard to others. Some of these communities are undergoing a rapid process of development from a previously depressed states, while others are in a static or deteriorating situation, despite otherwise, favourable circumstances.²⁵

The 'depressed' or 'under-developed' reserves tend to fall into four main sub-types. First there are the geographically isolated bands across the vast northern wooded belt, most of whose members have been partially or wholly displaced from their hunting, trapping and fishing economies. An example of such a community in Manitoba is God's Lake. Secondly, there are bands in predominantly farming areas, in which opportunities for wage employment are lacking. Peguis reserve is an illustration of this type with a per capita

²⁵Hawthorn Report, Vol. I, p. 138.

annual income of \$99 and 100% of its households receiving welfare.²⁶ The third sub-type is constituted by bands located in areas lacking in farmland or other utilizable resources, and isolated from main centres of employment. The final sub-type is bands located close to metropolitan or industrial centres, but lacking the skills, motivation, or acceptance in the white community required for economic development. Fort Alexander, Manitoba, is of this type.²⁷

Although no formal classification of this kind has been carried out with regard to the Metis communities it may be assumed that they could be categorized in a similar fashion to the Indian reserves. It should be mentioned however that the Metis communities fall largely into three 'types' in terms of location. These three most common types are Metis communities on the fringe of Indian reserves, settlements on the fringe of white communities, and finally the Metis community itself.²⁸

(b) Resources of the North

To complete this economic sketch of the migrant's community of origin it is necessary to examine the resources

²⁶Ibid., p. 116.

²⁷This three-fold classification of Indian reserves and Metis communities will be utilized in Chapter 4 of this study when the type of community of origin will be correlated with urban adjustment.

²⁸Lagasse, Chapter 3.

and occupational structure of the major regions. For this purpose Manitoba can be divided into two areas - the North and the South.

In the isolated reserves and Metis settlements the major economic difficulty lies in the fact that so much of the employment is seasonal, leaving the individual idle for several months of the year. For example, the average number of months of employment per job in The Pas is 6.6, Deer Lake 3.5, and Rupert House 2.5.²⁹ In addition, many of the traditional occupations of the Northern communities are declining due to the depletion of natural resources such as fishing, hunting, and trapping.

The fishing and trapping economies of Indians throughout the northern belt appear to be facing similar trends and problems. A combination of rapid population growth, excessive trapping and depletion of game and fur-bearing animals in some areas, obsolete or inefficient organization, techniques and equipment, competition of substitutes and consequent low prices for wild fur in recent years, all have led to inadequately low and declining returns to trappers over the past decade or more.³⁰

This overpopulation concentrated within a few bands is reflected in the fact that in Northern Manitoba there are 16,000 Indians belonging to only twenty-two bands, compared to 180 bands for 40,000 people in the interior of British Columbia.³¹

²⁹Hawthorn, pp. 95-96.

³⁰Ibid., p. 147.

³¹Ibid., p. 147.

A study of Indian and Metis manpower availability in the North, carried out by the Community Development Association of Manitoba, showed that there is a great deal of surplus labour available for work in these areas.³² Over 55% of the males and 91% of the females were unemployed, and even among the employed a high percentage were engaged only in casual work. Table 2.11 illustrates the strikingly high percentage (72.3%) of males in the 16-23 age bracket who are unemployed. Furthermore, only 4.5% of this same age group held permanent jobs.

TABLE 2.11

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BY AGE, SEX,
AND PRESENT EMPLOYMENT* (MANITOBA)

Age and Sex	Total Number	Casual	Permanent	Unemployed	No Response
Males	266	62	12	192	-
16-23	100%	23.3%	4.5%	72.2%	-
Males	295	118	24	149	4
24-35	100%	40.0%	8.1%	50.5%	1.4%
Males	206	100	24	78	4
36-50	100%	48.5%	11.6%	37.8%	1.9%
Males	84	30	5	48	1
51-60	100%	35.7%	6.0%	57.2%	1.2%
Total	851	310	65	467	9
Males	100%	36.6%	7.7%	55.1%	1.1%
Total	82	4	1	75	2
Females	100%	4.9%	1.2%	91.5%	2.4%
Total Males & Females	933	314	66	542	11
	100%	33.6%	7.1%	58.0%	1.3%

*Source: Community Development Association of Manitoba,
"Manpower Availability Study North of '53", Winnipeg
1966, p. 10.

³²Community Development Association of Manitoba,
"Manpower Availability Study North of '53", Winnipeg, 1966.

Another interesting fact revealed by the study is that the majority of people (especially among the older age groups) prefer to work in the country rather than the cities. The difference between men and women is significant with a larger percentage of females wishing to work in the urban areas.³³

Table 2.12 shows the breakdown:

TABLE 2.12

NUMBER OF PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BY AGE, SEX AND PREFERENCE FOR PLACE OF WORK* (MANITOBA)

Age & Sex	Total Number	Country	City	Either Place or Unsure	No Response
Males	266	143	47	60	16
16-23	100%	53.8%	17.7%	22.6%	6.0%
Males	295	174	30	75	16
24-35	100%	59.0%	10.2%	25.4%	5.4%
Males	206	124	21	38	23
36-50	100%	60.1%	10.2%	18.4%	11.2%
Males	84	59	2	8	15
51-60	100%	70.2%	2.4%	9.5%	17.9%
Total	851	500	100	181	70
Males	100%	59.0%	11.8%	21.4%	8.3%
Total	82	31	28	15	8
Females	100%	37.8%	34.2%	18.3%	9.8%
Total Males	933	531	128	196	78
& Females	100%	56.8%	13.7%	21.0%	8.4%

*Source: Community Development Report, p. 16.

These statistics seem to give support to the hypothesis that if employment opportunities were readily available to the Indian and Metis population in the North a large percentage

³³Ibid., p. 16. This fact tends to support the general findings in the literature on Migration - that women tend to migrate more frequently than men.

would stay and work in these areas.³⁴ However, as the economic and employment opportunities are expected to decline in the North, migration to the urban areas (especially among young people) is likely to increase.

(c) Resources of the Southern Region

The economic situation in Southern Manitoba, where the pressures of over population are greatest, is probably even more depressed than in the North. This over population, along with the general rural to urban migration which has inevitably taken place in all rural areas of Canada, has meant that a large proportion of Indians and Metis will be forced to leave the rural areas which are no longer able to support their resident population. It also results in some of the poorest and least developed reserves and Metis settlements in Canada.

Southern Manitoba and Southern and Central Saskatchewan are predominantly agricultural in their economies, with a limited degree of industrialization and a surplus rural population more than sufficient to fill the limited job opportunities available in the cities and towns of the region. Numerous bands residing in this region, ... are among the lowest income, most depressed and dependent groups in the country. Their real income per capita from gainful employment tends to be even lower than that of most northern bands, because they do not have the game, fish, fuelwood and timber available for home consumption.³⁵

³⁴This is a major recommendation of the Hawthorn Report.

³⁵Hawthorn, pp. 150-151.

This Southern agricultural population is characterized by excessive numbers of marginal or sub-marginal farms, too small in terms of acreage and capital investment to be operated efficiently enough to provide adequate returns on the labour and capital expended. Other seasonal employment engaged in by the Indian and Metis groups in this area includes farm work, berry picking, sugar-beet harvesting, wild rice harvesting and so forth. Furthermore, the limited amount of industrialization in these rural areas precludes the absorption of any significant number of workers.

Therefore migration to the large urban areas to find adequate employment and earn a decent living seem inevitable for these groups of native peoples. As the Hawthorn Report concludes:

In view of this larger picture, the conclusion seems unavoidable that Indians will need the opportunity to participate with Whites in the general migration of surplus rural population to other regions having more remunerative job opportunities. Otherwise the Indians will remain, as they have for decades, a depressed group having no meaningful economic role to play in an increasingly large-scale farm economy.³⁶ (emphasis mine)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE

1. Sex, Age, and Length of Residence

Given this general overview of the social and economic situation prevailing in the reserves and Metis communities

³⁶Ibid., p. 159.

in Manitoba, it is possible to begin an examination of the actual migration from these areas. As has been remarked previously, in the literature on migration the two most frequently asked questions are: who goes and why? The next two sections will introduce the sample by dealing with these two questions. The first section will give the various migration differentials of the people under study while the second will examine the major motivational determinants of the move. Throughout the analysis constant comparisons will be made both to the sociological studies in the field and to other studies concerned specifically with native peoples.

The data used in this study were obtained from a survey conducted in Winnipeg, Manitoba during the latter months of 1968.³⁷ It was based on a 64 item interview schedule administered to a random sample³⁸ of Indians and Metis living in the city by the author and three interviewers. The

³⁷For a complete description of the methodology used in this study see Appendix A.

³⁸The sample under study cannot be considered a strict, mathematically random sample. It was taken from a list of Indians and Metis enumerated for the 1968 federal election within two electoral districts of Winnipeg (Winnipeg South Centre and Winnipeg North Centre). Thus the sample is limited in three ways. First, an informal census such as this could not hope to include all the people of Indian ancestry living in these areas. Many people will not disclose their Indian background and do not possess sufficiently "Indian" physical characteristics to enable them to be identified as such.

interview schedule contained information on such variables as social background, education, employment, attitudes towards the urban setting, previous experience and contacts within the city, knowledge and utilization of some of the major institutions of the community, household facilities, leisure activities and amount of returning to the reserves or Metis communities. The sample consisted of an interview with the head of the household, (or, failing this with another adult member of the household) of 71 families - 46 Indians and 25 Metis.³⁹ Forty-one of the people

³⁸Cont'd.

Secondly the list excludes the Indians and Metis residing outside these two districts. However, less than 12% of the Indians and Metis of Greater Winnipeg live outside these areas and therefore the sample is representative of the vast majority. (see Chapter 3)

Thirdly the sample does not include those people living in such temporary accommodations as hotels. The study, however, deals specifically with patterns of migration of families and individuals who intend to stay for more than a temporary period of time and therefore can exclude people in hotels, etc.

A final shortcoming of this, and any, sample drawn from a list which was made up several months in advance of the interviewing, is the numerous changes of address. This is particularly true of lower class families who are constantly changing their residence due to such factors as inability to pay the rent, eviction, and so on.

³⁹a. This overrepresentation of Indian families in the sample can be accounted for by the fact that the distinction between Indian and Metis was made in terms of place of birth - reserve or Metis community. It is common that a Metis community on the fringe of a reserve will have the name of the reserve and thus the individual will be classified as an Indian. However this distinction is relatively unimportant as sociologically the two groups can be considered one.

b. The Lagasse study, to which numerous comparisons will be made, included 104 Indian and 98 Metis heads of households.

interviewed were male and 30 were female.⁴⁰

The literature relating to age selectivity in migration demonstrates that the most mobile people in Canada (in terms of rural to urban migration) are those 25-29 years of age, for males and 20-24 years for females. This generalization is supported by the present study. Almost three-quarters of the sample fell within the 20-29 age category with the females on the average being younger than the males. It is interesting to compare the ages of the present sample with that of the Lagasse study carried out in the same city ten years earlier. Table 2.13 compares the two samples and shows that the present group is significantly younger.⁴¹

TABLE 2.13

Comparison of Present Sample With
Lagasse's By Age Categories

Age	Present Study (1968)		Lagasse Study (1958)	
	%	N	%	N
Under 20	9.8	7	6.5	13
20-29	74.8	53	39	79
30 and over	15.4	11	54.5	110
Total	100	71	100	202

⁴⁰The large number of women heads of households in the sample is largely due to such factors as the following: many single girls were interviewed, the common pattern of mother-centred families among native peoples when the male of the household has deserted the family, and the not uncommon difficulty of finding the man of the house at home.

⁴¹These statistics should be interpreted with caution owing to the lack of randomness of the samples. (see footnote 38, p. 120.)

It can be readily seen, less than one-half of Lagasse's sample were in the age group 20-29. In addition over 54 percent of his sample were over 30 years of age as compared with only 15.4 percent of the present sample.

These statistics suggest that the age of migration to the urban areas has dropped during the last decade among the native peoples of Manitoba.

The migration of Indians and Metis into the urban areas is a relatively recent phenomenon. It is estimated that in 1958 the total number of native people in Winnipeg did not exceed 4,700.⁴² Today the estimates vary from 10,000 to 25,000. This rapid increase is reflected in the fact that a high proportion of the present sample are relatively young. Given these factors one would expect a significant number of individuals to have resided in the city for only a short time. This is the case. Over seventeen percent of the sample had lived in Winnipeg for less than one year, forty-seven percent for less than four years, and eighty-one percent for six years or less.

It thus becomes clear that the Indians and Metis exhibit the same characteristics with regard to sex and age differentials in their rural to urban migration as any other groups who have made the shift earlier.

⁴²See Table 2.4, p. 98.

2. Community of Origin

A detailed examination of the specific communities of origin of the sample population will be undertaken in chapter 4. At this stage it is necessary only to show the various regions of Manitoba from which the migrants have come. For purposes of analysis the province has been divided into six regions⁴³ corresponding roughly to the six natural divisions within the province in terms of natural resources, socio-economic conditions, and occupational structure.

An examination of the data reveals a fairly even distribution of individuals from each of the six regions. The only significance of these statistics appears when the present sample is compared with that of the earlier study. Lagasse found no Indians from Northern Manitoba in his sample whereas the present study found 23.9 percent from that region. This indicates that the pressures of over population and lack of employment opportunities have now reached into the more isolated parts of the province, forcing many people to migrate south to the cities.⁴⁴

⁴³See Fig. 2.1, p. 111.

⁴⁴The fact is supported by the study of the economic resources in Northern Manitoba carried out by Community Development. It showed that most of the people of the area would rather stay in the North than come to the city if jobs were available. See. p. 116.

3. Marital and Family Characteristics

The relationship between family characteristics and urban adjustment is an obvious one. A migrant group which is characterized by unstable marital relationships, large families, extended kinship patterns, and mother-centred families will tend to have a more difficult adjustment than one with more stable marital and family characteristics. The Indian and Metis who migrate to the cities in Canada tend to be in the former category. A specific examination of these variables will be undertaken in the next chapter. Let it now suffice to introduce the sample in terms of their general family traits.

The data revealed that 77.5 percent of the sample were married at the time of the interview.⁴⁵ This is approximately the same proportion found by the earlier study.⁴⁶ A significant finding emerged when the respondents were asked: "Were you married when you first came to the city?" About two-thirds (67.2%) indicated that they were not married at the time of their migration. As might be expected, a higher proportion of males were single at the time of their arrival

⁴⁵Seventy-three percent (73.9) of the Indians and eighty-four percent (84%) of the Metis. The category "married" would also include those people who were living common-law.

⁴⁶Lagasse, Vol. II, pp. 11-15.

in the city than females. In addition there was a slightly higher tendency for the Metis to be married before migration than for the Indian group.

This finding demonstrates that a large number of marriages take place after the migrant arrives in the city. This could have important consequences for the possible formation of an ethnic group among the native people. A study should be undertaken to determine whether the Indians and Metis tend to congregate together in their dating patterns and marriages or whether there is a mixing with the whites.

An examination of the number of children in the sample families reveals another interesting fact. The common pattern for rural-to-urban migration is a lowering of the birth rate for any given group. In comparing the two studies in this area one finds an exception to the usual pattern. Lagasse's research showed that the average number of children for the Indian and Metis families was 3.8.⁴⁷ The present study revealed an average of 4.2 children per family. Also well over fifty percent of the present sample had three children or more.

Given the similarities of the two samples it seems surprising that the size of the families should remain so high - well above the national average. However, it should be remembered that the Indians and Metis in rural areas have the

⁴⁷Ibid., Vol. II, p. 16.

highest birth rate of any ethnic group. In time, with increased urbanization, the birth rate will probably drop.

4. Education

The amount and type of formal education an individual obtains is one of the most important factors for successful adjustment to a new urban situation. His level of education or training largely determines the occupation that he can attain and thus the style of life he can enjoy.

The literature on migration suggests that it is the most highly educated group of rural people that tend to migrate.⁴⁸ However, much of the literature pertaining to the movement of Indians and Metis in Canada tends to challenge this finding.⁴⁹ This is especially true for individuals selected for government-sponsored relocation programmes. Research should be carried out to determine which groups or individuals migrate from the rural areas in relation to their position in the community of origin, Canadian average.

The present study tended to support the former position with regards to educational levels of migrants although the levels were far below the Canadian average. It was found that seventeen percent (17%) of the people interviewed had grade six education or less with over sixty percent not having

⁴⁸See, Chapter 1, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁹For example, see Hanson's paper, Ch. 1, p. 40.

completed junior high school. This is compared to seventy-eight percent (78%) of a representative sample of treaty Indians across Canada having less than grade nine education.⁵⁰

Information regarding the education of the partner of the person interviewed showed a similar record. Despite the overall low levels of education it should be noted that this represents a significant improvement over the situation ten years earlier. At that time nearly eighty percent had not completed grade nine. These figures tend to indicate that there has been a slight improvement in the education levels of the native peoples of Manitoba.

In addition to information on academic education a question was asked regarding any extra schooling or training that the respondent or his partner might have received. This training usually takes the form of such government-sponsored programmes as upgrading, technical skills, or vocational training. It was found that one-third of the people interviewed (or their spouses) had received such extra training. This indicates that many of the government programmes are having some effect in raising the level of education for the Indian and Metis in the rural areas.

One final item related to education was determined in the interview. This was the type of school that the respondent

⁵⁰Cooke, pp. 17-18;

had attended. In recent years there has been a trend away from residential schools on the reserves toward a more integrated educational programme for the Indian and Metis. The evidence supported this trend for residential schools on the reserves but showed that many Indian students still attend residential schools off the reserves. Over three-quarters of the Indians had attended a residential school of one type or another.

Therefore it can be seen that despite an overall improvement in the educational levels attained by the native people they remain far below the levels for Canada as a whole. This deficiency results in difficulties in finding an adequate job in the city.

