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### Résumé de l'article

Cette étude a pour objet d'analyser et de comparer l'émigration, l'adaptation et l'intégration des Indiens dans quatre grandes villes canadiennes. L'analyse de l'urbanisation des Indiens porte sur plusieurs plans : celui des motifs responsables de l'émigration, celui de l'embauche et de la structure des revenus ; celui des réseaux de parenté ; celui de leur rôle dans les institutions, de leur adaptation sociale et de l'immigration. Cette analyse démontre qu'en milieu urbain, les populations autochtones font preuve d'un faible niveau d'adaptation économique et ne s'insèrent pas dans les institutions de la société dominante. Elles semblent plutôt adopter un mode de vie bicéphale, exploitant la ville dans des buts économiques et la réserve indienne pour leurs idéaux, leur identité culturelle et leur vie affective.

# The Urbanization of Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver : A Comparative Analysis

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## *Introduction*

This paper presents a comparative analysis of selected aspects of the migration, adjustment, and integration of Indians into four Canadian cities: Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver.<sup>1</sup> These processes constitute some of the most important, yet least studied, social phenomena occurring among Native people in Canada today. In recent years Indians have been migrating to large metropolitan centres in the United States and Canada in ever increasing numbers. In the United States over 50% of all Indians live in cities (Price, 1978: 2). In Canada the urbanization of Native people has been no less dramatic. In 1951 about 17% of registered Indians were living off the reserve. By 1961 the rate had increased to over 30%. By the early 1970's the figure was close to 40% (Price, 1978: 2). The following table illustrates

the dramatic growth in the Indian population in the four cities under study.

In large part, this migration is the result of forces which led to an earlier rural-urban shift among Canadians. Large population increases and declining employment opportunities in rural areas have forced Native people to migrate to the cities in search of a viable economic existence. However, the majority of Native people experience serious obstacles in their efforts to establish themselves in the city. Their migration has occurred at a time when the economies of most cities are not expanding to the degree they were during the migration of an earlier generation of Canadians. Other factors have compounded the problems of adjustment. These include low levels of education and marketable skills among Native people, discrimination, cultural differences, and, in many cases, a reluctance to adopt an urban lifestyle.

*Indian Population in Cities Under Study*

City	Number of Indians		
	1951	1961*	1970**
Winnipeg	210	1,082	20,000
Toronto	—	1,196	24,000
Edmonton	116	995	10,000
Vancouver	239	530	3,820

\* Source : Statistics Canada, 1961 Census, series 1.2 —  
Population Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 38.

\*\* Note : 1970 figures are estimates based on local sources.

## Data And Methodology

The data used in this paper were gleaned from surveys conducted in four large metropolitan centres: Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver. The surveys gathered information on the migration, adjustment, and integration of Indians into the urban setting. All used extensive interview schedules to interview random samples of heads of households in each city. Although there was some variation in the items in the interview schedules, the information gathered proved to be extremely similar and thereby very comparable. Each survey included data on such variables as the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants, situational factors in the community of origin, motivational determinants of the migration, settlement patterns in the city, organizational activity, kinship structures, education, occupational activity, leisure time activities, utilization of social services, degree of acculturation, political attitudes, ethnic identity, and return migration. A comparative analysis of these studies will help provide a more complete picture of Indian urbanization in Canada. This is particularly the case since there has been no extensive analysis of the data from any of the four cities. Indeed, the results of only one study (Edmonton) have been previously published.

A number of limitations of the data should be mentioned because they affect the validity of the generalizations that can be made about Indian urbanization. A serious limitation is that assimilated Indians are not included in the samples. For example, researchers on Indians in cities consistently underestimate

the number of Iroquois in urban areas. Several thousand Iroquois who are on the band rolls have in a sense disappeared into the general population, as far as surveys are concerned. Another sampling problem relates to the fact that three of the samples were drawn using either organizational lists or informal networks of Indians in the city. The samples tend to be limited in the sense that a broad representative of Native people are not tapped. In Toronto, for example, the researchers appeared to have operated outside of the Iroquois social networks in the location of respondents thereby underrepresenting the Iroquois in the sample. In an effort to overcome the limitations of the data, generalizations are, in a few cases, based more on the author's informal observations and experiences in being involved with Native people in a variety of capacities over several years than on the data sets themselves.