5. Employment

An individual or family can neither plan for an increase in its level of living nor hope for any mobility unless their economic position is secure. Any discussion of urban adjustment must therefore take into account the employment patterns of the Indian and Metis. Information was gathered relating to any work experience in the community of origin as well as the number and type of jobs held in the city.

About sixteen percent of the sample had held a regular job on his reserve or Metis community before coming to the city. Of this group, eighty percent held their jobs in two areas - construction and farming. Further, eighty percent of those who

had worked in the rural areas had done so far three years or less. When these individuals were asked why they had left their jobs in the country the majority replied that they simply could not make a decent living in the rural areas. They also felt that opportunities were better in the city.

The migrants' optimism proved to be unfounded. The study shows that the work experience of the Indians and Metis in Winnipeg tended to be extremely unstable. Over fifty-six percent of the heads of households interviewed were unemployed.⁵¹ Furthermore almost all the occupations held were in the low-status category - mainly labouring.⁵² Some examples of the more common jobs for men were; janitor, cook, orderly, construction worker, mechanic, packer, truck or taxi driver, and machine operator. For the women the most typical jobs were in the many garment factories of Winnipeg. These positions were similar to those isolated by Lagasse⁵³ and Mark Nagler⁵⁴ in their research.

⁵¹In examining the unemployment situation more closely, two interesting facts emerge. First, the unemployment rate among the Indian is higher than for the Metis. Secondly, there seems to be one region of Manitoba which produces a larger proportion of unemployed individuals than any other region. This is the southern region which is the closest to Winnipeg. However, statistics are not significant enough to warrant any conclusions to be made.

⁵²There were a few exceptions to this pattern contained within the sample. Three individuals held slightly higher ranking jobs. These were; a draftsman, a nurse, and a counsellor for the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre.

⁵³Lagasse, Vol. II, pp. 60-65.

⁵⁴Nagler, Chapter 4.

Evidence supporting the unstable employment patterns of the Indian and Metis was also established from accounts as to the number of jobs held in the previous year. Over three-quarters of the heads of households interviewed had held three jobs or more within the past year. This continual economic uncertainty and concern with the basic necessities allows little time for the individual to engage in other pursuits such as organizing with others to improve their situation.

6. Housing

Given the preceding situation regarding employment, it comes as no surprise to find that the Indian and Metis who migrate to the urban areas are forced to live in the low-income areas of the city in less than adequate housing. A detailed analysis of the type of housing and settlement patterns will be attempted in the next chapter. Let it suffice here to relate the most common pattern of living accommodation used when the individual or family migrates to the city.

The usual situation is for the Indians and Metis to live in a boarding house upon arrival in the city. Once established however the pattern is to move into a rented house within the same core area. Sixty-three percent of the people in the sample lived in a boarding home when they first arrived in Winnipeg and twenty percent moved into a rented house directly. At the time of the interview the situation

had been reversed. Only twenty-one percent were living in a boarding-type residence whereas fifty-two percent were renting. Less than two percent owned their own home.

MOTIVATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS

1. Reasons for Leaving the Reserve or Metis Community

Information concerning the motivational factors which lead an individual to abandon one social setting and migrate to another is far less plentiful than information on socio-economic characteristics of such people.⁵⁵ This is perhaps mainly due to the difficulties of isolating and accounting for individual motivation. One of the important facts which must be ascertained in this area is whether it is primarily the "push" of the community of origin which forces the person to move or whether it is the "pull" of the city which is the most important variable.

Abramson in his study of Saskatchewan farmers moving to the urban setting found that the "push" factors were the most significant.⁵⁶ The families moved only because of economic necessity. This was supported by the study of surplus labour in Northern Manitoba. Despite the lack of employment opportunities the majority of working-age men, both young and old preferred to live and work in the country rather than

⁵⁵Some notable exceptions are referred to in Chapter 1, pp. 34-37.

⁵⁶See: Abramson's model, Chapter 1, pp. 38-39.

venture south to the cities.⁵⁷

In four studies carried out in three areas of Canada the results are similar. Mark Nagler in his research of native peoples migrating to Toronto in 1967 lists as the two most important motivating factors economics and lack of reserve resources.⁵⁸ Two earlier studies carried out in Western Canada isolate the same variables as being the most significant.

Davis et al in research done in three Saskatchewan cities (Prince Albert, North Battleford, and Meadow Lake) in 1961 found that the hope for economic improvement accounted for almost forty percent of the motivation.⁵⁹ Lagasse in 1959 found that 43.5 percent of his sample migrated for similar economic reasons.⁶⁰

The present study found an even higher proportion of individuals had migrated because of these "push" factors. The question was asked, "What do you feel were the most important reasons for your coming to Winnipeg?" Over three-quarters of the respondents gave as their motivation two reasons - more opportunities to make a better living in the city and lack of opportunities on their reserves or Metis communities. The next most frequent response was because friends and relatives lived in the city. The only other significant reasons given

⁵⁷ See: Community Development's Report, Ch. 2, pp. 115-117.

⁵⁸ Nagler, Ch. 2. Other less important motivational determinants listed are; education, the mass media, obtaining supplies, health and retirement.

⁵⁹ Davis et al, Vol. II, p. 378.

⁶⁰ Lagasse, Vol. II, p. 22.

were the conveniences in Winnipeg and receiving an education.

Table 2.14 compares the three studies in terms of major motivational determinants for urban migration

TABLE 2.14

COMPARISON OF THE REASONS FOR COMING TO THE CITY

Reasons for Coming	<u>PRESENT STUDY</u> (1969)		<u>DAVIS STUDY</u> (1961)		<u>LAGASSE STUDY</u> (1959)	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Economic Improvement (More opportunities for Jobs in the cities)	53.8	35	39	58	47	94
Lack of Opportunities on Reserve or Metis Community	27.7	18	-	-	11	23
Health	-	-	9	13	3.5	7
Education	4.6	3	9	13	4.5	9
Reasons Related to Family and Kinship (Brought up here, to be close to relatives, came with spouse)	10.7	7	24	36	16.5	29
Other	3.2	2	29	37	17.5	37
	<u>100</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>202</u>

These figures demonstrate clearly that it is the lack of viable economic opportunities on the reserves and Metis communities that leads to the urban migration. Furthermore

this situation seems to be more prevalent today than it was a decade ago. If opportunities for employment are not provided in the rural areas this trend can be expected to continue at an even faster rate in the future.⁶¹

It should not be assumed from this simple analysis however, that there is not a possibility of positive "pull" factors operating in the mind of the individual who decides to move to the city. Research is needed which focuses on the individual's decision making process to determine more accurately the full set of variables working to produce the decision to migrate.

It is not enough to know why a person moves to a new social setting. It is also important to determine whether he intends to reside in the city permanently or whether he sees the urban situation as a temporary place to stay before returning to the rural areas or moving on. An individual following the first pattern will have a very different attitude toward the city than someone in the latter category. It was found that the great majority (83.8%) of the Indians and Metis interviewed planned to make Winnipeg their permanent home.

2. Expectations and First Impressions of the Urban Situation

To obtain a complete picture of the migration patterns of any group of rural-urban migrants it is necessary to

⁶¹The introduction of such economic opportunities into the rural areas is one of the recommendations of the Hawthorn Report.

discern what they expected of the city and to what extent their expectations were fulfilled after their arrival. An examination of the data reveals that the majority of the sample (65.2%) had been to Winnipeg previous to their permanent migration. When this group was asked about the purposes of their earlier visits an interesting pattern emerged. Over one-half (54.3%) of the respondents had come to the city to visit friends or relatives. The role that friends and relatives play in the overall migration of the Indians and Metis is discussed in detail in the next section.⁶² Other less important reasons for previous visits included shopping or recreation purposes, school attendance, and living in the city before.

To determine what the migrant's expectations were regarding life in the city each respondent was asked, "What were some of the things you had heard about Winnipeg before you came here to live?". This assumes that the individual based his expectations largely on what he had previously heard about the city. The responses obtained could be divided into "positive" and "negative" expectations. Examples of

⁶²For a review of literature pertaining to the importance of relatives in migration see the Kiser study of Negroes moving to the urban areas, Chapter 1, pp. 22-27. He found that an important communication network was established between family members who had already gone to the cities and those still living in the rural areas which tended to precipitate the moving of the latter group.

positive predispositions were these: better opportunities for jobs in the city, lots to do, and more adequate conveniences and facilities. Some negative expectations included too big, crowded, and noisy, often have a hard time to find accommodations, and the dangers of "Main Street life".⁶³

Over sixty percent said that they had heard mainly positive things about Winnipeg before moving. By far the most frequently occurring response was that Winnipeg offered better opportunities for finding employment than the rural areas. This seems logically to follow from the fact that this was also the most common motivation for migrating initially.

The negative expectations most frequently expressed were related to the concern over the fact that the city would be too big, noisy and crowded for the respondent's liking. Furthermore the Indians in the sample tended to give a much more negative set of expectations than the Metis. Fifty-five percent of the Indians said that they had heard negative things about Winnipeg as compared to only 12.4 percent for the Metis. This serves to indicate that the network of communication

⁶³The "Main Street life" referred to is a five or six-block section of Main Street in Winnipeg which contains most of the beer parlors, cheap hotels and restaurants, and pool halls which the Indian and Metis frequent in large numbers. It has a reputation for drunkenness, prostitution, fighting, and gambling which tends to give the native people of Winnipeg a negative stereotype.

back to the reserves is reporting a more negative image of the city than is the case for the Metis communities. This could indicate that the Indians are having a difficult time adjusting to the urban environment and are exhibiting a pattern of returning home to the reserve.⁶⁴

Two questions were asked of the respondent to determine his first impressions of the city. The first simply inquired as to the things that made the individual unhappy or upset when he first arrived. Thirty-four percent of the sample indicated that they were unhappy when they first came to Winnipeg.

When asked to describe the aspects of the city about which they were most distressed the most common answer was discrimination. Many people felt that the whites had taken advantage of their being new to the city. The most frequently mentioned group that discriminated were landlords, taxi drivers, and sales clerks. The next most typical source of distress was the difficulty in finding employment in Winnipeg. The only other significant concern expressed was that some people felt confined when they first entered the city as they were used to the freedom of space in the country.

⁶⁴ This returning to the Reserve or Metis community is the subject of Chapter 4.

Another measurement of first impressions of the city came from responses to the question, "What did you think of Winnipeg when you first came here to live?" The answers can again be divided into "negative" and "positive" orientations. It was found that forty-three percent of the sample had negative first impressions of Winnipeg. The reasons for this initial dislike were similar to those given earlier. There was no difference in first impressions between the Indians and Metis. Nor was there any significant variation among the six regions of Manitoba.

It can be concluded that in general the majority of native people are at first positively disposed to the urban milieu. However, there is also a significant number (38.6 percent when the two scores for first impressions are averaged) who have expressed some initial concern with their situation in the city when they first arrived. The next section will examine in detail some of the important variables which can facilitate successful urban migration and adjustment.

SITUATIONAL FACTORS IN COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION: HYPOTHESES I AND II

1. The Role of Previously Existing Primary Group Contacts

One of the stated aims of this study was to examine in detail the relationship between initial adjustment to the urban environment and existing primary group contacts in the city. The correlation between these variables as well as the

more general area of the role played by the extended family and primary group relationships has been the object of much research in Sociology. On the one hand, there is evidence that the migration of family members tends to weaken internal family integration and leads to a high incidence of family disorganization.⁶⁵ A major reason cited for this is that migration frequently brings the family into a milieu characterized by new behavioral patterns. Furthermore differential rates of assimilation of family members can serve to increase the probability of different standards of conduct existing within a single family, and thus lays the basis for increased role-conflict.

On the other hand some studies maintain that a primary group's solidarity remains strong even after one or more of its family members migrate to the urban areas.⁶⁶ Research in this category tends to focus on the communication network which is established among family members in the two communities, and sees this network as providing a type of anticipatory socialization for other family members who may wish to migrate.

⁶⁵For a review of some of these studies see, Whyte, "Social Determinants of Inter-Community Mobility". pp. 23-24.

⁶⁶See p. 34 and pp. 62-63 of this work for a review of literature pertaining to this category of findings.

....once some members of a kinship network begin to move away, the tendency is for others to follow those who have established themselves successfully. Thus, the successful migrant not only encourages his own immediate dependents to join him but will be followed by others from his own family and neighbourhood. Even if the 'pioneering' individual does not positively encourage his close friends and relatives to join him, the mere fact that he has settled in a particular country or locality may determine the timing and the direction of subsequent moves made by others.⁶⁷

These early migrants thus provide a contact in the new community which can function to 'cushion the shock' for the new migrant during his initial adjustment period. This is accomplished in several specific ways including providing them with accommodation and finding them employment. An excellent example of a study which examines this communication network among family members is Kiser's research into the migration patterns of a group of rural Negroes moving to New York.⁶⁸ Another study which focuses on the relationship between already

⁶⁷A. Richmond, Post War Immigrants in Canada, p. 126. Richmond points out that this system of "sponsored migration" has, on the international level, become formalized by the Department of Immigration in Canada. Once established, an immigrant can arrange to have his close relatives follow him if he can show reasonable prospects of having a job waiting for them. This practice has been particularly prevalent among immigrants whose culture tends to favour extended families, as is the case for Italy.

⁶⁸V. Kiser, Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centres. See Ch. 1, pp. 22-27 of this work for a review of the study.

existing primary group contacts in the community of destination and urban adjustment has been carried out by Rose and Warshay.⁶⁹ They found support for the contention that migrants without such contacts are more likely to feel disheartened and/or pessimistic about their life chances in the city than those with such ties. This has provided the basis for hypothesis I of this thesis.

Before such a relationship can be examined, however, it is first necessary to determine what proportion of urban migrants had relatives or close friends in the city before migration and to what extent they were encouraged to come. It was found that over three-quarters of the Indians and Metis in the sample had relatives or close friends in the city before moving.⁷⁰ However, not all the relatives specifically encouraged the migrants to come to Winnipeg. Indeed only thirty percent of the sample said that they were encouraged to come to the city.⁷¹

The percentage obtained for the existence of primary group contacts in the present study is, however, higher than was obtained in studies of two comparable groups. Both

⁶⁹Rose and Warshay, "The Adjustment of Migrants to Cities", see Chapter 1, pp. 61-62 for mention of the findings of this study.

⁷⁰There was very little difference in percentages between the Indian and Metis groups.

⁷¹This percentage is similar to that found by Richmond, in his study of immigrants coming to Canada. (35.5%)

Lagasse in his study of native peoples⁷² and Richmond in his research into Canadian immigrants⁷³ reported significantly lower percentages. Table 2.15 compares the results.

TABLE 2.15

COMPARISON OF MIGRANT GROUPS IN RELATION
TO THE PRESENCE OF ALREADY EXISTING
PRIMARY GROUP CONTACTS

	<u>Present Study</u> (1968) <u>Percent</u>	<u>Lagasse Study</u> (1958) <u>Percent</u>	<u>Richmond Study</u> (1961) <u>Percent</u>
Friends and Relatives ⁷⁴	77.5	49.5	58.9
No Friends or Relatives	<u>22.5</u>	<u>50.5</u>	<u>41.1</u>
Total	100	100	100

The importance of these statistics should not be underestimated. The fact that more migrating native people have close friends or relatives in the city now than was the case ten years ago indicates that a type of communication system has been established between the city and the community of origin. This data has important policy implications for any

⁷²Lagasse, Vol. II, p. 21

⁷³Richmond, p. 128.

⁷⁴(a) Lagasse did not ask respondents about close friends only relatives.

(b) The Richmond study took data from two studies, one composed of a national sample and the other a Vancouver sample. The scores represented in Table 2.15 above are a combination of the two samples calculated by averaging the two scores.

organization or agency concerned with Indian or Metis migration or relocation. Further research is needed to analyze this area of migration in more detail.⁷⁵

Turning to the question of encouragement from friends or relatives we find that, despite the fact that three-quarters of the sample had relatives in the city before migration, only a small percentage were encouraged to come. The figures seem to indicate almost the reverse. Yet the pattern remains that the initial migrants who have established themselves successfully act as encouragement to others from their family or community to follow them to the city.

Given this situation, the question now becomes: to what extent do the successful migrants actually aid their kinsfolk? It is interesting to note that despite little encouragement to migrate, once in the city the friend or relative was given support. About one-half of the respondents declared that they were given assistance when they first arrived in Winnipeg. This system of mutual aid usually took the form of providing a place to stay. The vast majority of the cases fell into this category. The only other significant support was in the form of payment of the rent.

⁷⁵Chapter 4 of this work deals with one aspect of the communication network between the city and the community of origin. Other areas that should be examined include: the effects that migration has upon family solidarity, what groups of people on the Reserves or Metis Communities are the first to migrate, what channels are then opened for other members to follow, and what image of the urban area is brought back by those who return?

It now becomes possible to analyze the relationship between already existing primary group contacts and initial urban adjustment. It will be argued that the kinship ties in the city functions as an anticipatory socialization agent which 'cushions the shock' for entering Indian and Metis people.

To assume that an initial adjustment period is important when an individual first enters the urban environment is to suggest that migration entails a certain set of expectations concerning the new social setting. These expectations will provide an individual with his initial and predisposing attitude toward his new community. Furthermore, this predisposition will be based on at least two factors. The first is the person's 'image' of the city before the migration is actually undertaken. This image will depend, in turn, on such factors as previous visits to the city and friends and relatives' reports as they return to visit the home communities (as previously discussed in an earlier section). The second factor is the first impressions of the city once he arrives.

The importance of these factors should not be underestimated since distressful initial experiences can often serve to defeat any attempt at adjustment and lead to an individual's return to his community of origin.

The above situation is particularly true if the motives for migration were mainly negative in the first place,⁷⁶ and/or if the individual is able to return 'home' to his reserve or Metis community if his initial experiences are unpleasant. Another important variable which directly affects a migrant's predisposition and subsequent adjustment, is the extent to which the two communities differ in terms of their cultural, social, and economic attitudes and institutions.⁷⁷ This latter point is one of the most frequently mentioned reasons for the difficulties that the native people have in adjusting to the urban environment. There are at least five popular beliefs about the difference between Indians and whites, none of these have any genuine scientific proof but because they often affect the attitude of whites towards Indians they will be listed here.

1. a different sense of time, work, and saving which hampers the Indian in a society based on the clock.
2. a 'natural' talent for such occupations as hunting, trapping, and fishing which impedes the native people in acquiring skills needed for an industrialized society.
3. a sense of dependence and inferiority based on years of welfare receipts and Government protection which had tended to make Indians and Metis lazy, shiftless, and unambitious to work.

⁷⁶The fact that the majority of the sample's motives for migration were negative was established in Sections 1 and 3 of this chapter.

⁷⁷For an excellent discussion of these so-called 'cultural' differences between the Indians and Whites see: Rosalie Wax and Robert Thomas, *American Indians and White People*, *Phylon*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 1961.

4. an extended kinship pattern which obliges any relative in the city to support any newly arrived migrant in his initial adjustment, thus overburdening the resources of the 'successful' individual.

5. a biological makeup which prohibits the Indian from consuming too much alcohol without becoming intoxicated. This fosters a negative stereotype of the drunken Indian not being able to "hold his liquor".

It is beyond the purposes of this work to attempt to sort out myth and stereotype from valid reasons for experiencing difficulties in the city. There can be little doubt that the patterns of life on a rural reserve or Metis community are very different from that of the large city. However, to attribute the difficulties in adjustment exclusively to so-called "cultural traits" is extremely questionable. Probably as important, if not more so, are the factors in Indian and Metis communities that are similar to any rural community. These factors are discussed in the first three sections of this Chapter.

The actual transplantation of the migrant from one community to another usually entails a reforming of his social field. S.N. Eisenstadt isolates several of the most important of these changes.⁷⁸ Migration usually means a shrinkage in

⁷⁸ S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, p. 4.

the individual's field of social participation and group life, a change in reference groups, a disruption of the individual's status-image, and the necessity of acquiring new roles, expectations, and values. Eisenstadt labels this process the institutionalization of an individual's role-expectations in the new community. Thus, migration can be viewed as a kind of resocialization process.

However, this process takes place from already given social bases, the most important of which is the primary group. Therefore if the kinsfolk are able to give assistance during this early resocialization to the new environment, the individual will tend to have an easier initial adjustment.

This being the case, one would expect that a migrant who enters the city with such kinship contacts will have a smoother initial adjustment (as measured by previous 'image' of the city and first impressions) than one without such ties. It is therefore hypothesized that:

I Migrants who do not receive help from already existing primary group contacts in the new community are more likely to have a negative first impression of the city than those who receive such assistance.

Before any analysis can be undertaken it is first necessary to clearly define and operationalize the variables utilized in the hypothesis. This is not a difficult task for the independent variable in the proposition. The independent

variable is the receipt of assistance from a close friend or relative upon arrival in Winnipeg. As previously discussed, it was measured by simply ascertaining how many respondents had received some kind of help when they first came to the city. It was assumed that this assistance (usually in the form of accommodation) was a major aid in the resocialization of the individual coming from one social setting to another.

The operationalization of the dependent variable is, however, more problematic. Ideally such a measurement would ascertain the individual's psychological as well as social predisposition and initial impressions of the urban setting. No such measurement is forthcoming from the literature on migration. Also, it should be kept in mind that what is being determined is only the individual's first impressions and not his actual adjustment.⁷⁹ Much of the next chapter is devoted to developing a rough scale that will measure the long-term adjustment. For present purposes the concern is only with the actual process of migrating.

Accordingly, once the respondent's first impressions of the city was obtained it was examined in the light of assistance from friends and relatives. The measurement of initial impressions were the scores obtained from the question, "What

⁷⁹A more adequate measurement of initial urban adjustment might include such factors as; an individual's predisposition to change upon arrival in the city, his reasons for migration and his image of the city before arrival.

were your first impressions when you came to Winnipeg to live?" The responses were then divided into "negative" and "positive" first impressions. It was then predicted that assistance from previously existing primary group contacts would lead to a positive first impression of the city.

The data supported the hypothesis. Table 2.16 illustrates that the individuals who received assistance from close friends and/or relatives tended to have a positive first impression of Winnipeg.

TABLE 2.16

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRIMARY GROUP
CONTACTS AND FIRST IMPRESSIONS
OF THE CITY

	Negative First Impressions		Positive First Impressions	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Respondent's receiving Assistance	10	35.7	23	62.2
Respondent's not receiving assistance	18	64.3	14	37.8
Total	28	100	37	100

df - 1 n - 65
 χ^2 - 4.461
 P - .05

It can be seen that 64.3 percent of those who did not receive assistance in the city had a negative first impression and conversely, 62.2 percent who had received such assistance

had a positive initial impression of the city. Thus the preceding analysis of the importance of primary group contacts in the community of destination is given support by the data. No significant relationships were found when the data were broken down in terms of regions of Manitoba migrated from, nor were any differences found between Indians and Metis.

2. The Role of Organizational Assistance in the City

The preceding analysis leaves little doubt about the importance of primary group contacts in the community of destination. It was established that these contacts play a key role in the migrant's initial predisposition towards, and early adjustment to, the urban setting. This manifests itself in a more positive first impression of the city. But what of other forms of contact in the city? Are there any major qualitative differences between the effects of organizational assistance and primary group aid? Do government and social work agencies function to help resocialize the individual into his new environment, as do kinship groups?⁸⁰

⁸⁰It should be noted that the functions fulfilled by the agencies and organizations are by no means identical to those fulfilled by the kinship group. Rather, it should be clearly understood that the comparison concerns only the overlap in the forms of assistance provided by the two groups.

The answers to these questions will have significant implications for the role played by agencies concerned with Indian and Metis migration and adjustment. If the supporting agencies view as one of their major tasks the helping of the migrant in his initial adjustment to the city, then one would expect the individuals they assist to have a more positive first impression of the new setting than those who do not receive such assistance.

It would appear, judging from the numerous conferences and committees called to deal with the so-called "Indian problem", that there is a great deal of concern over the lack of "successful" urban adjustment of native people. The conferences, however, almost always focus on providing stop-gap measures to eradicate the short-term problems encountered by Indian and Metis migrants.⁸¹

⁸⁰Cont'd.

Specifically, this includes such physical needs as providing accommodation, help in finding a job, and financial support. In addition to fulfilling these material needs the primary group contacts also meet many important emotional needs of the migrating individual which cannot be included in the services of the social agencies.

⁸¹Some of the most commonly discussed topics at these conferences are: finding adequate accommodation or employment, discrimination, 'cultural' factors that hamper the Indian in the adjustment process, Indians and the law, public assistance, the Federal-Provincial dispute over provision of services and alcohol problems.

For a typical example of such a conference see: Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, "National Conference on Indians and the City", Winnipeg, 1966.

The social service agencies, for their part, have tended to orient their assistance in a similar way.

Therefore the present discussions and programmes relating to native migration have, in the main, concentrated on the symptoms of the situation rather than on examining the basic underlying causes. Little attention is paid to the possibility of changing or expanding upon the largely problem-oriented "social work" approach taken by the existing agencies.⁸²

The various agencies and organizations which include Indian and Metis migrants in their clientele can be roughly divided into two types. This division is based upon the extent to which Indian and Metis people are employed or active in the agencies' programmes or services. Included in the first group are those agencies or organizations which are predominantly controlled by native people. Here again a two-fold diversion is possible between those native

⁸²A qualification to the above statements should be made in the light of recent developments in the field of Social Work theory and practice. The emphasis is beginning to shift from an individual or family therapy-type orientation to a broader group or community development approach. In this process the people of the community are encouraged to organize and take a more active part in the determination of their own affairs. However, this broader approach, initiated in the social work schools, has not, to any great extent, filtered down to affect the practice of many agencies in the field, although it has been adopted by the two native organizations in the province, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and the Manitoba Metis Federation.

groups which are mainly political in their orientation and those which provide social services. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and the Manitoba Metis Federation are the major political organizations in the Province. They view their main role as "helping the Indian people attain self-government through self-determination".⁸³ A full discussion of the work of these political organizations will be included in Chapter five of this work. Typical of the second type of native groups that directly assist Indian and Metis Friendship Centre in Winnipeg.⁸⁴ The Centre provides such social assistance as finding accommodation, securing employment, court assistance, and referring individuals to other social work agencies for specific problems.⁸⁵

The second major category of groups and organizations that provide services for Indian and Metis people migrating and settling in the city are the 278 social service agencies.

⁸³Constitution of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, p. 1.

⁸⁴Other native agencies involved in the adjustment process of Indian and Metis migrants are: the John Bosco Reception Centre and the United Church Reception Lodge.

⁸⁵In addition to providing social services it should be noted that the Friendship Centre also has a political function to... "provide a medium for the development of Indian leadership in the community".

Constitution of the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre, p. 1.

in Greater Winnipeg.⁸⁶ The services provided by the agencies can be broken down into seven categories; child welfare, family and individual counselling, health and rehabilitation, income maintenance, corrections, recreation and informal education, and social planning. More specifically this category would include such agencies as the Children's Aid Society, the Provincial and City Welfare Departments, Canada Manpower, Probation Services and the Indian Affairs Branch: each providing a particular set of services to the native migrant. For example the Children's Aid Society oversees all aspects of child care including child neglect, foster home care, protection, and adoptions. The second hypothesis of this work refers to these latter two categories of agencies; those which provide direct social assistance of some form or other.

If these various agencies are fulfilling their functions adequately then one should expect the migrant receiving their assistance when he first enters the urban milieu to have a more positive first impression of the city than one who does not receive such help. This forms the basis of the second hypothesis.

⁸⁶Community Welfare Planning Council, Report of the Social Service Audit, Winnipeg, 1968, p. 18.

II: Migrants who do not receive assistance from any agency or organization are more likely to have a negative first impression of the city than those who receive such assistance.

The dependent variable in the proposition, negative or positive first impressions of the city, was measured by combining two items of the interview schedule as discussed in the previous section.⁸⁷ The quantification of the independent variable, receiving assistance from an agency or organization, proved to be a more difficult task.

The nature of the migrant's agency contact was determined amply by asking the question, "Did you receive assistance from any agency or organization such as the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre, church, or Indian Affairs Branch when you first came to the city?" If the respondent replied in the affirmative he was asked which agency it was that had assisted him. The question as it was asked by the interviewers proved to have two limitations in relation to the hypothesis.

Firstly, upon examination of the completed interview schedules it became evident that the interviewers had misinterpreted the question in one important way. When recording the agencies that the migrant had had contact with they only included those agencies that were listed in the question. This undoubtedly omits many important social

⁸⁷See pages 149-150.

service agencies which would have also provided aid to the migrant. The most important of such agencies would be the welfare agencies which furnish financial assistance.

Therefore the data for this hypothesis are restricted mainly to the two major native social service agencies in the city; the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre and the Indian Affairs Branch.⁸⁸

A second limitation in measuring the independent variable as it relates to the hypothesis occurs in the area of the timing of the migrant's contact with the agencies or organizations. Data were not obtained on the time after arrival in the city that the individual received his assistance. It is quite possible that the question could be recording the need for assistance well after the migrant has arrived in the city. In such a case the agency contact could not be validly compared to his initial adjustment and predisposition to the city.

However, this does not preclude the usefulness of the hypothesis. The major emphasis of the proposition is

⁸⁸ Information on contacts with other social service agencies eg. Canada Manpower could be gained indirectly through other related questions in the interview schedule. Analysis of these questions revealed a similar pattern of noninvolvement and lack of knowledge on the part of the migrant as was the case for the native agencies.

on the role played by social service agencies in helping the native migrant in his adjustment process. This is to a degree independent of the time of the contact. In addition it can be assumed that the majority of the agency contacts will be made during the initial stages of settlement in the city.

With these limitations in mind it now becomes possible to analyse the data. An examination of the statistics reveals that 28.6% of the sample had received some kind of assistance from an agency or organization. The most frequently utilized agencies by far were the Indian Affairs Branch and the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre.

When the relationship between receiving assistance and negative or positive first impressions of the city are analyzed the following table results:

TABLE 2.17

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONAL
ASSISTANCE AND FIRST IMPRESSIONS
OF THE CITY

	Negative First Impressions		Positive First Impressions	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Respondent's Receiving Assistance	8	28.6	10	27
Respondent's Not Receiving Assistance	20	71.4	27	73
Total	28	100	37	100

df - 1 p - .05
x² - .019 n - 65

It can be seen from the above figures that the relationship between a migrant's first impressions of the city and organizational assistance is not significant. The two variables, it would appear, vary independently and thus hypothesis II must be rejected. Furthermore when the data are broken down into Indians and Metis, or into regions of Manitoba migrated from, no significant relationships appear. It can be concluded that, unlike primary group aid, urban agency contact does not give the native migrant a more positive impression of city life.

The lack of relationship between the two variables can be accounted for in at least two ways. Firstly, it would seem logical that an individual who is forced to seek help from a social service agency is probably having difficulty in his adjustment to city life. This is because most individuals come to an agency or organization only after a specific problem has arisen. Therefore it would be expected that such a person would be inclined to have a fairly negative impression of the urban setting. The reverse would be true for an individual who is adjusting successfully. He would have no reason to seek the aid of an agency.

The relationship between receiving aid from social service agencies and a migrant's adjustment process was the subject of a study carried out by the Welfare Department of the City of Winnipeg. This study points out that when an

individual is forced to seek aid from an organization it often tends to make the adjustment process more difficult.

It was as interesting as it was tragic to the writer to hear from Indians, reputedly so welfare-prone, how often feelings of shame and failure accompanied having to go for aid. Such feelings, added to the poor self-image mentioned earlier, are bound to crush out any aspirations still lingering in a person's mind.⁸⁹

Another possible explanation for the lack of relationship between the variables in the hypothesis is that the social service agencies and organizations in Winnipeg are not providing their services to the native migrants in a satisfactory way. In these cases, despite aid received from the agencies, the individual would still experience difficulty in adjusting to his new community.

The limitations in the services of some social service agencies have been the subject of many conferences and reports dealing with Indian and Metis migration to the city. An example of such a report is the Social Service Audit which critically examines the work of the various agencies in Winnipeg.⁹⁰ The major problems encountered by the agencies with regard to native peoples' migration to the

⁸⁹Ian Harvey, "Winnipeg's Welfare Programme and the Dependent Indian", Department of Welfare, City of Winnipeg, Nov., 1967, pp. 10-11.

⁹⁰Community Welfare Planning Council, Report of the Social Service Audit, Winnipeg, 1969.

city are identified by the report as follows: a lack of understanding of the Indian's culture on the part of the white social worker, a fragmentation of services provided so that an individual is referred from office to office for various problems, and an incomprehensible maze of forms, procedures, and rules which a person must master before he receives any assistance.

John Melling, in his book Right to a Future, adequately summarized the situation faced by an Indian or Metis person applying for services in the city.

Imagine how the Indian will reason about his impressions of city functionaries.... 'Why do I, even in the same building and office, have to be handed on from official 'A' to official 'B'? If I am but one person with some few needs, why must I visit different persons for each one of my needs? Am I a human being or a set of cases? And isn't it very bad manners for these officials to ask me so many questions about myself? Do they think my private life is public property? Why do they delay their help and seem so aloof and ask me to come back and appear unconcerned as to how I will manage until I come back? And, why, why, why, do they want everything I say to be written down by me - and not on one sheet but on three?'⁹¹

Melling strongly criticizes this traditional social work approach to help urban migrants coming from rural communities. He suggests the process of assistance should provide services for the 'total' migration process rather

⁹¹ John Melling, Right to a Future, Don Mills, T.H. Best Publishing, 1967, p. 94.

than stepping in only after the individual has migrated and is experiencing difficulties. This process should begin when the individual is considering migrating while still on the reserve or Metis community. Furthermore, Melling suggests that some native agency should fulfill the function of 'bridging the gap' between the community of origin and the urban centre. He recommends that the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre be the agency to carry out this role and he sets forth an eight-step procedure to provide a plan for the adequate assistance of native people coming to the city.⁹²

Melling's critical analysis of the agency and organizational system that deals with the urban migration of native people is most adequate. Also his suggestion that a focus on the 'total' migration process is necessary before any significant changes can occur in the urban adjustment of native people is excellent. However, it would seem to the author that his proposed solution to the problem is less satisfactory. Melling calls for the Indian-Metis Friendship Centres across Canada to be the key agencies in bridging the gap between the rural and urban communities. He also suggests a more liberal utilization of professional

⁹²Ibid., pp. 95-96

social workers.

The difficulty with such a proposal is that the emphasis in assistance will eventually return to the same type of structure as before - a social service agency. The only major difference will be that Indian and Metis people will have more of a role in the policies and programmes. ⁹³

The emphasis, however, will still remain on a system of 'help' provided by a social service agency as previously discussed. The Friendship Centre will simply become another social work-type agency providing services, as was previously the case. ⁹⁴

The two hypotheses in this chapter have attempted to demonstrate that the network of meaningful assistance

⁹³ The increased involvement of native people in the programmes of the social service agencies is a major step forward in providing more adequate services to Indian and Metis people. However much of the present difficulty in the delivery of assistance to these people is the system itself rather than the individuals involved.

A good example of the attempt to involve native people in agency work is a programme sponsored by the Solicitor General's Department which has recently trained forty Indian people to work in correctional institutions and in the parole service in Western Canada.