### A selected comparative analysis

#### MOTIVATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS

Virtually all studies of the urban Indian in Canada have discovered that the principal reason for migrating to the city was for economic gain, and that the other significant reason was for education (Lagasse, 1959; McCaskill, 1970; Nagler, 1970; Dosman, 1972; Kerri, 1973; Denton, 1972; Indian Association of Alberta, 1971; and Stanbury, 1975). The data in the present studies support these conclusions as illustrated in the table.

*Comparison of Cities by Reasons for Moving to the City*

	WINNIPEG			TORONTO			EDMONTON			VANCOUVER		
Reasons for Moving to the City	F	%	Adj. %	F	%	Adj. %	F	%	Adj. %	F	%	Adj. %
Employment	79	42.9 %	45.7 %	182	43.0 %	44.9 %	77	21.8 %	24.1 %	42	15.3 %	16.0 %
Education	21	11.4 %	12.1 %	84	19.9 %	20.7 %	33	9.3 %	10.3 %	114	41.5 %	43.5 %
Independence	—	—	—	21	4.9 %	5.2 %	10	2.8 %	3.1 %	—	—	—
Nearer Friends or Relatives	—	—	—	8	1.8 %	2.0 %	34	9.6 %	10.6 %	13	4.7 %	4.9 %
Relocation	—	—	—	2	0.4 %	0.5 %	16	4.5 %	5.0 %	—	—	—
Forced Transfer	3	1.6 %	1.7 %	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1.8 %	1.9 %
Moved with Family	—	—	—	50	11.8 %	12.3 %	48	13.8 %	15.0 %	34	12.4 %	13.0 %
Medical	14	7.6 %	8.1 %	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	2.5 %	2.7 %
Personal/Home Troubles	17	9.1 %	9.8 %	7	2.0 %	2.0 %	—	—	—	12	4.4 %	4.6 %
Other	36	19.5 %	20.8 %	65	15.3 %	16.0 %	102	27.7 %	21.8 %	15	12.6 %	13.3 %
N/A	11	5.9 %	—	17	4.0 %	—	34	9.6 %	—	13	4.7 %	—
Total	184	100.0 %	100.0 %	422	100.0 %	100.0 %	354	100.0 %	100.0 %	275	100.0 %	100.0 %

In examining the data, it becomes clear that many of the respondents leave the reserve in search of jobs that cannot be found at home. In Winnipeg, for example, both males (52%) and female (40%) left the reserve in search of employment. Similarly, in Toronto, both males (51%) and females (42%) felt that job opportunities were the most important factor influencing their decision to migrate to the city. In Vancouver, however, many of the respondents (44%) came to the city for educational purposes. Forty per cent of the males and 50% of the females gave educational reasons as their principal motivation for migrating. This deviation from the other cities can be, in part, accounted for by the age frequencies of the Vancouver sample. The Vancouver sample is younger than the samples from the other cities, many having come to the city with their parents to continue their educational pursuits. When examining the motivational determinants of the older respondents in Vancouver, employment and other economic factors emerge as the primary reasons for migration. Employment, then, is the most important reason for urban migration particularly when it is viewed together with other indirect economic factors such as welfare, relocation projects, housing, and other services.

#### AGE, SEX, AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

The most mobile people in Canada, in terms of rural to urban migration, generally are those 25-29 years of age for males, and 20-24 years of age for females (Whyte, 1967: 8). This generalization is supported by the data in all four cities. Over 40% of the samples in Winnipeg, Toronto, and Vancouver were under 30 years of age. The Vancouver sample was the youngest overall with Edmonton being the oldest. Moreover, females tended to be somewhat younger than males. At the other end of the age scale, less than 10% of the samples of three cities were over 50 years of age.

The Winnipeg, Toronto, and Edmonton samples contained roughly the same numbers of males and females. The sample, in all three cities, was within seven percentage points of 50%. There were, however, significantly more males in the Vancouver sample (64%) than females (36%).

The length of urban residence among Indian migrants is relatively short. Those respondents who had lived in the city for five years or less were the greatest majority in all four cities (Winnipeg, 58%; Toronto, 49%; Edmonton, 65%; Vancouver, 60%). When length of urban residence is analyzed in terms of sex, the findings indicate that there are more males than females who have lived in the city for short periods of time.

The relationship between length of urban residence and marital status is significant in all four cities. It was found that the majority of respondents who

were single had lived in the city for a short period of time.