⁹⁴ A qualification concerning the role of the Friendship Centre should be made. As previously mentioned a second function of the Centre has been to develop Indian and Metis leadership in the urban community. This role in the past, however, has not been emphasized and the Centre has concentrated on providing social work-type services.

available to the migrant is constituted primarily not by the social service agencies but rather by the kinship groups already settled in the city. These primary groups help satisfy more than just the migrant's material needs in providing for his important psychological and emotional needs as well. Yet, in the past these kinship groups have received no official aid or resources from any organization or government to carry out their informal functions. In addition, it is these 'successful' urban migrants who most often know the situation back home on the reserve or Metis community because the pattern of urbanization has been to return frequently to one's home community.⁹⁵ Therefore it is these people who are in a position to know best the overall migration process as it effects Indian and Metis people.

It can therefore be concluded that simply to include Indian and Metis people in the process of assistance is not enough. The system itself must change. The people most involved in the migration process must take some responsibility for the migration of Indians and Metis people to the urban

⁹⁵ This pattern of returning home to reserves or Metis communities is the subject of Chapter 4 of this work.

areas. This will mean providing resources in the form of grants and technical assistance to the native people and organizations to initiate programmes involving their people.⁹⁶ This assistance can take place either directly on the primary group level or on the organizational level as long as the individuals or groups receiving the resources are the native people of the community.

Such a shift to community organization is presently taking place in both the rural and urban communities of Manitoba. Native organizations such as the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and the Manitoba Metis Federation are, more and more, taking full responsibility for the economic and social programmes in their communities. For example Indian people are now responsible for administering the welfare and housing programmes on the reserves. Most of these developments are taking place with government grants but, increasingly, the Indian and Metis people are expending their own resources in order to become more independent from any outside agency or organization.

This trend in community responsibility must now be extended to the field of native peoples' migration to the

⁹⁶The organization of Indian and Metis people into an ethnic group in the city is the subject of Chapter five of this thesis.

urban centres. Such programmes are now just beginning in Winnipeg in the field of housing, with grants provided from government and university organizations.⁹⁷ These grants have been provided directly to the leaders in the Indian and Metis community rather than to the social service agencies as was previously the case.

In summary, the subject of this chapter has been the initial stages of Indian and Metis migration from the rural reserves and Metis communities in Manitoba to Winnipeg. It has attempted to delineate some of the major economic, social, and psychological variables in the community of origin which have precipitated the movement of significant numbers of native people into the large urban areas. It was also predicted that, with the present decline in viable economic resources and the increase in population in these areas, this cityward migration will continue at an increased rate in the future.

With this large influx of people into the urban centres it becomes a major task for the various agencies and organizations to provide adequate programmes of assistance to facilitate the adjustment of these people. It was

⁹⁷The most significant of such projects is a combined research programme between the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg.

established in the discussion pertaining to Hypotheses I and II that the traditional social work programmes of the existing agencies are not adequately meeting the needs of native migrants. It was discovered that it was rather the kinship groups and the friends of the migrants who have been providing the most meaningful assistance to the people coming to the city.

It has become increasingly evident therefore that any successful programme of assistance to the native migrant must take these facts into consideration. At least three such factors must be included in any programme of community development. First, native people of the local areas, both rural and urban, must be involved in the process. This involvement may be at the level of the primary group or at that of the organization of native people but it must be given support (in the form of monetary grants or technical people available when asked) by outside organizations on the peoples' own terms.

Second, any programme of assistance must take cognizance of the 'total' migration process rather than beginning only after problems have presented themselves. It must start to prepare and assist the individual when the decision to move is first made and follow the individual throughout his early dealings with the urban environment,

Finally, the present trend of training Indian and Metis people to take positions as social workers, educators, technicians, etc., should continue at an increased pace so that eventually they may take full responsibility for the programmes relating to their people. Only after these factors are incorporated into the process of aiding native migrants will the present pattern of a largely unsuccessful urban integration be significantly corrected.

PART II
ADJUSTMENT

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE UNDER STUDY II - SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE CITY

INTRODUCTION:

In the preceding chapter the migration process was viewed in its earliest stages - from the time the decision to move was inaugurated to the time the migrant made his initial contact with the city. The present chapter is devoted to what can be considered the second phase of the migration process, that is, the settlement patterns and record of adjustment of the Indian and Metis people in their new urban community.

A great deal of sociological and anthropological literature has dealt with the process of settlement and adjustment of migrant groups to urban centres.¹ These works relating to the assimilation or acculturation of minority groups usually investigate the ecological, social, and psychological aspects of the interaction of the migrant group with his new environment. This chapter will similarly examine some of the ecological and demographic characteristics

¹For a review of some of the literature in this area, see pp. 42-66 of this work.

of the current migration of Indian and Metis people into the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba - a metropolitan centre of 510,000 people.²

The second aim of this chapter is to analyse the process of urbanization by examining a series of variables which might be included in a scale of 'urban adjustment'; the latter could then be applied to a migrating individual to predict the extent to which he is 'successfully' adapting to the urban setting. Finally three examples of possible urban typologies will be provided from the literature on native migration to complete the chapter.

RESIDENCE PATTERNS IN THE CITY: 'STABLE' AND 'UNSTABLE' LOWER CLASS AREAS

1. Indian and Metis Settlement Patterns in Winnipeg

Many classical authors in sociology, e.g., Robert Park, viewed the process of the urbanization and assimilation of migrant groups as an inevitable cycle progressing through several stages - contact, competition, accommodation, and eventually the assimilation of the members of the minority group into the receiving society.³ The final stage is

²Community Welfare Planning Council, "Report of the Social Service Audit", (Winnipeg, 1969), p. 6.

³T. Shibutani, and K. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach, (New York, MacMillan Co., 1965). p. 118.

accomplished when members of the minority group acquire the cultural values of the dominant group to a sufficient extent as to be no longer discernible in any meaningful way. The process usually occurs over a period of two or three generations until, with time, a 'melting pot' of the many cultures and nationalities evolves. The process is characteristic of the immigrant groups becoming "Americanized" over a period of years in the United States. According to this model

...each of the newcomer groups to the urban and metropolitan areas of the U.S. followed essentially a similar pattern with respect to location in space, the economy, and society.⁴

Typically the ecological pattern of urban settlement included an initial residence in the inner, older, blighted zones of the city. With the passage of time, however, each of the migrant groups climbed the social and economic ladder to achieve access to the broader social and cultural life of the community and increased general acceptability.⁵

As discussed in Chapter I, these over-simplified 'anglo-conformity' or 'melting-pot' models of urban integration have been severely questioned in the recent literature.⁶

⁴Philip Hauser, and Leo Schnore, The Study of Urbanization, (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1965), p. 21.

⁵Ibid., p. 21.

⁶For example, see; Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964), or, John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

What is emerging according to some writers is, rather, a kind of 'ethnically plural' society, in which the cultural traits of the various ethnic groups are remaining a meaningful part of the migrant's value orientation which remains distinct from the cultural structures and processes of the dominant society.

Some of the variables which determine the extent to which such a plurality is possible in a society are: the relative size of the minority group in relation to the larger society, the heterogeneity of the general population, the attitudes of members of the receiving society in terms of acceptance or rejection of the new group, the extent to which the migrating group enters the new environment with a predisposition to change his attitudes and behavior, the amount of physical and cultural differences between the incoming migrant group and the receiving society, the degree of political, economic, and social organization and skills exhibited by the migrant group, whether the migrating individuals view their move as temporary or permanent, the order of a group's appearance in the city, the proximity to the homeland or community of origin, and the settlement patterns of the migrant group in the city.⁷

⁷ For a complete discussion of these variables see: S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, and Shibutani & Kwan, Ethnic Stratification.

An examination of the history of the immigration of the different ethnic groups to Winnipeg since the turn of the century would reveal that the pattern of settlement and adjustment resembles the cycle described by Robert Park. The early groups almost invariably resided first in the poorer, central areas of the city and occupied the lowest positions on the occupational ladder. As time went on, however, the various ethnic groups achieved a degree of occupational and geographical mobility which allowed them to leave the slum area and settle in other areas of the city.

The question must now become whether the Indian and Metis people who migrate to Winnipeg will follow a similar pattern of eventual upward mobility, or, on the other hand, form a native ghetto in the central city. A comparison of the native migrant with the former waves of ethnic groups will be discussed in detail in Chapter five. In this section let it suffice to give a brief description of the settlement patterns of the Indian and Metis people in Winnipeg.

It can be easily demonstrated that the native people who migrate to Winnipeg exhibit a pattern of geographical settlement similar to that of the other minority groups moving to the urban areas. The vast majority of

native people establish themselves initially in the poorer areas of the city. This can best be illustrated by dividing metropolitan Winnipeg according to census tracts and examining the socio-economic variables of each tract to determine the social class composition of the city. Such an analysis has recently been carried out by the Social Service Audit Committee of Winnipeg.⁸ They divide the city into three regions roughly representing the major socio-economic areas of the city. These were: the primary core area or inner city, the secondary core area or stable working class area, and an outer region made up of the surrounding suburbs and municipalities.

For purposes of this thesis the primary core area is the main region of concern because it is in this area that a large majority of the Indian and Metis people reside. The primary core area includes seven census tracts and is outlined in heavy black in Figure 3.1.⁹ This is the area

⁸Community Welfare Planning Council, "Report of the Social Service Audit", (Winnipeg, 1969), pp. 9-11. (1966 census).

⁹The areas of Winnipeg included in the primary core area are as follows:

- Census tract - 104 - North Central Winnipeg
- 105 - North Point Douglas
- 108 - C.P.R. - Notre Dame
- 109 - South Point Douglas
- 111 - West Central Winnipeg
- 112 - South Central Winnipeg
- 113 - Downtown Winnipeg

The area is bounded by Burrows Avenue on the North, Ingersoll and McPhillips Streets on the West, the Assiniboine River on the South, and the Red River on the East.

FIGURE 3.80

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND METIS
BIRTHS BY AUDIT AREA, 1946

3

A

of the city where there is the most serious concentration of social problems.¹⁰ It can be observed from Figure 3.1 that approximately 74% of the Indian and Metis people of Winnipeg live in the primary core area.¹¹

The primary core area of Winnipeg is, to a degree, characteristic of lower class areas in any large metropolitan centre in North America. The typical history of such a central area extends from a time when it was considered a 'good' neighbourhood to a period of slow deterioration as people became affluent enough to move out to the suburban areas. At the same time the central business district of the city begins to expand into what was formerly an exclusively residential neighbourhood. Through this process the area becomes defined as an undesirable place to reside by those who can afford to live elsewhere and a necessary place to live by those who cannot. Eventually the neighbourhood deteriorates physically and comes to be characterized by a wide variety of social problems and by personal disorganization.

The central core area of Winnipeg has, to a degree, followed a similar historical pattern. This is especially

¹⁰A detailed description of the characteristics of the primary core area will be provided in the next two sections.

¹¹As measured by Indian and Metis births in 1966.

true of what has been termed the 'unstable' lower class area of the city. This type of area has been the object of much study in the literature on urban poverty. Writers like Gans¹², Hunter¹³, Rossi and Blum¹⁴, Harrington¹⁵, Liebow¹⁶, Goldstein¹⁷ and Simon¹⁸ set forth a list of many of the elements which are to be found in these areas. Some of these tracts include severe poverty, a trend towards a decrease in population, lower occupational and education levels, overcrowding, high rates of unemployment and transient workers, dilapidated housing, limited recreational facilities, distinctive leisure time activities, lower levels of organizational and political participation, racial concentration, a high degree of internal mobility, high rates of criminality and delinquency, inadequate community services, broken families, health problems, a frequent need

¹²Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers, (New York, The Free Press).

¹³Robert Hunter, The Slums, (New York, The Free Press, 1964).

¹⁴Peter Rossi & Zahava Blum, "Social Stratification and Poverty", paper presented to the Sociological Research Association, San Francisco, 1967.

¹⁵Michael Harrington, The Other America, (New York, Penguin Books).

¹⁶Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner, (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1967).

¹⁷Bernard Goldstein, Low Income Youth in Urban Areas, (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1967).

¹⁸Arthur Simon, Faces of Poverty, (London, Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1966).

for social welfare services, and isolation and alienation from the mainstream of society's economic, political, and social life.

It is easily demonstrable that the primary core area of Winnipeg possesses many of these characteristics. For example it represents the only area of the city where the population has decreased from 1961 to 1966.¹⁹ This reflects the exodus to the suburbs by the people who can afford a higher standard of living. An examination of the central core area in the light of the other variables listed above presents a similar picture. A generally agreed upon definition of poverty for an urban family of four has been established at a minimum annual income of \$3,000. Over 30% of the families in the primary core area earn less than that sum, compared to only 15.9% for the metropolitan area as a whole.²⁰

The unemployment rate for the primary core area in 1961 was 8.1% compared to an average of 3.1% for the city as a whole.²¹ The percentage of unskilled workers on the labour market for this area is 14.8% compared to a metro average of 6.8%.²²

¹⁹Community Welfare Planning Council, 'Social Service Audit, Vol. I, p. 13.

²⁰Ibid., Vol. I, p. 30.

²¹Ibid., Vol. I, p. 38.

²²Ibid., Vol. I, p. 38.

Concerning the physical deterioration of a place of residence the definition states that a dwelling is classified as being in need of major repair if it is seriously run down, or in a neglected condition and shows one or more structural deficiencies. Here again the primary core area shows a higher rate than the city as a whole with 12.5% of the dwellings in poor condition compared to 3.7% for the city.²³

Finally in the need for social services Figure 3.2 clearly indicates that the primary core area rates are highest by far. Therefore, it can be seen that by almost any socio-economic measurement the seven census tracts making up the primary core area of Winnipeg can be considered a lower class area.

It is to this area of the city that the vast majority of the Indian and Metis migrants come when they arrive in Winnipeg. Figure 3.1 demonstrates that such is the case as measured by the number of Indian and Metis births in 1966. In 1961 85.6% of all the native people in Winnipeg resided in this area. This figure had dropped to 73.9% by 1966, indicating some mobility out of the area.²⁴ However, in terms of absolute numbers of people there was

²³ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 49.

²⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

FIGURE 3.2
SOCIAL SERVICE RATES
 per 1000 population for the audit areas
 D.B.S. 1966

a significant increase in the native population in the area - from 139 Indian and Metis births in 1961 to 282 in 1966.²⁵ This reflects the large influx of native people coming into the city during that period.

The present study found that 73.8% of the sample resided in the primary core area of Winnipeg²⁶, the same figure that was set forth in the 1966 census. However, the sample under study cannot be considered strictly random as explained in Chapter Two.²⁷

It is clear, therefore, that the Indian and Metis migrants coming from the reserves and Metis communities of Manitoba follow a settlement pattern similar to that followed by the other immigrant groups which came to Winnipeg previously. Initially they settle in the poorer central areas of the city. It remains to be seen whether the resemblance continues and the native people eventually

²⁵Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

²⁶The breakdown for the specific census tract areas was as follows:

Per Cent	Number	Census Tract
27.7	18	*108 - CPR - Notre Dame
23.1	15	*104 - North Central Winnipeg
18.5	12	102 - North Winnipeg
15.4	10	*111 - West Central Winnipeg
4.6	3	*112 - South Central Winnipeg
3.1	2	*113 - Downtown Winnipeg
7.6	5	- Other
Total 100.0%	65	

*Primary Core Area

²⁷See page 120 of this work.

move to other areas of the city, or, whether a ghetto of native people forms in the inner-city. This will be discussed in Chapter Five.

2. 'Stable' and 'Unstable' Lower Class Areas: A Typology

(a) Demographic Variables

The previous section established that the majority of Indian and Metis urban migrants first reside in what was termed the primary core area of the city. This area, by any socio-economic standard, can be considered a lower class section of Winnipeg. When the area is examined in detail, however, it becomes increasingly evident that it is more heterogeneous and complex than the simple analysis first indicated. It can be demonstrated that when the socio-economic variables are examined closely the area can be divided into two distinct sections, each representing a different degree of poverty. For purposes of analysis these sections have been labeled 'stable' and 'unstable' lower class areas.

Similar distinctions can be found in the sociological literature pertaining to urban poverty. Robert Hunter, divides lower class areas into 'grey areas' and 'slum areas'.²⁸ The former is an area in transition, on the

²⁸Robert Hunter, The Slums, p. 7.

way down. It usually surrounds or is adjacent to the central city and abuts the slum proper.

A similar typology is provided by Charles Stokes, who distinguishes between a 'slum of hope' and a 'slum of despair'.²⁹ A 'slum of hope' is a neighbourhood where the people have a feeling of a transition to something better in the future. The people in the area are not yet participating fully in the economic and social life of the city, but there is reason to believe that some day they will.

Perhaps the most adequate attempt to quantify the differences between the two areas is Lloyd Warner's distinction between the 'upper-lower class' and the 'lower-lower class'.³⁰ In his stratification system Warner characterizes the former class as the 'poor but honest workers' who occupy either semi-skilled or unskilled positions in the labour market. The 'lower-lower class', by contrast, are the poorest individuals in society, usually relying on social assistance for their income and lacking in the desire to get ahead. It is this group of people who exhibit the characteristics listed in the previous section and who have been termed residents of the 'unstable lower

²⁹Charles Stokes, "A Theory of Slums", Land Economics, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3, (Aug. 1962), pp. 187-97.

³⁰Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America, (New York: Harper & Row Pub., 1949). pp. 14-15.

class' areas of Winnipeg.

It can be argued that individuals living in these two areas can have very different adjustment experiences in the urban environment.³¹ It is the purpose of this section to demonstrate that such a breakdown is possible in terms of both demographic variables and variables relating to social and personal disorganization.

Of the seven census tract areas isolated as the primary core area in Winnipeg, three stand out as having higher scores in terms of the various lower-class characteristics outlined previously. Table 3.1 clearly demonstrates the differences between the two lower-class areas

TABLE 3.1

COMPARISON OF 'STABLE' AND 'UNSTABLE'
LOWER CLASS AREAS ACCORDING TO SELECTED
DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES*

Characteristic	Unstable Lower Class Area In Percentage **	Stable Lower Class Area In Percentage ***	Metro Average in Percentage
Rate of House- holds earning less than \$3000 per annum (1961)	35.5%	28.5%	15.9%
Rate of Males Unemployed (1961)	11.5%	5.6%	3.1%
Rate of Unskilled workers (1961)	17.5%	11.3%	6.8%
Population change from 1961 to 1966	-15.2%	-8.2%	+11.4%
Rate of Residential Dwellings in need of Major Repair	17.2%	13.0%	3.7%

* Source: Social Service Audit Report, Vol. I, pp. 17, 31, 38 & 49.

** Census Tracts Included: 105, 111, 112, 113.

*** Census Tracts Included: 104, 108, 109.

according to the variables. In addition to the variables listed in the table the educational levels for the unstable lower class areas are lower than for the stable lower class area. The former area's average educational level is elementary schooling whereas the latter area has a high school average level of education.³²

It will also be noted that the unstable lower class areas show a much more extreme rate of dependency on social services than the stable lower class areas. This is clearly illustrated by Figure 3.2 and Table 3.2.

Thus it can be shown that extreme cases of slum traits are much more pronounced in the unstable lower class areas of Winnipeg; 104 - North Central Winnipeg, 108 - the CPR - Notre Dame Area, and 109 - the South Point Douglas area. The remaining census tract areas in the primary core area (105, 111, 112 and 113) exhibit less severe characteristics of poverty.

(b) Social and Personal Disorganization

Turning to the second set of variables measuring extreme lower class characteristics, and social and personal disorganization, the results are similar. Using such indices as illegitimate birth rates, crime and delinquency

³²Social Service Audit Report, Vol. I, p. 34.

rates, and welfare assistance the three areas again exhibit the poorest record. Table 3.2 compares the different rates for the two areas.

TABLE 3.2

COMPARISON OF 'STABLE' AND 'UNSTABLE' LOWER
CLASS AREAS ACCORDING TO SELECTED
SOCIAL AND PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION
VARIABLES IN 1966*

Characteristic	Unstable Lower Class Area In Percent of Cases	Stable Lower Class Area In Percent of Cases
Illegitimate Birth Rate	64.6**	46.8
Rate of desertion	7.5	3.6
Rate of Child Neglect	6.0	3.7
Rate of Income Maintenance	161.5***	83.6
Rate of Juvenile Delinquency	6.4	5.0
Rate of Adult Criminal Offences	10.3	7.4

*Source: Social Service Audit Report, Vol. II, pp. 10, 25, 41, 49, 56.

** Rate of Illegitimate births per 100 births.

*** Number of Cases per 1000 population.

It was found that in the present study 50.8% of the sample resided in the 'unstable' lower class areas of Winnipeg and 50.2% lived in the 'stable' lower-class areas. This typology will be utilized in Chapter Four of this work when settlement patterns in these areas are compared to the nature of the community of origin of the migrant.

COMMUNITY ORIENTATION: A POSSIBLE
SCALE OF URBAN ADJUSTMENT

It is not enough to know only the geographical settlement patterns of a group of migrants entering the urban setting, or the demographic characteristics of the community of residence. To gain a complete understanding of the migration process it is also necessary to know about the period of adjustment that an individual experiences in his initial contacts with the dominant society. Only with a knowledge of both the demographic and the socio-psychological aspects of urban adjustment can the picture be complete. To this end the level of analysis of the present section will shift from the migrant group to the individual and his attempted adjustment.

Perhaps the most adequate model of immigrant adjustment is provided by S.N. Eisenstadt in his book The Absorption of Immigrants. As previously mentioned, Eisenstadt argues that urban adjustment is mainly a resocialization process in which an individual learns to institutionalize his role expectations and behavior in line with the dominant value orientations of the receiving society. In this process it is necessary for the migrant to extend his social participation beyond the primary group to a point where he is able to participate in the institutional structures and processes of the receiving society. For this to take place his values

and aspirations must become compatible with the values and roles of the absorbing society, and these values and aspirations must be capable of being realized within it. It is only when the individual has achieved this stability of role-expectations and behavior that it can be said that he has adjusted to the urban environment.

The institutionalizing of roles can thus best be seen as a process of transformation of the immigrant's primary basic groups and fields of social relations - those groups which are the ground of his active participation in society. It is by the interweaving of these groups into the social structure of the receiving country that the immigrant's behavior becomes institutionalized.³³

Conversely, according to Eisenstadt, unsuccessful adjustment occurs when the individual encounters difficulty in transferring his participation from his basic primary groups to the main institutional sphere of the absorbing society. Completing the process involves a changing of the individual's patterns of behavior which may create an unstructured, anomic field for the individual and cause various forms of personal disorganization.

Unsuccessful institutionalization of immigrant behavior and the development of various types of deviation and tensions means in the long run that the immigrants are unable to create a new, coherent status-image and set of values in their new society.³⁴

³³Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, p. 7.

³⁴Ibid., p. 23.

With this brief outline of the process of the institutionalization of the migrant's behaviour, it now becomes possible to provide an accurate method of measuring the adjustment process. Eisenstadt begins by stating three major criteria which must be taken into consideration in furnishing such a measurement of adjustment. His criteria are:³⁵

(1) the extent of the social field in which the migrant participates, whether it is limited to immediate family, work, etc., or whether participation extends to other wider spheres.

(2) positive or negative identification with the new community and its values.

(3) the extent of the feeling of 'belonging' in relation to the new society and of belief in the possibility of achieving various positions and changes through individual or concerted action within it.

The above criteria provide an excellent initial base for the construction of a theoretical 'scale of urban adjustment'. However, to gain a complete understanding of the adjustment process it is necessary to expand on Eisenstadt's model. This is because his model emphasizes the social and

³⁵Ibid., p. 143.

psychological variables involved in the process but neglects the effect of a variety of demographic variables. He does not include the possibility that the settlement patterns of the migrant groups could be extremely varied. Instead, Eisenstadt seems to make the assumption that all groups will settle in areas which are essentially the same. Therefore any adequate scale of urban adjustment must include both sets of variables.

It is now possible to delineate a theoretical measurement of 'urban adjustment' which could be applied to a particular migrant in the urban environment. By measuring an individual's attitudes and behavior in relation to a number of social, psychological, and demographic variables a combined score could be obtained which would provide a rough scale of urban adjustment. An individual could then be ranked along a continuum graded from 'successful' to 'unsuccessful' and a prediction made regarding his urban adjustment. Further, when a sample is ranked according to these criteria a typology of migrating groups could be formed.

Such a theoretical measurement of urban adjustment has been attempted in this thesis. An 11 point scale has been constructed according to experiences in seven aspects of urban life.³⁶

³⁶A more restricted 8 point scale of urban adjustment including the first four aspects of urban life listed above will be utilized in Hypothesis III, Chapter 4.

(1) whether the migrant views his coming to the city as a permanent or a temporary step;

(2) the individual's 'social cognition', that is, his understanding and ability to utilize aspects of the urban environment;

(3) the migrant's community and organizational participation either within his own ethnic group or the receiving society;

(4) whether the person's general attitude toward certain aspects of city life are positive or negative;

(5) whether the migrant exhibits a stable or unstable employment record and his potential for occupational mobility in terms of his level of skill;

(6) the individual's educational level in relation to the levels demanded in the dominant society for adequate occupations;

(7) whether the migrant establishes himself initially in a 'stable' or 'unstable' lower class area when he comes to the city.

It is argued that each of these variables will have an important bearing on the extent to which the individual will experience difficulty in adjusting to his new urban community. Furthermore when the scores from these variables are combined into a scale they can provide an adequate prediction of urban adjustment.

The first variable included in the scale, intentions to reside in the city permanently, was measured by simply asking the respondent whether he intended to live in the city permanently. It can be argued that a person whose intentions are to live in the city permanently will have a different psychological predisposition to change his attitudes and behavior than one who does not. It would seem logical that if the city is viewed only as a temporary residence that there would be little reason for an individual to make an effort to adjust to the unfamiliar and possibly distasteful surroundings. A score of one could be assigned to a respondent who saw the city as a permanent place of residence and a score of zero given to someone who did not.

When the data of the present study is examined according to the variable intention to stay permanently, it was found that 83.6% of the respondents answered 'yes' and 16.4% said no. This indicates that the majority of the Indian and Metis people intend to take up permanent residence when they migrate to the city.

The second criterion, 'social cognition' of the urban setting, proved more difficult to measure. In order to learn an individual's understanding of the institutions of the city it was felt that at least two variables must be included. The first could be the use of one of the most

basic social services of society - the knowledge of how to find a job. This was determined by asking the respondent, "If you wanted a better job, how would you find one?" It was assumed that a person, at least initially, would make use of the various agencies in society whose function is to find employment for people. These would include the Canada Manpower Office, Indian Affairs, and the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre.

If these services were not used it was assumed that the individual was unaware of their existence or unable to rely on them for a variety of reasons. This could serve to place the individual at a serious disadvantage in one of the most essential areas of urban existence. Therefore it could be assumed that such a person will have a more difficult time in his adjustment.

The data revealed that such a disadvantaged position is common with the Indian and Metis migrants. Over one-half (50.8%) of the sample responded that they would look for the job themselves while only one-third (33.3%) replied that they would inquire at an agency.³⁷

³⁷ This question was supplemented by two additional items on the interview schedule which pertained to finding employment. One question asked how the respondent found his first job in the city and another determined how he had gotten his present job. The figures show support for the contention that Indian and Metis migrants do not have a knowledge of society's institutions for finding jobs. Over eighty percent (83.3%) of the respondents found their first

The other 15.9% answered that they would return to school.

The second measurement of 'social cognition' had to do with another basic institution of society. It was felt that if a person did not possess a minimum understanding of some of the basic aspects of the political process that he would be in a disadvantaged position in terms of society's institutional processes. This would place him in an unfavourable position for organizing people in similar circumstances to demand better conditions. The knowledge of the political system was obtained by asking the individual if he knew the name of the Member of Parliament for his community.³⁸

The data showed that 76.8% of the people interviewed did not know the name of their Member of Parliament. With the results of the two questions pertaining to politics being so negative it is obvious that the native people of Winnipeg are not taking a meaningful part in the political process.

³⁷Cont'd.

job in the city without the aid of any organization. Even more significant was the fact that the situation had changed very little for the present job. Over one-third of the respondents presently employed utilized any agency to find their present position.

³⁸The survey was carried out a few months after the 1968 Federal election.

In addition to this measurement, the respondent was asked whether he had voted in the recent federal election. Again the data supported the argument. The figures were

Each of the two variables measuring 'social cognition' could be assigned a score of one or zero depending on the respondent's understanding of the institutional process of society.

The measurement of community and organizational participation was accomplished by recording the number and type of ethnic, social, political, and cultural organizations and associations to which the respondent belonged. As Eisenstadt points out, it is important for a migrant to extend his social field beyond his primary reference group and learn to play roles within the larger society if he is to adjust to society. This participation could manifest itself in such varied ethnic organizations as the Polish Combatants Association, the Chinese Benevolent Society, or the Canadian Ukrainian Committee, each with different purposes but all functioning to facilitate a common ethnic identity and thus make the adjustment to urban society easier.³⁹

Three variables could be combined to determine a migrant's attitude towards the urban environment. Each

³⁸Cont'd.

almost identical for the two questions pertaining to the political process. Seventy-four percent of the respondents did not vote in the election.

³⁹Two hundred and fifty such Ethnic Organizations and Associations exist in Winnipeg. see: D. McCaskill, "Ethnic Organizations in Greater Winnipeg".

of these variables could then be divided into positive or negative orientations to city life. The first of these attitudes related to the physical surroundings in the community. The respondent was asked whether he felt that there were enough facilities in the neighbourhood. If the answer was negative then the interviewer probed to learn which facilities were most lacking in the area. The reasoning behind this variable is similar to that behind the first one. If an individual is somewhat dissatisfied with his physical surroundings it will have an adverse affect on his adjustment.

The data revealed that 42% of the respondents were satisfied that there were enough facilities in their neighbourhood. Of the people who were not satisfied the most frequent complaint was that there were not enough recreational facilities for children and young people (92.1%). Such a complaint is fully justified, as the core area of the city is by far the worst off in Winnipeg in terms of recreational facilities such as parks, swimming pools, playgrounds, sports fields, etc.

The second attitudinal measurement has to do with initial impressions of the city. The measurement of, and reasons for including this variable were discussed in the previous chapter.⁴⁰ As noted, 57% of the sample had a positive

⁴⁰See pages 149-50 of this work.

initial impression of Winnipeg while 43% were largely negative in their first reactions.

The final measurement of a positive or negative orientation to city life was established by asking the respondent, "Are things better for you in the city or at the reserve or Metis community?" The reasons for the choice were also obtained. It was assumed that if an individual is adjusting successfully to city life, then he would feel that urban living is preferable to the rural existence on the reserve or Metis community. Conversely, if the individual's attitude was predominantly negative he would tend to remember the 'good life' back home on the reserve or Metis community. This could function to hamper his urban adjustment.

The vast majority of the respondents (96.7%) replied that things were better for them in the city. The most common reasons for the answer was that there were better opportunities for jobs in the city (46.7%), that there were better facilities to be found in the city (26.7%), and finally that there was no work to be found on the reserve or in the Metis communities (20.0%). These reasons for preferring the city correspond with the reasons given for migrating from the rural areas in the first place.

Each of these three variables measuring attitudes to the city could be assigned one for a positive orientation

and zero for a negative attitude. A rough 'scale of urban adjustment' using the above variables will be utilized in Hypothesis III in Chapter 4.

In addition to Eisenstadt's criteria for urban adjustment discussed above, three supplementary aspects of urban life should be included to complete the scale. Two such variables that are commonly included in the literature on urban adjustment are the employment record of the individual migrant, and his educational level. These two items of the adjustment process are important for predicting a person's economic absorption in the city.

The importance of a stable experience in the field of employment should not be underestimated. It is only when an individual has the security of knowing that he can provide the basic material necessities of life for his family that he can begin thinking about the other aspects of urban life. The occupational record that the individual experiences depends in turn upon his educational level and the prevailing market conditions.

It appears from the data that on both counts, the Indian and Metis person migrating to Winnipeg is in an extremely disadvantaged position. A significantly large proportion of the heads of households interviewed (43.1%) were unemployed at the time of the interview. Furthermore the types of occupations that were held by the native migrants

were mainly unskilled jobs. Manual labour was the most common. To complete the employment picture almost one-half of the sample (48.4%) had had four jobs or more since coming to the city.

The prospects for the future do not appear any better for the native migrant. Over sixty percent (60.7%) of the respondents possessed a grade nine education or less, a fact which left them in a poor position to compete for jobs on the labour market.

To accentuate the problem, Indian and Metis migrants enter a labour market which is not in a position to absorb large numbers of unskilled people. Winnipeg's population is remaining essentially stagnant due to lack of economic expansion. For the past few years it has become increasingly evident that Winnipeg's major revenue - producing industries are beginning to decline. This is due to centralization of industries and capital in Eastern Canada, and a lack of readily accessible consumer markets. These factors further damper the hopes of the largely unskilled native person looking for a better life in the city.

The inability to provide the basic necessities of life and the resulting forced dependence on social assistance will have important consequences for many other areas of urban adjustment (as discussed above). It is obvious that any adequate scale of urban adjustment must include an

examination of the migrant's occupational and educational levels. This could be accomplished by assigning a low score to an unstable employment record and a low educational level.

The final variable which should be incorporated into an urban adjustment scale is the demographic factor of settlement in the city as discussed in the previous section. Although usually examined as independent variables in the literature on urbanization, it is also important to analyse the effects that settlement patterns can have on the attitudes and behavior of the individual. Such a task might involve assigning a low score for a migrant settling in an 'unstable' lower class area and a higher score for one residing in a 'stable' lower class area of the city. These factors might signify implications for the adjustment of an individual in the urban setting.

Each of the seven aspects of urban life discussed above can be considered important in urban adjustment. The ten variables could theoretically be assigned a value of one for a positive orientation to the city and zero for a negative orientation. The score could then be combined into an 'adjustment score' that could be assigned to each migrant. In this way a fairly complete picture of the adjustment process could be gained, and a rough prediction made regarding a person's chances of successfully adjusting to city life.

If a score were low on the scale, it would be predicted that there would be difficulties encountered by the individual. On the other hand a person scoring toward the 'successful' end of the continuum might experience a smoother adjustment period. Furthermore the specific variables could be examined to isolate the particular area of concern, and special social services could be suggested to correct the problem.

POSSIBLE URBAN TYPOLOGIES:

1. Types of Urban Residents

Besides being able to measure and hopefully predict an individual's adjustment to an urban setting, it is also useful to be able to group similar scores in a number of categories and to generalize about their urban experiences. These typologies can be constructed on different levels of analysis and for different groups. This concluding section will briefly present three examples of such urban typologies. Two of these refer specifically to Indian and Metis migration to cities in Canada.

The first typology is provided by S.N. Eisenstadt and relates to the variables discussed in the preceding section. His categories are of the adjustment of immigrant groups coming to Israel after World War II. Eisenstadt labels the group which would score the lowest on a scale of urban

adjustment the 'isolated', 'apathetic family'.⁴¹ This group represents a minimum of institutionalization of behavior.

It would appear from the findings of this study that the majority of Indian and Metis people in Winnipeg would fit into this category. This is because of their high scores received on the variables listed as characteristic of this group. These variables include their aggressive or apathetic behavior, limited social participation, negative identification with the new social structure and its values, poor working capacity, minimal contacts with the larger social system, and high rates of personal disorganization.