The relationship between length of urban residence and marital status is significant in all four cities. It was found that the majority of respondents who were single had lived in the city for a short period of time. For example, single respondents in Winnipeg (76%), Toronto, (62%), and Vancouver (74%), stated that they had lived in the city for five years or less. In Edmonton, 100% of the single respondents had lived in the city for five years or less and 48% had lived there for 6 months or less. A similar pattern emerged among those respondents who were married. In Winnipeg, 51% of the married respondents said they had lived in Winnipeg for five years or less as did respondents in Toronto (60%), Edmonton (80%), and Vancouver (70%). In all four cities those respondents who reported longer periods of urban residence tended to be married, separated, or divorced.

As would be expected, length of urban residence and respondent's age illustrated further that many migrants have not been in the city for long periods of time. For instance, in Winnipeg the majority of respondents under 30 years of age had lived in the city for five years or less. Also, the recent arrivals tend to be consistently younger than the earlier arrivals.

These findings indicate that Native migrants tend to be young and have been coming to large urban areas in Canada for a relative short period of time. It can be expected that as economic opportunities on the reserves continue to decline and the pressures of over population become greater, an increasingly large number of Native people, particularly young people, will be migrating to Canada's urban centres.

#### MARITAL STATUS, FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS, AND EDUCATION

A comparison of the cities with regard to marital status yields some interesting differences. The majority of respondents in Winnipeg (61%) and Edmonton (63%) are married as compared to only 35% in Toronto and 28% in Vancouver. Conversely, Toronto and Vancouver score the highest rates for single respondents—36% and 47% respectively. These results would be expected in Vancouver as it is the youngest overall sample and possesses the greatest percentage of males (64%). The assumption here is that younger males would be less oriented toward settling into a stable family existence because of their higher rates of occupational and other kinds of mobility. The high percentage of single respondents in Toronto is more unexpected because it has the highest percentage of females (57%), and a large number of respondents in age groups which would be considered eligible for marriage (53% under 30).

It would appear that, with the large number of single people of marriageable ages, there is great potential for marriages to take place in the city. This

could have significant implications for the formation of an ethnic identity in the urban areas. Further research is necessary to determine conclusively the degree to which young people return to the reserve to select a partner or marry individuals living in the city. In Winnipeg, the only city where data pertaining to time of marriage are available, the latter pattern seems to be the most prevalent. About two-thirds of the sample indicated that they were not married at the time of their migration. If a pattern of urban marriage is the case generally it would be important to know whether the majority of marriages occur among Indians or with non-Indians. A measure of the extent to which mixed marriages were occurring was obtained in Toronto and Edmonton. Respondents were asked whether they had brothers or sisters married to non-Indians. A large number of respondents in Toronto (50%) and Edmonton (39%) replied in the affirmative. This is consistent with Denton's (1972) finding that almost of all the people who left the reserve to marry married a White.

The composition of the households varied greatly although three cities, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver, were characterized by large numbers of people. In Winnipeg, 53% of the households consisted of four or more people and 20% seven or more. Similarly, the figures for Edmonton were 41% and 16%, and for Vancouver 62% and 32%. This pattern of large households is particularly striking considering the large number of single parent families and single, divorced, separated, and widowed individuals.

An individual's level of education has significant implications for the occupation he can obtain and hence for his overall economic adjustment. The data from the four cities reveal education levels far below the Canadian average. Only in Vancouver did more than half of the respondents (55%) have any high school education (grades ten to twelve). The Edmonton sample scored the lowest in this category with only 22% of the respondents having any high school education.

As would be expected, respondents in the younger age categories possessed more education than those in the older age categories. This would suggest that, despite the overall low levels of education of the respondents, an increasing number of young Native people are becoming better educated. Respondents in the Winnipeg sample possessed higher levels of education than in Lagasse's study ten years earlier (Lagasse, 1958: 39). He found that 79% of his sample had not completed grade nine as compared to 63% of the present Winnipeg sample. Furthermore, these education levels for urban Indians are substantially higher than for the general Indian population in Canada.

## EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

The relationship between urban adjustment and economic stability is obvious. An individual or family can neither plan for an increase in its level of living nor hope for any mobility unless its economic position is secure. Furthermore, an individual cannot be said to have fully adjusted to an urban lifestyle until he has extended his participation beyond his primary group into the institutional structure of the urban society. The overall economic pattern that emerges among Native people in the cities under study is one of low incomes and employment instability.