Another large number of Indian and Metis migrants would be categorized by Eisenstadt's second group, the 'isolated stable family'.⁴² The basic features of this type are the continuity and stability of the family group, along with a limited amount of social participation.

The other groups which Eisenstadt delineates are less typical of the native migrant groups. These are, the 'isolated active family', the 'cohesive traditional' group, the 'self-transforming cohesive' group, and the 'instrumentally cohesive' group.⁴³

⁴¹For a detailed description of the characteristics of this group see pp. 57-58 of this work or Eisenstadt, Absorption of Immigrants, p. 144.

⁴²Ibid., p. 147.

⁴³Ibid., p. 148.

The second and third typologies of urban residents refer specifically to Indian and Metis people migrating to cities and towns in Canada. Mark Nagler divides the urban residents according to occupation and patterns of association. His sample comprises 150 Indian people moving to Toronto in 1967.⁴⁴ He isolates six major groupings of native people as follows:

- (1) a 'white collar' group including a very small number of professionals and government officials;
- (2) a 'blue collar' group which includes the majority of Indians in the city. This group can be broken down into skilled and unskilled workers. It is characterized by a strong identification with reserve life and a fairly positive attitude regarding their 'Indianness';
- (3) the 'transitionals' who are either students or those people who fail in their attempts at urban adjustment and return home to the reserve;
- (4) a group of 'urban users' for which the city is a place to meet short-term needs like shopping, entertainment, or hospital care;
- (5) the 'seasonal workers' who spend most of their time on the reserves but come into the city periodically for work.

⁴⁴ Mark Nagler, "Urbanization of Canadian Indians and Related Consequences", (Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, 1967).

(6) the 'vagabonds' who spend their winters in the city in cheap hotels on skid row and return to the reserves for the summer.

The final example of an urban typology relating to native migrants is provided by John Melling in his book Right to a Future.⁴⁵ Melling's thesis in the book is that in the discussions of the Indian in relation to the urban community there is the implicit assumption made that the urban community means only one thing. Melling argues that this is not the case.

He feels that when the urban situation is examined we must consider such factors as its size, how its population is made up as between Indian and non-Indian, for what purposes the Indian is living or visiting the town, what particular facilities are normally required to satisfy these purposes, and whether these needs must be met by special facilities.⁴⁶

Melling sets forth a typology of five types of situations that the Indian can meet in the urban environment. These are characterized by the following.⁴⁷

(1) A large number of Indians living at some distance from a small city or town and only a small number of Indians

⁴⁵ John Melling, Right to a Future, (Don Mills, T.H. Best Printing, 1967).

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 83.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 83-89.

actually living in it. Visiting Indians need the city for shopping, recreation and private business, and the resident Indians need it for education. Visiting Indians can use the city without any other special help from the community. An example of this type of situation is Victoria.

(2) A large number of Indians living at some distance from a small city or town and only a small number of Indians living in it. Visiting Indians need the city for shopping etc. and the residents need it for education. Visiting Indians cannot get quickly in and out of the town, and may frequently need to stay over for at least one night. Visiting Indians are relatively more visible, and therefore the non-Indian majority feels itself to be more threatened by the transient minority. Kenora, Ontario and Prince Rupert, B.C. are examples of this type of urban area.

(3) A large number of Indians living very close to a small town and only a small number living in it, where the visiting Indians are unlikely to receive spontaneous help from the community in general since the community feels threatened by the conspicuous presence of the ethnically different group. This type of situation is the most difficult, and there is a need for a smoothly functioning Indian-letis Friendship centre. Examples of this type of situation are Red Lake, Ontario, and Kamsack, Saskatchewan.

(4) A large number of Indians live in a large city for work, and a large number of Indians also use the city for shopping, etc. Indians are not a very 'visible' minority, and therefore do not threaten the non-Indian majority. Here size, indifference and facelessness of the large city accounts for the principal problems encountered by the Indians. Winnipeg, Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, and Regina are representative of this type of situation.

(5) A large number of Indians live in a fairly small city for work, and a fairly large number of Indians look to it as a centre for shopping etc. Here resident or transient Indians are a very 'visible' minority, and the attitudes of the non-Indian majority constitute the principal problem for the Indian. Examples of this type of situation are The Pas, Manitoba, and Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

Helling looks to the Indian-Metis Friendship Centres as key agencies for helping Indians in the urban setting. Their role, however, would be expanded to function as a type of 'bridge' between the city and the reserves. They would help prepare the Indian for life in the city (as was discussed in the previous chapter).⁴⁸

This last section has attempted to examine some of the broad urban typologies related to the adjustment of

⁴⁸See page 162 of this work.

migrants to the urban setting. It has provided an overview of some of the migrant groups not included in the sample of the present study to give a more complete view of the 'total' migration and adjustment process.

CHAPTER IV

ROLE OF THE RESERVE AND METIS COMMUNITY IN THE PROCESS OF URBAN ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION:

The purpose of the last chapter was to outline settlement patterns of the Indian and Metis people moving to Winnipeg, and to provide a theoretical scale of urban adjustment which can be applied to members of other incoming groups. The last chapter also tried to show that it is important to include both ecological variables, and attitudinal and behavioural aspects of urban adjustment in such a scale if the "total" adjustment process is to be understood.

This chapter will continue along these same lines by focusing on specific variables related to Indian and Metis migration. It will deal with the relationship of the community of origin (in this case the reserve or Metis community), and adjustment to the urban setting. Some important economic, social, and cultural aspects of the rural communities from which migrants came will be described in order to construct a rough scale of economic development and acculturation in these communities.

Hypotheses III and IV will use this scale for dealing

with the relationship between: (1) the community of origin and specific social and psychological adjustment, and (2) ecological and demographic variables influencing adjustment.

The second task of this chapter is to examine the effect that frequent trips "home" to the community of origin have on urban adjustment. In this section Indians and Metis migration patterns will be compared with that of earlier immigrant groups coming to Winnipeg. An attempt will be made to account for the lack of successful adjustment for many of the native people of Manitoba.

ECONOMIC AND ACCULTURATION SCALING OF SAMPLE RESERVES AND METIS COMMUNITIES

Before it is possible to examine relationships between the community of origin and adjustment to urban life, it is necessary to provide some objective basis for comparison. For the latter variables, a scale of urban adjustment similar to the one set forth in the last chapter will be used. The task of this section will be to construct a corresponding scale for the communities of origin of the Indian and Metis migrants included in this study.

There are many problems in constructing a scale with a common set of characteristics for a wide variety of communities as Rosseau River Reserve in Southern Manitoba, and The Pas in the north. Attempting to isolate a common set of variables that might be included in such an instrument

is a major task. It is also a major task to attempt some objective measurement of ranking communities according to the chosen criteria.

It was decided that a scale would be constructed according to two diffuse variables which could be applied to all sample communities. These were: the general economic conditions prevailing in the vicinity of the reserve or Metis community, and the extent of acculturation of the native people in that community. It was felt that these two variables would provide an accurate picture of aspects of community life which might affect urban adjustment.

The level of economic development in an area will have important effects on the living standard of the people. This will in turn affect the social and psychological life of the community. Chapter II showed that economic conditions on a reserve or in a Metis community are major factors in the decision to migrate to urban areas.¹ Another way the economic situation of the home community can effect the urban adjustment process is by giving individuals skills for competing in the urban labour market. For example, an individual who has had experience in the construction trade on his home reserve will be in a better position to compete for city jobs than will an individual who originates from a

¹See Chapter II of this work.

more economically depressed community which has few employment opportunities. It can also be argued that a person migrating from a community with a fairly high level of economic prosperity will have a different set of expectations when he comes to the city than will an individual from a more poorly developed community. The former individual might have higher expectations of urban life than the latter would.

A similar situation might be argued for the second criteria -- the amount of acculturation in the community of origin. An individual from a community which has a high degree of acculturation might be in a better position to adjust to the urban situation. This could be because he might be more familiar with the values, norms, and customs of the dominant society.

The amount of real and potential economic development in each community was measured by examining four variables. These variables were: (1) the actual rate ~~of gainful~~ employment of the community in proportion to the labour force; (2) The occupations of the people in the community²; (3) The general material conditions in the community in terms of housing standards, number of households receiving welfare payments, age and sex composition of the community, and the educational levels; and (4) Potential economic development

² The major occupations in the rural areas are: trapping, hunting, fishing, construction, logging, occupations related to farming, and industrial labouring jobs.

of the community in the future. A general statement regarding the economic situation of reserves and Metis communities in Manitoba is provided in Chapter II.

Measuring the amount of acculturation possessed by a community was a much more difficult task. The term acculturation has been broadly defined as:

....those phenomena which result when a group of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups.³

The attempt to quantify exactly which social or cultural elements might be referred to by the broad term "original patterns" has been the source of a great deal of anthropological discussion. In this study the effects of four things were taken to provide a rough estimate of the acculturation possessed by the people of a community. These were: (1) The amount of knowledge of the values, customs, institutions, and processes of the dominant society possessed by the people; (2) The degree of participation in the major institutions and processes of society by the people in the community; (3) The extent to which the community had dealings with the outside, white society and (4) The degree of organization and ability to utilize resources in the reserve community or Metis community.

³R. Redfield, R. Linton, and H. Herskovits, "Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation" American Anthropologists, Vol. 38, 1936, p. 150.

These criteria provided a general base for measuring economic development and acculturation in each of the communities in the sample.

To get an accurate estimate of these criteria (especially acculturation), was a difficult task. It might have meant an extensive study of each community. Since this was impossible, an alternate method utilizing secondary sources had to be found.

It was decided that two sources of information would be used to obtain these measurements. The first would be a review of reports, papers, and documents on the economic situation and degree of acculturation in each of the communities. Such sources were usually government reports carried out on a reserve or in a Metis community in order to learn the economic and social² potential of the area, and to discover a method for bringing these people into the main stream of Canadian life. As might be expected, such reports were more plentiful for the economic measurement than for the level of acculturation of a particular community. The major limitation of this method was that it provided very little basis for comparison of the different communities.

To overcome the latter difficulty, it was decided to use a method sometimes used in anthropology when more accurate methods are not available. This is the use of a "panel of experts" who are informed about the particular

criteria to be measured. In this case the panel consisted of a number of individuals who were familiar with the economic, social and cultural aspects of various communities in the sample. To make sure the estimates were as accurate as possible, individuals from several sources were contacted. Estimates were obtained from the members of the Community Development Services Branch of the Department of Health and Social Services in the Province of Manitoba, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Community Development Branch of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, and the Manitoba Metis Federation.

Each panel member was presented with a list of communities represented in the sample, along with a 5-point scale from low economic development and low acculturation to high economic development and high acculturation. They were then informed of the variables to be included in each scale, and asked to assign a number from one to five to each of the communities. To make the test as objective as possible, there was an agreement as to the variables to be included in each of the ranks on the scale. For example, a rank of one for a community would indicate the lowest level of employment, few individuals working in the community, a very low general standard of housing, a high number of welfare dependents, and little potential for the use of community

resources in the future. At the other end of the scale, a community which rated four or five on both scales would indicate a high level of economic development, and close, continuous, well-developed contacts with the white community.

A score was assigned to each community by the panel members. The test was then administered to another panel in the same way until four panels had made their estimates. The four scores for each scale were then correlated to determine discrepancy of rankings among the panels. An examination of the data revealed that there was a great similarity in ranking among the panels. For seventy percent of the communities ranked on the economic scale, the scores were identical for all four panels. Twenty-six per cent differed by one point on the scale, while only four per cent of the scores differed by more than one point.

The results for the acculturation scale were similar. Sixty-two per cent were identical, thirty-three per cent differed by one point, and five per cent differed by more than one point. These statistics should indicate that there was a fairly high correlation among panel members for these two criteria. The scales could then be used in examining the relationship between conditions in community of origin, and the urban adjustment patterns of Indian and Metis migrants to Winnipeg.

For the economic scale, it was found that twenty-five point four (25.4) per cent of the communities received a score of one (the lowest score), 36.5% scored two, 22.2% ranked third on the scale, 7.9% ranked four, and 7% rated a score of five. For the acculturation scale the scores from one to five were: 9.3%, 23.3%, 41.9%, 16.3% and 9.3%. There was also a very significant, direct relationship found between communities which scored high and low on both scales. These figures also seemed to indicate that most reserves and Metis communities score higher in terms of acculturation than economic development. This supports the findings in the Hawthorn Report, which emphasized that the generally depressed conditions of the Canadian Indian were mainly due to very limited economic opportunities in these areas.

Today there is the growing danger that the majority of Indians... may become a more-or-less permanently isolated, displaced, unemployed, underemployed, and dependent group who can find no useful or meaningful role in an increasingly complex urban industrial economy.⁴

It remains now to examine the relationship between the conditions on the reserve or Metis community of origin and their effect on urban adjustment.

COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN AND URBAN ADJUSTMENT: HYPOTHESES III & IV

The relationship between the home community of the migrant and his settlement pattern and adjustment in the city

⁴The Hawthorn Report, p. 21.

has been the subject of much speculation in the fields of anthropology, sociology, and psychology. Many studies of the integration of ethnic groups examine this relationship from the point of view that a certain number of the customs, attitudes, and values of the old community must be maintained in the new community if successful adjustment is to occur.⁵ The next two sections briefly examine this relationship in terms of models provided by the literature as they apply to Indian and Metis migrants in Canada.

Some authors argue that some form of enclave, with values, customs, and norms similar to those of the community of origin should be provided for the migrant during his initial period in the new environment. For example, Nash and Shaw feel that many difficulties now encountered by ethnic groups could be eased by such an enclave.⁶ They argue that an individual's sense of identity must remain somewhat intact if he is to function successfully. In order to adjust a person looks for similar values in the new environment. Nash and Shaw suggest a structure be provided to "cushion the shock"

⁵The role of ethnic group identity will be discussed in Chapter V. For an example of such a study see: A. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada, or Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers.

⁶Nash and Shaw, "Personality and Adaptation in an Overseas Enclave", Human Organization, (Vol. 2, No. 4, 1962-63).

for the individual, thus giving continuity of identity during this period of rapid social change. A similar concept has been put forth by W. Hanson for Indian and Metis people coming to the cities.⁷ He recommends that a "shadow reserve" be established to fulfill this function.

A slightly different focus on the relationship between the community of origin and urban adjustment is provided by the Hawthorn Report⁸ and Mark Nagler⁹. They examine relationships from the point of view of the proximity of the community of origin to an urban centre. According to these writers

...Indian bands in close proximity to more developed white communities should have correspondingly more developed consumer taste, especially for expensive durable goods or services that involve long term saving or debt commitments (eg. homes, automobiles, university education). These, in turn, should induce Indians to seek and hold steady well-paying jobs and to save and accumulate capital to develop their resources more effectively.¹⁰

Hawthorn speculates that most members of Indian reserves in close proximity to White communities would be more motivated on the acculturation scale and more advanced on the economic scale than those located at greater distances

⁷W. Hanson, "Implications of Social Stratification in Rural Communities", (Winnipeg: unpublished paper, 1968).

⁸The Hawthorn Report, pp. 106-110.

⁹M. Nagler, unpublished Thesis, p. 106.

¹⁰Hawthorn, p. 107.

from cities. Indeed, one might postulate a rank order of reserves and Metis communities in terms of the sizes and types of white communities near them such as major metropolitan centres, satellite cities or suburbs, small commercial centres, small industrial centres, villages, and farm communities.¹¹ It might follow that the larger and more complex the adjacent community, the greater the demonstration effect and motivation for the individual.

Nagler hypothesizes that ...

those who migrate from areas of urban surroundings, or those who become subject to the benefits of urban environments are more likely to achieve superior levels of education, and subsequently advance to white collar positions.¹²

However, a closer examination of the reserves included in the Hawthorn report show that little, if any, correlation exists between the comparative economic development of bands and their relative proximity to urban centres of various types and sizes.¹³ At first glance it seems that the more isolated bands in the north and some of the more isolated rural reserves in the Prairies are among the least developed in the country. By contrast, most of the highest income, and most of the economically developed bands in Hawthorn sample are located in or near large Metropolitan or industrial towns. These generally show the highest percentage

¹¹Ibid., p. 107.

¹²Nagler, p. 57.

¹³Hawthorn, p. 108.

of households with electricity, running water, telephones, and automobiles.¹⁴ The Caughnawaga reserve near Montreal is an example of a highly developed band near an urban area. Conversely Moose Lake, Manitoba exemplifies an isolated poorly developed band.

On the other hand, it can be shown that among the highest-income and most developed bands, there are several with high economic development and high education levels which are located at a considerable distance from urban centres. Conversely some of the most depressed Indian reserves are some located in or near White urban communities, including large metropolitan centres.¹⁵ For various reasons the members of such bands have failed to participate effectively in the surrounding white communities. An excellent example of the latter situation is the Rosseau River Indian Reserve, which although the closest band in Manitoba to Winnipeg, remains one of the most economically-depressed reserves in Canada.

It seems that proximity to urban areas and economic development, although important, do not provide the whole answer for urban adjustment. It was therefore decided to add the variable, "degree of acculturation of the community of origin", in order to determine if the two combined variables would be significant in terms of adjustment to urban areas.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 108.

Hypothesis III states:

Migrants from reserves and Metis communities which score "low" on the economic and acculturation scales will also tend to score low on the "adjustment" scale based on:

- (a) Intentions to stay in the city permanently
- (b) social "cognition"
- (c) community participation
- (d) attitudes towards the city.

The scale of urban adjustment is based on the first four variables listed in the previous chapter.¹⁶ The economic development scale and the acculturation scale are explained in the previous section.

It was postulated that economic variables and social-psychological variables (acculturation) would give a good picture of the relationship between the migrant's community of origin, and his record of urban adjustment. A more accurate picture would mean a full psychological inventory of individuals before and after their move. Since no such detailed measurement was possible, the characteristics of the community of origin had to suffice.

It was assumed that an individual from a community which was both economically prosperous and familiar with the surrounding white culture would have a better chance of

¹⁶See page 191 of this work for a full discussion of the variables included in the scale. This more restricted scale is being used because data for variables 5 and 6 was not available. Variable 7, settlement patterns in the city, is examined in Hypothesis IV.

adjusting to city life than would an individual without these circumstances. An examination of the data revealed that this was not the case. The relationship between the scores on the adjustment scale and those on the economic and acculturation scales were not significant, and the hypothesis had to be rejected. It seemed that the relationship between the community of origin and urban adjustment must be examined from other viewpoints.

The discussion in the previous chapter pointed out that demographic variables must also be included in an adequate "scale of adjustment". If the previous hypothesis about the relationship between the community of origin and socio-psychological variables was not significant, perhaps demographic variables would be the crucial criteria. These could affect settlement patterns in the city. It was then hypothesized that:

- Hypothesis IV: Migrants who settle in the lowest, "unstable" lower class areas tend to come from reserves or Metis communities which score lower on the economic and acculturation scales than those who live in the more "stable" lower class areas.

The measurement of "stable" and "unstable" areas of the city were discussed in the previous chapter.

The rationale for this hypothesis is the same as that for the previous one. It seems logical that a person coming from a reserve or Metis community which was high on

the economic and acculturation scale would not tend to settle in the poorest areas of the city.

The data again showed a lack of relationship between these variables, and Hypothesis IV had to be rejected. It became clear that further research must be carried out in examination of these variables for an adequate picture of the relationship can be gained. The next section makes such an attempt.

RETURNING "HOME" AS A FACTOR IN URBAN ADJUSTMENT

So far, Indian and Metis migrants have been examined on either an individual level, or as a group. The remainder of this work will compare Indians and Metis to other urban migrants. The present section will focus on the pattern of urbanization which includes frequent visits "home" to the reserve or Metis community. It will show how this effects urban adjustment.

Many anthropological studies have been done on the effects of returning to the reserve for pow wows, weekends, or holidays and the like. Indians are often urban residents without being "urbanized" in the usual sense. Their values, attitudes, and outlook remain rural, and every attempt is made to go back "home" whenever possible.¹⁷ For example, in a study of Indians in Los Angeles, John Price found that

¹⁷John Dowling, "A Rural Indian Community in an Urban Setting", Human Organization, (Vol. 27, No. 3, Fall 1968).

even though many migrants come from as far away as North Dakota, over half of the Indians would go back to their home reservations if there were economic opportunities available to them.¹⁸ Thirty-seven per cent of the Navajos in Price's sample later returned to their reservations. This pattern of migration leads Price to conclude:

Our findings tended to validate the statement... that 'the option to assimilate is far more open for Indians than for almost any other minority'.¹⁹

This conclusion was supported by Irving Hallowell, who examined the psychological processes involved in urban adjustment among Ojibwa Indians. He argued that although some adjustment in attitudes and behavioral patterns is necessary in the process of acculturation; this does not necessarily mean that a corresponding change in the basic personality structure occurs. Instead, people from one culture may "borrow" some of the cultural aspects of another in their adaptation to the new environment.

There is no reason to believe that the process of acculturation in itself involves any change in the psychological core of the individual. People of one culture may "borrow" tools, dress, language, food, etc.,²⁰ without any radical effect on the personality structure.

¹⁸John Price "The Migration and Adaptation of American Indians to Los Angeles," Human Organization, (Vol. 27, No. 2, Summer, 1968).

¹⁹Ibid., p. 171.

²⁰Irving Hallowell, "Ojibwa Personality and Acculturation" in Sol Tax, ed., Selected Papers of the 29th Congress of Americanists, (1952) p. 308.

A similar pattern of migration occurs with the Indian and Metis in Canada. Using an economic development model, Hawthorn postulates a high correlation between mobility from the home community, and economic development.²¹ He argues that if a high proportion of band members were willing and able to leave their reserves for more extended periods of time, they would be better able to take advantage of outside job opportunities and move into better paid types of employment. Hawthorn isolates several types of mobility involving urban communities.

The first type involves daily commuting to work from the reserve to an urban center or industrial area. The second type is characterized by a pattern of working or living away from the reserve for weeks or months at a time. This usually takes advantage of seasonal work. Finally, an individual may reside permanently off the reserve.

One familiar sequence... is that of Indians who must leave their families for weeks or months at a time in order to get and keep jobs in areas too distant from their home reserves to be able to make regular visits home, except at an exorbitant cost for transportation. This sort of situation... tends to create anxiety and tension, and partially accounts for the high turnover. In times of recession and layoffs, ... many such workers and their families tend to return to their home communities.²²

²¹Hawthorn Report, p. 109.

²²Ibid., p. 110.

It seems that whatever the pattern of adjustment in the city, Indian and Metis migration patterns always involve a type of "reverse mobility" which leads the individual back "home". The data from the present study makes a similar conclusion. Over 71% of the people interviewed who were not natives of Winnipeg returned to their home community at least once during the past year. Of the total sample, 57.4% returned home once during the past year, 17% twice, 6.4% three times, and 8.5% eight or more times. The vast majority of the people (86.7%) returned to their reserve or Metis community to visit their parents, other relatives, or friends.²³ This migration pattern seems similar for the native populations of both Canada and the United States. The task now becomes to learn why such a pattern exists, and to determine what effect it has on adjustment to the city.

Perhaps the best discussion of this aspect of Indian migration is provided by the anthropologist, Nancy Lurie. She argues that Indian people "commute" rather than "migrate" to the cities. They therefore undergo a unique process of urbanization instead of becoming urbanites in the normal sense.²⁴

²³74.6% of the sample had some member of their immediate family living on the reserve or Metis community. It is interesting to note that the Indians of the sample tended to return home more often than the Metis.

²⁴Nancy Lurie, "The Indian Moves to an Urban Setting", in Resolving Conflicts - A Cross-Cultural Approach, (Department of University Extension and Adult Education, The University of Manitoba, 1967).

She feels urbanization for Indian people is an expansion of an ongoing experience originating on the reserve. It is not necessarily a break from the old way of life. The city now becomes included in the territory which the Indian person, family, or community exploits along with the other resources that they normally exploit.

In trying to help Indians in the city, social service agencies often make the mistake of trying to design programmes which assume that Indians are migrants rather than commuters. Nancy Lurie feels that agencies make too many analogies with their own past traditions instead of trying to understand the Indian's own cultural experiences.

Dr. Lurie believes that the Indians who move to the city have a distinctive pattern which are different from other ethnic minorities. The major difference is that the other immigrant groups leave their "old country" behind and cannot return at frequent intervals. This gives individuals a certain psychological set, and a predisposition to change old customs, traditions, and behavior there is no going back. They have no alternative but to commit themselves to urban life.

This is not the case for the Indian and Metis people. They can and do go back "home" to their rural communities. There is a constant feedback between the home community and the city. Ideas and resources are carried back and forth,

and they become part of a ... "unbroken, viable, growing and changing tradition which remains Indian in its outlook".²⁵

Lurie further argues that many of so-called social problems, and personal disorganization such as alcoholism, can be attributed to a sense of frustration due to constant pressures to "phase out" culturally and socially in the city. Indians are simply expressing their "Indianness" through one of their own cultural patterns that of drinking in order to express aggression.

Such drinking patterns may correlate positively with urban adjustment using Lurie's model. Assuming that successful urban Indians are those who manipulate the urban situation in order to maintain their "Indianness", an Indian may avoid becoming urban in white terms by holding a steady job during the week, and at the same time validating his "Indianness by drinking on the weekends, with other Indians.

It is possible to hold a steady job and enjoy a higher standard of living than would be possible or socially acceptable on the reservation, and still validate Indianness in weekend commuting and vacation visits home, keeping up financial obligations of generosity very well.²⁶

This argument of having the "best of both worlds" as set forth by Dr. Lurie seems to be more of an ideal situation

²⁵ Ibid., p. 126.

²⁶ Nancy Lurie, "A Suggested Hypothesis for the Study of Indian Drinking", (C.S.A.S. Meetings, 1969, Milwaukee) p.8.

that the facts would indicate. Indians and Metis trying to adjust to city life are rarely so fortunate as to be able to have the luxury of drinking only on weekends in order to maintain their Indianness. The motives for such drinking patterns (although partially involving such a function) include too many social and personal problems to provide a viable method of encouraging a positive Indian status.

The effects of returning home to the reserve or Metis community are much more complex. It is difficult to determine whether they are functional or dysfunctional. Dr. Lurie argues that this pattern of urbanization is a positive thing which must be understood and encouraged by the urban social service agencies.

Before going much further in this comparison of native people and other immigrant groups, an attempt must be made to isolate any other factors which might contribute to an understanding of the situation. Such a comparison is provided by Father A. Renaud. Renaud compares different categories of ethnic groups, and concludes that the Indian and Metis migrants to cities in Canada cannot be compared very well to other immigrant groups.²⁷ He isolates several variables which make the urban experiences of the two groups quite different.

²⁷A. Renaud "The Possible Development as Ethnic Groups of Indian and Metis" in Resolving Conflicts - A Cross-Cultural Approach, (Department of University Extension and Adult Education, The University of Manitoba, 1967).

The first variable is that the other immigrants settled in certain areas of a city which became ethnic districts. This pattern continued even after the group became upwardly mobile and moved to another area of the city. Winnipeg represents an excellent example of ethnic neighbourhoods scattered throughout the metropolitan area. This does not seem to be the case with the Indian or Metis migrants. They apparently move to poorer areas of the city without any purposeful group consciousness.

A second characteristic of ethnic groups in urban communities is the mutual help which people give to members of their own nationality. Former immigrant groups established organizations and associations in almost every area of their life experience in order to help their fellow countrymen. For example, mutual aid societies, ethnic newspapers, stores, churches, and social clubs were almost always established to keep the group together in their new society.²⁸ This is still very much the case today in Winnipeg, which has with over 250 ethnic organizations. Corresponding organizations and associations are not forthcoming from the Indian and Metis groups in the city.

²⁸For an excellent discussion of the concept "institutional completeness" as it relates to urban adjustment see: R. Breton's "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", in Blshen et al, eds., Canadian Society, (Toronto, MacMillan, 1964), p. 82.

This lack of similarity can be accounted for in several ways. First, Indian and Metis reserves and settlements did not come into existence out of the free choice of the founding generation. These communities were created by the British Government in an extremely arbitrary and authoritarian way, with no choice on the part of the Indian. This not only helped save the ethnic identity and communal way of life, but also reinforced an already strong group cohesion and sense of separateness. However, this sense of ethnic identity was very different from the culture of the dominant society. It was not the traditional Indian way of life, because of economic and social upheaval and eventual welfare dependence. At the same time it was not similar in any meaningful way to the dominant Western European culture which ruled North America.

The reserve soon became home to the Indian just as the old countries were home for the European migrant. But a very important difference. Indians migrating into non-Indian communities could always go back "home" when attempts at adjustment failed, and thus was not the case for European immigrants. This difference has been very significant in terms of psychological motivations towards social and economic integration in the city.

Another major difference between the Indian and Metis and other ethnic groups is that the native people have

had little responsibility for local situations. In the past, almost all administration has been in the hands of "outsiders" such as the Indian Affairs Branch, or a typically white town council in most Metis settlements. This has given the native people little opportunity to take responsibilities, or to acquire administrative skills necessary for the urban environment.

It is these differences which leave the Indian and Metis people at a disadvantage with regard to urban adjustment. Although other ethnic groups usually occupied the poorer areas of the city, they could eventually move out to better areas and proceed up the economic ladder. Compare this to the Indian and Metis population which is constantly changing, but where individuals and families either move back to the reserve or to another depressed area of the same city.

Given the "reverse mobility" in Indian and Metis urban adjustment, the question now becomes, "Is the pattern of returning home to the reserve or Metis community functional or dysfunctional for urban adjustment?" Two positions can be taken on this issue.

The most common argument on this is that the "reverse mobility" pattern hampers adjustment. It does so because native migrants do not have sufficient psychological predisposition to change their behaviour patterns to those of

the dominant society in order to successfully adjust to the city. It seems logical that frequent return visits to the community of origin might hinder the formation of a stable employment pattern if such visits interrupted work. Indeed, frequent complaints are heard about absenteeism and unstable work records among Indians and Metis.

On the other hand it can be argued that returning "home" can facilitate urban adjustment. This would be the case if, as Lurie suggests, the visits help maintain a certain degree of Indian identity. This would give individuals a more stable ego identity with which to face urban life.

The validity of each of the above positions will probably depend on individual circumstances and the reasons for return visits.

Further studies should be carried out to isolate the effects of various factors Indian and Metis urban adjustment. Such questions as:

How often does the individual return home? What are the economic and social circumstances of the people who return home most often? What are the reasons for home visits? What percentage of a migrant's family live on the reserve or in a Metis Community? What is the nature of lines of communication set up between home and urban communities? What effect does the pattern of visiting home communities have on family solidarity? and What are the levels of skills and leadership of the individuals that return home most often?

should be asked if all relationships between returning to the community of origin and urban adjustment are to be determined.

Such research will have many implications for both social service agencies, and for government departments interested in Indian and Metis migration, adjustment, and integration to the city.

PART III
INTEGRATION

CHAPTER V

TWO POSSIBLE PATHS TO URBAN INTEGRATION: FORMATION OF AN ETHNIC GROUP IDENTITY, OR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION:

A study of the 'total' integration process (migration -- adjustment -- integration) requires an examination of the relations of the migrant or ethnic group once it has become established within the new environment. The comparison began previously between the migrant of Indian ancestry and other immigrant groups will be continued in this chapter. The level of analysis will move from the individual, to the Indian and Metis group as a whole. Unlike prior chapters which dealt with the past migration and present adjustment of native people, the present chapter will speculate on the future development of the group as they attempt to integrate into the urban setting.

This is necessary because, as pointed out earlier migrants do not automatically become assimilated into the larger society. Rather they usually settle in areas which are at least partially segregated from the host society. They retain many of their own institutions, customs, associations etc., thereby forming an 'ethnic group'. This has been the general pattern of the European immigrant groups coming to Canada in the past. The question now

becomes, whether the Indian and Metis people will exhibit a similar pattern. This process requires that the people attain a sense of group consciousness with members of the same ethnic group. It also requires that they simultaneously take part in the activities of the dominant society.

This concluding chapter will provide a brief discussion of two possible ways in which urban integration might take place. It will first outline the way in which the group could form and maintain a group consciousness which would function to ease urban integration. Secondly a case study which exemplifies the processes in a community organization project will be provided as an alternate path to successful integration in the city. The project was one in which the author participated, and it involved the organization of a group of Indian and Metis people in Winnipeg.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS

Before the process involved in the formation of an ethnic group consciousness can be outlined, it is first necessary to clearly understand the concept 'ethnic group'. It is also necessary to distinguish between the terms 'integration' and 'pluralism' on the one hand, and 'assimilation' and 'melting pot' theories on the other.

An ethnic group can be broadly defined as "a group who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue

of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others".¹ Such a group is united by emotional bonds, and is concerned with the preservation of its type. With few exceptions, its members speak the same language and share a common heritage. People can either be placed in an ethnic group by virtue of their belief in a common descent, or they can be placed in such a category by outsiders.

Three general types of ethnic groups exist within any ethnically plural society². First, there are groups which maintain a high degree of exclusiveness, clinging to cultural patterns while also forming an acceptable part of the general economic and political structure and attaining a relatively high status within it. The Hutterites of Western Canada are an example of this type.

The second type is made up of groups which are confined, owing largely to discriminatory practices or cultural incompatibility, to the lowest strata of society. In this case the amount of integration is small. The process of transformation usually takes the form of gradual disorganization of the group and its traditional patterns, along with a parallel weakening of its solidarity without its

¹T. Shibutani, and K. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach, (New York, MacMillan Co., 1965), p.47.

²S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, pp. 249-50.

entering the new, formal, and associational aspects of the social life of the absorbing society. The previous discussion in this work would indicate that the Indian and Metis migrant represents this type to a large degree.

The third type of ethnic group is the most common. This type utilizes various ethnic organizations and associations to promote the various goals and behavior of the group.

Such associations serve on the one hand as agents which facilitate group transformation, and cushion the transition for the immigrant. On the other hand, they are also a breeding ground for various ethnic leaders' status-aspirations toward the general society. It is within these associations that the internal status-system and community life of the ethnic group is formed and maintained.³

It becomes the task of the Indian and Metis people in Winnipeg to move from Type II to Type III if they expect to retain any meaningful part of their former culture. This will not be an easy task due to the several factors hindering urban adjustment. These factors include: discrimination from the white community, the loss of many of the cultural elements of the Indian way of life by the younger generation, settlement in the poorest areas of the city, a lack of Indian or Metis organizations or associations, an unstable employment record with heavy dependence on public assistance, a high rate of social problems and personal disorganization,

³Ibid... p. 251.

and a pattern of returning 'home' to the reserve or Metis community at frequent intervals throughout the year.

Turning to the concepts of integration and assimilation, it is important to recognize which goal that a particular ethnic group has in mind. Integration into a society, for an ethnic group entails the ability to function adequately in the main institutional sphere of the larger society while at the same time maintaining a meaningful part of the original culture. Assimilation, on the other hand, signified that members of a group have lost their original cultural patterns and are no longer discernable in the total population. It can be safely stated that the majority of the Indian and Metis leaders in Winnipeg would choose the former concept as a goal for their people in the city.

There are basically two ways this goal can be attained by such a group. The first is through the formation of a viable ethnic identity. This identity functions to separate a group from the larger society, thereby allowing him to maintain elements of the original culture. The second method is by organizing the community over some issue or concern which can function to give the group sufficient centralized organizational skills to take a meaningful part in the political processes of the dominant society.