Less than half the respondents in Toronto (37%), Edmonton (44%), and Vancouver (45%), were employed full time. The Winnipeg sample seemed somewhat more stable as 67% of the respondents were working full time. Unemployment and heavy reliance on social assistance characterized nearly half the respondents in Toronto (48%), Edmonton (46%), and Vancouver (45%), as compared to 32% in Winnipeg. The remainder of the respondents were either working part time or were students. As would be expected, males were employed at twice the rate of females in all four cities. For example, 51% of the males compared to 27% of the females in Toronto were working full time.

It might be expected that after migrants have lived in the city for a period of time unemployment rates would decline. For example, kinship contacts might function to direct newcomers to employment prospects. Thus, a sponsorship or contact network to secure employment for incoming immigrants may be established among Native people in the city. This pattern has been characteristic of many ethnic groups in their adjustment to the city. If this pattern of employment assistance exists we would expect that rates of employment would increase as length of time in the city increased. Such is not the case. It is interesting to note that the expected pattern, an increase in employment rates with the longer the migrant resides in the city, does occur for a short period of time—usually about two years, then begins to decline. Similarly, rates of unemployment drop for about two years and then begin to rise.

Unlike the history of other ethnic groups coming to urban areas in Canada, Indian migrants do not appear to gain economic security as their length of urban residence increases. They do not, to any degree, extend their participation beyond the primary group into the economic institutions of the larger society.

Unstable economic patterns are further reflected in the income statistics. Toronto emerges as the most economically advanced city with the highest percentage of households earning over \$6 000 annually (23%), the lowest earning under \$4 000 (36%), along with the highest mean annual income (\$4 498). At the other end of the scale, only 7% of the respondents in Edmonton earned

over \$6 000. That city also scored the lowest average income at \$2 404.

#### ROLE OF PRIMARY GROUP CONTACTS

An important aspect of the adjustment process for most ethnic groups is the extension of an individual's field of participation beyond his primary group into the institutions of the larger society, and a corresponding identification with the values of that society. This usually entails the development of mutual identification and some sense of solidarity with members of the larger society. In the case of migrating Indians such identification and solidarity are incomplete.

The present studies demonstrate that the Indian migrants tend to associate with other Indians rather than extending their associational patterns into the dominant society. As will be seen in the discussion regarding the migrant's social adjustment there appears to be a low level of group membership in associations of the dominant society. Conversely, there is a high degree of informal association with other Indians in the city and some participation in Native organizations. This seems to indicate that the migrant relies upon other Indian migrants rather than members of the dominant society for mutual identification and group solidarity.

The preceding analysis suggests that the establishment of a kinship network among Native people would be a logical extension of the social interaction patterns of the reserve. This network operates both between the reserve and the city and within the city, and functions to promote emotional support and group solidarity. This appears to be the case. In all four cities the percentage of respondents who had relatives or friends in the city was quite high (Winnipeg, 92%; Toronto, relatives 87%, friends 92%; Edmonton, 75%; Vancouver, 72%). The fact that many of the respondents had friends or relatives in the city suggests precontact with the city might have existed through visiting or through stories told by those returning home to the reserve. A large percentage of migrants in Toronto (64%) and Edmonton (77%) reported that they had visited the city prior to the decision to migrate (no data were available in Winnipeg and Vancouver).

#### INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

It has been demonstrated that Indians living in large urban centres in Canada do not, to any large degree, extend their institutional participation into the economic structures of the wider society. It remains to be seen whether a similar pattern exists with respect to social and political spheres. It is necessary to examine the migrant's social adjustment in order to gain a more complete understanding of patterns of institutional participation and to describe more accurately the overall urbanization process. Otherwise, it could be argued that lack of economic participation is the result of restricted opportunity

structure in the urban areas. The economies of the cities may not provide sufficient occupational opportunities to enable migrants to gain a stable economic existence. This line of reasoning is suggested by the fact that Native migrants possess low levels of education and skills which hamper their efforts to secure employment. It could also be that they are victims of stereotyping and discrimination on the part of employers.

While these factors are operating, they do not entirely account for the migrant's lack of economic institutional participation. Rather, this lack of participation may be the result of an initial predisposition that could be operating among some of the migrants. There may be an original intention of settling only temporarily in the city and consequent reluctance to develop an urban lifestyle. It may be useful to view Native migrants as "commuters" rather than "urbanites" in the usual sense. This could involve a dual orientation, an attempt to exploit the city for economic purposes while at the same time looking to the reserves in terms of ideology, cultural identity, and social ties.