The formation of a group consciousness on the part of a migrant group usually develops because of both differential treatment from the dominant society, and a common cultural heritage.

Consciousness of kind on the part of people who share a subordinate position usually does not arise through reasoning or deliberate design. Mutual identification emerges from repeated experiences of denial and humiliation.⁴

A great many factors can contribute to the formation of a viable ethnic identity. For example, the relative size of the group in proportion to the larger society, the geographical distribution of members of the group, and the kinds of social institutions possessed by the group are all important in the process.

Another significant factor in the development of a group consciousness is the way in which the group is treated by outside groups.

... minority groups arise from differential treatment based upon classification. People who find themselves set apart eventually come to recognize their common interests.⁵

In this process minor differences between members of the group tend to be overlooked, and a strong sense of solidarity often develops. Also the ease with which people within segregated areas can communicate with each other reinforces the barriers between them and outsiders.

⁴Shibutani and Kwan, p. 208.

⁵Ibid., p. 202.

Furthermore, the upward mobility of talented persons within the ethnic group is often blocked. People then begin articulating their discontent which facilitates the growth of group consciousness. The role of ethnic leaders as mediators between the group and the larger society is also an important aspect of the process.

Once the ethnic identity has been established, it is still a difficult task to sustain it. Institutions and channels of communication such as ethnic newspapers are often established to unite the group further. Since communication within the group is facilitated at the same time that relative isolation from outsiders develop, a distinctive outlook is reinforced which further sets the group off from the larger society.

Those who identify are able to relax in one another's company, and a 'we feeling' emerges. This sense of commonality develops in informal gatherings... and in voluntary associations in minority groups. No matter what the formally stated purpose may be, these tend to ... reinforce their isolation from outsiders.⁶

This group solidarity is also enhanced by conflict with the dominant society. Opposition tends to isolate the adversaries from each other. The existence of a common enemy plays an important part in uniting a group. Finally, the process is often facilitated by intellectuals of the ethnic group creating a history and literary tradition of

⁶Ibid., p. 215.

the group. This further binds the identity of the group.

It should be noted that the above description of the formation of a group consciousness is an 'ideal type'. In reality, there is a great diversity of attitudes within a particular ethnic group towards integration into the larger society. This is especially true if there is a high possibility of social mobility. If this is the case, there will inevitably be a certain number of individuals leaving the ethnic group and entering the social life of the dominant group.

There are a number of important factors which can serve to retard the formation of viable ethnic identities.⁷ Many of these factors were discussed in the earlier part of this work. If this pattern of migration and adjustment continues for the Indian and Metis, it will be extremely difficult for them to form a strong ethnic group consciousness. This requires a certain amount of social, economic, and psychological stability to come about. In the past, very few native people had such a prerequisite, and they may have little chance to attain it in the future. It seems, that some form of catalyst must be provided if Indians and Metis

⁷See Eisenstadt, p. 102. One important factor which has not been previously mentioned is the fact that there are many divisions within the Indian and Metis people themselves. Such differences manifest themselves in tribal background, language, history and group.

in Winnipeg will be able to adjust to urban life, either as individuals, or as a group.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: A CASE STUDY

Without the possibility of spontaneous formation of an ethnic group consciousness among Indian and Metis people in the city, an alternate method of achieving economic and social integration must be found. An attempt to bring about such a situation was recently begun in Winnipeg. This took the form of an action-orientated research project, sponsored jointly by the Indian Metis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg. The author acted as consultant for the project, and sat as a member of the co-ordinating committee.

The stated purposes of the project were: (1) To develop a documented understanding of those factors causing migration of Indian and Metis from rural areas into the city, (2) To assess the needs arising from their transitional experience, (3) To determine the effectiveness and usefulness of existing facilities and social services, and (4) To determine possible ways and means of easing the transition process.

Thus far the project appeared to be similar to any other academic research. However, three aspects of the project had major effects on the development of organizational skills and techniques within the native group. This in

turn was an important step in developing a 'we feeling' among the native people who participated in the project.

The first major factor was the meaningful inclusion of native people from the community in the project. This meant that all the fieldworkers, as well as the co-ordinator, were either Indian or Metis. More important was the fact that the non-Indian people involved in the project played only an advisory role. The role of the Institute would only be to provide the needed resources, facilities and research skills. The project staff could come to the Institute if and when it felt a matter needed attention that they could not handle.

This concern by the native people was present right from the start of the negotiations for the project. It culminated in a meeting with the Indian-Eskimo Association. At this meeting the Indian and Metis organizations exploded because they were informed that another white group was going to be doing research on Indian and Metis people. It was clear that no co-operation could be expected from the Indian and Metis organizations unless they were in control of the project.

This attitude led to the second aspect of the project, which served to help native people learn the organizational and political skills necessary to have any effective power in urban politics. This was the significant

shift that took place in the purpose of the research. It was emphasized by both Indians and non-Indians that the project should not be simply another academic piece of research. One of the important purposes of the project was to examine the possibility of organizing the Indian and Metis people in the city as a means of productively channeling their interests and concerns. This would be accomplished by determining the organizational possibilities and target goals for mobilization of the native community. The focus of the project shifted from analysis of facts, to organization of the people around major issues.

To help train fieldworkers in this task, special training sessions using video-tape equipment were used to assist workers in interview techniques. Workers were also told to emphasize that the purpose of the project was to provide a means to solve problems faced by Indians and Metis rather than to write reports. Finally, to acquaint them with methods which have proven most effective for other minority groups, the field staff was exposed to organizational techniques of people like Saul Alinski.

After a brief period of gathering information on the adjustment of the Indian and Metis people, it became obvious that the three areas of most concern were (1) Lack of adequate housing, (2) Unemployment, and (3) Discrimination. It was also apparent that some of the social service agencies

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dealing with native people were not doing an adequate job.

It was decided that the major thrust of the project would be a scheme for alleviating the terrible housing conditions of Indian and Metis people. This was the third major effect on native adjustment to the city. A committee of native people was struck, and technical advice was asked for from the Institute. A member of the Institute's staff then presented a report to the committee which recommended that a housing company, composed exclusively of interested Indian and Metis people be formed as a way of allowing private individual's to solve their own problems. They would organize themselves into a corporation, thereby taking advantage of existing funds allocated for housing by the National Housing Act.

The native committee agreed and meetings were held to discuss such matters as the bylaws of the corporation, directorship, and financial backing. Again technical and legal help was provided by the Institute when asked for. After meeting for several weeks to draft the above information, an urban housing corporation was established with Indian and Metis people as the board of directors. The board then drew up a proposal of the housing needs of Indian and Metis people in Winnipeg, and submitted it to a Federal Government Department for funds. At the time of this writing the group was waiting for a reply, but the chances of receiving a major

grant of several hundred thousands of dollars for native housing seemed excellent.

The significance of the project should not be underestimated. The fact that native people successfully took responsibility for supervision, guidance and organization of the project is a major step towards organizational skills and techniques which can improve the situation of Indian and Metis migrants to the city. In addition, mention should be made of significant developments in funding for the project. This may mark the first time that money has been given directly to the people affected by these problems. The precedent of by-passing existing social service agencies will have major policy implications for other areas of urban problems.

The effects of these developments on the formation of an ethnic group consciousness, and corresponding economic and social mobility for Indians and Metis have yet to be determined. However, in the past similar efforts to organize around specific issues have proven very effective. Organizers like Saul Alinski have been very successful, both in terms of solving problems and in providing a catalyst for the foundation of ethnic group consciousness in the U.S. This remains one possible avenue for improving the situation for Indian and Metis migrants to the city.

CONCLUSION

This thesis attempted to analyze the processes of migration, adjustment, and integration of Indians and Metis into an urban environment. It has followed the migrant from the time he made the decision to move, through his initial adjustment experiences, to his possible integration into an urban community.

The picture presented for the majority of Indians and Metis people is not a pleasant one. From the largely negative motivations for moving to unsuccessful attempts at adjustment, the image of the Indian and Metis migrant is one of poverty and personal disorganization.

The future of these groups depends upon many things. Even if the native people of Winnipeg are able to form a solid group consciousness, successful urban integration will also partially depend on the attitudes of the dominant white society, and their willingness to allow Indians and Metis to help themselves.

I hope this work will provide some clues to a more complete understanding of some of the processes involved in the urbanization of a group of rural migrants. I also hope it will furnish ideas for further research in this area.

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APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGY USED IN THIS STUDY

Information for the present study was obtained from a 64-item interview schedule administered to 71 heads of households of Indian or Metis background living in the City of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Interviews were carried out by three interviewers of native origin between October 1968, and March 1969.

The first difficulty facing anyone engaged in research concerning Indian and Metis people living in urban areas is the absence of any listing of native people which would make selection of a random sample possible. Therefore the present sample of households is not mathematically random sample. It was largely based on a list of Indian and Metis people compiled in two federal electoral constituencies in central Winnipeg. These were Winnipeg South Centre and Winnipeg North Centre. However, it can be safely assumed that the vast majority of Indian and Metis people live in these areas because the Social Service Audit Report of 1966 stated that over 80% of the Indian and Metis were from this area of central Winnipeg.¹

In deciding a method for gathering information for the thesis, two things were considered. The first was that it was important to use interviewers of Indian or Metis background. This was to facilitate rapport between respondents and interviewers. A great deal of discussion has recently occurred about the amount of research non-Indian people are carrying out on Indians. Resentment has been clearly expressed, and thus a white person might experience difficulty in receiving accurate information.

The interviewers were given a short, informal training period by the author in interviewing techniques, and a small pre-test run was carried out to test the questionnaire.

A second major decision was made over the actual instruments to be used in the research. Again, difficulties have been encountered by non-Indian over the fact that they were using a structured questionnaire in their studies. It was felt that the presence of pencil and paper might hamper rapport with native respondents because they might be suspicious of this method. This was discussed with a number of people, and a compromise was made. The interviewers, being somewhat untrained, expressed concern that they would feel uncomfortable if they had to follow formal questions written on paper.

¹Community Welfare Planning Council, Report of the Social Service Audit, Winnipeg, 1967.

It was finally decided that a questionnaire would be used, but the questionnaire would only be a guideline for general areas of information to be gathered. Interviewers were told to make conversation with the respondent as informal and unstructured as possible in order to gain maximum rapport. In this way it was felt that the greatest amount of information would be gained.

The interview schedule contained 64 items pertaining to the following aspects of urban migration and adjustment: age, sex, and marital status of the respondent; birthplace of respondent and spouse; length of residence in the present community and dwelling; residence history; reasons for leaving the reserve or Metis community; activities and situation on community of origin; household composition; leisure time activities; educational levels; employment record; social participation of members of the household in local organizations; major problems that the respondents experienced in the city; and the nature of return visits to the reserve or Metis communities.

Information relating to the various communities of origin of individuals in the sample was obtained from such sources as government reports, and documents pertaining to the economic and social conditions in the rural areas. In addition, a number of panels composed of individuals who were knowledgeable of the reserves and Metis communities were used.³ Each panel ranked the communities according to two 5 point scales, one pertaining to economic conditions, and the other to level of acculturation.

The information from the interview schedules was analyzed on a computer by Mr. Forbes Hersh of the data processing centre at Carleton University. A cross-tabulation of several variables was run for each hypothesis, and a chi-square test was run to determine the significance of the relationship.

Further matters related to the methodology of this study, such as the composition of the sample, accuracy of interviewing, significance, and direction of relationships between variables, etc. are included in the text of the thesis.

By using the above methods it was hoped that an accurate picture of Indian and Metis migration to Winnipeg and their adjustment, and integration could be gained.

²See Appendix B for the Interview Schedule.

³See pages 213-16 for a detailed account of the procedure relating to the panels.

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A

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I *SOCIAL BACKGROUND

1. Sex: male: female:
2. How long have you lived in Winnipeg?
3. Where were you born? (Specify the city, town, or reserve, Metis community, etc.)
4. Are you married at the present time? Yes: No:
5. If married: Do you have any children? Yes: No:
If yes: how many?
6. If married: were you married when you first came to the city? Yes: No:
7. Are you now:
 - boarding
 - rooming
 - living in an apartment
 - living with friends or relatives
 - renting a house
 - own your own home
 - other (specify)
8. When you first came to Winnipeg, in what kind of a place did you live?
 - in a boarding house
 - in a rooming house
 - in a rented apartment
 - with friends or relatives
 - in a rented house
 - in your own house
 - in a hotel
 - other (specify)
9. How old are you at the present time?
If married: How old is your husband at the present time?

II EDUCATION

10. Where did you go to school? (If more than one school attended, record the location).

Location:

Type:

School off reserve

Residential school on the reserve

Residential school off the reserve

Trade school

If married: Where did your husband go to school?

11. What was the last grade you completed in school?
If married: What was the last grade your husband completed in school?

12. Have you or your husband had any other schooling or training, such as a trade training program?

Yes: No:

If yes, specify what type.

III EMPLOYMENT

Information wanted on head of household (usually husband's employment).

If respondent is a native of Winnipeg, SKIP to question No. 16.

13. Have you (or your husband) ever worked on the reserve or Metis community before coming to Winnipeg? Yes: No:
If no: SKIP to question No. 16.

14. What was it that you (or your husband) did on the reserve or Metis community?

15. How long was it that you (or your husband) worked on the reserve or Metis community before coming to Winnipeg?

16. Are you (or your husband) working at the present time? Yes: No:

17. What kind of work is it that you do (does he do) on the job?

18. Do you feel that your (or your husband's job) is better now than the one you (he) had on the reserve or Metis community? Yes: No: Why:
19. How did you (your husband) get your (his) first job in the city?
 self
 National Employment Services
 through friends or relatives
 Indian Affairs
 other (specify)
20. How did you (he) get your (his present job)?
 self
 National Employment Services
 through friends or relatives
 Indian Affairs
 other (specify)
21. How many jobs have you (or your husband) had since coming into the city?

IV THE URBAN SETTING

If respondent is a native of Winnipeg, SKIP to question No. 29.

22. What would you say was the most important reason for coming to the city to live?
23. Had you ever been to Winnipeg before you moved here permanently? Yes: No:
24. If yes: On what occasion was that?
 school or university
 to visit friends or relatives
 to shop or recreation
 to look for a job
 for health or retirement
 other (specify)
25. What was it that made you pick Winnipeg as the place to live, rather than some other place like Brandon?

26. Did you have any relatives or close friends in Winnipeg before you came here yourself? Yes: No:
27. If yes: Did they encourage you to come to live in Winnipeg? Yes: No:
28. Did you get any assistance from any agency or organization such as the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre, church, Indian Affairs, when you first came to the city? Yes: No: If yes: which ones.
29. Did you get any help from your friends or relatives when you came to the city? Yes: No: If yes: In what way did they help?
30. Do you often go visiting friends, relations, or neighbours in the city? Yes: No: If yes: How often would you say that you go to visit with others in the city?
less than once a month
about once in two weeks
about once a week
many times a week
31. How far away in the city do the people live that you go to visit?
within walking distance
in this area but too far to walk
outside this neighbourhood
32. Are the people you visit with, Indian and Metis people or whites?
33. Where do you shop for your food?
(at a corner store
at Safeway, Loblaws, etc.
downtown
other (specify)
34. Where do you shop for clothes?
at a neighbourhood store
at a downtown store: Eaton's, The Bay
at another store (specify)

35. How often do you go downtown?
less than once a month
about once a month
about once a week
about twice a week
more than twice a week
do not go downtown
36. How do you get downtown?
taxi
someone else's car
bus
walk
own car
other (specify)
37. Do you have a telephone? Yes: No:
38. Do you own a car? Yes: No:
39. Do you have a T.V.?
rented
owned
Yes: No:
If yes: What is your favourite program?
40. Did you vote in the election in June? Yes: No:
41. Do you know who is your member of Parliament?
Yes: Name: No:
Is that your member for the Reserve or is that
your member from the city?
42. Do you go to church or belong to any church
clubs? Yes: No:
43. Do you belong to any other clubs or organizations?
Yes: No: If yes: Which ones?
44. Did you go to the Indian-Metis Conference this
year? Yes: No: Why not?
45. Do you feel there is enough facilities in this
area? Yes: No: If no: What is there a need
for?

46. How much education does a boy have to have to get a good job today in the city:
public school
M.I.T.
high school
university

47. If you wanted a better job, how would you find one?

If respondent is a native of Winnipeg, SKIP to question No. 51.

48. What were some of the things that you heard about the city before you came here?

49. What did you think of Winnipeg when you first came here to live?

50. Did you feel unhappy about anything when you first came to the city to live? Yes: No:
If yes: What were some of the things which you did not like?

51. What are some of the things you like about living in Winnipeg?

52. What are some of the things that you do not like about living in Winnipeg?

53. What do you do when you are not working?
(If no answer, list alternatives)

54. Do you go:
to the movies
to play bingo
to school activities
to the beer parlor
to church
watch T.V.
to play pool
bowling
to club or organization meetings
to hockey, football or baseball games
other (specify)

V RESERVE

If respondent is a native of Winnipeg, Skip to Question 64

55. Do you ever go to the Reserve and Metis community? Yes: No:
56. How often have you gone to the Reserve or Metis community in the past year?
57. Which Reserve or Metis community do you go to?
58. How do you get to the Reserve or Metis community?
car
bus
fly
train
other (specify)
59. Is your family on the Reserve or at the Metis Community? Yes: No: If no: Are any of your family here in the city?
60. Would you say that you had:
as many friends at the Reserve or Metis community as in the city?
more friends at the Reserve or Metis community than in the city?
more friends in the city than at the Reserve or Metis community?
61. Why do you go to the Reserve or Metis community?
62. Are things better for you in the city or at the Reserve or Metis Community? Yes: No: Why?
63. Do you ever take money or other things to the Reserve or Metis Community? Yes: No:
64. Do you plan to stay in Winnipeg? Yes: No:
How long? Why?

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