If this proposition is correct then we would expect to find that the majority of migrants do not extend their participation into the social and political spheres of the city. This extension is necessary if migrants expect to acquire new roles within the urban environment.

Another important element in this process is the degree to which the migrant develops new channels of communication with the wider society. This usually occurs by the migrant 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 members of the social structure, leading to the establishment of new primary groups in common with them.

At the same time it is important to consider the significance of the migrant retaining some sense of ethnic identity. This is often accomplished through membership in various associations which function to balance the migrant's relation to the total society. In this way, 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, in which the particularist tendency of such a community agrees with the premises of the social structure, and its structural peculiarities fall within the legitimate institutional limits of the society.

Several measures were utilized to determine whether Indian migrants extend their participation into the institutional structure of the larger society or whether they orient themselves more toward kinship or ethnically-based activities in the city. The former orientation was indicated by participation in volun-

tary associations, political participation (as measured by voting behaviour), and degree of reliance on social assistance. The degree to which migrants orient themselves toward kinship or ethnically-based activities was indicated by participation in Indian associations, visiting and friendship patterns, and knowledge of and attitude toward Indian activities.

Participation in voluntary associations affords migrants an important opportunity to extend their participation into the larger society. In discussing the implications of participation in voluntary associations it is important to distinguish among two types of organizations: those organizations which are composed primarily of members of the larger society and those "ethnic" organizations which are geared primarily to Native people.

If we examine migrants' participation in the former associations we discover extremely low rates of involvement. Vancouver exhibited by far the largest percentage (41%) of migrants involved in non-Native organizations. The vast majority of those (30%) of the total sample, however, belonged to a single type of organization, labour unions, reflecting the high rate of union membership in Vancouver generally. Only 11% of the respondents belonged to any other organization. Toronto had the next largest percentage (15%) of migrants being members of non-Native organizations. Five per cent of the Toronto sample belonged to unions, 4% to professional associations, 3% to churches, and 3% to other organizations. The non-Native organization figures for Winnipeg are 15% and for Edmonton 10%. It is obvious, therefore, that the majority of Indian migrants are not extending their participation into the organizations of the larger society.

Rates of political participation are also low. Less than one-third of the migrants in all cities voted in the previous federal, provincial, or municipal elections.

Ethnic associations perform a very different function than associations of the larger society. This history of most ethnic groups in a culturally plural society is characterized by the development of "a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships" (Gordon, 1964: 34). The degree to which an ethnic group develops and maintains its own institutions vary significantly. At one extreme an ethnic community can establish institutional completeness. This is the case when it can perform all the services required by its members (Breton, 1964). In contrast, an ethnic community may consist of a network of interpersonal relationships with no supporting institutions.

The data from the four cities reveal some interesting facts in terms of membership in Indian organi-

zations. While the overall rates for all cities are low, Winnipeg and Vancouver exhibit substantially higher rates of organizational membership than Toronto and Edmonton. Twenty-six per cent of the Vancouver sample and 23% of the Winnipeg sample belong to Indian organizations as compared to only 5% in both Toronto and Edmonton. Despite the low rate of membership in Native organizations in Edmonton, 26% of the respondents stated that they participated in activities of Native organizations either "sometimes" or "often". The most frequently mentioned organization to which respondents belong in Winnipeg and Vancouver was the Indian Friendship Centre.

In addition to membership in formal organizations, members of an ethnic group may participate in informal ethnic activities which serve to reinforce their ethnic identity. For Indians in cities such activities might include going to pow wows or other cultural events, participating in Indian athletic events, and reading Indian newspapers. Respondents' knowledge of Indian activities varies greatly among the cities. Winnipeg scored the highest with 86% of the respondents having some knowledge of an Indian organization. Respondents in Toronto and Vancouver were asked a somewhat more specific question about a particular Native political association. Half of the Toronto sample had heard of the Union of Ontario Indians and 45% of the Vancouver respondents, knew of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. It is interesting to note that 97% of the Toronto respondents had heard of the Canadian Indian Centre which provides primarily a social service function, and 74% had been there. Overall, Edmonton scored the lowest. Respondents were asked to identify the president of the Indian Association of Alberta. Only 24% were able to do so.

Direct comparisons of involvement in Indian activities among the cities are difficult because of the lack of consistency in the information gathered. However, some comparisons are possible. For example, 60% of the Toronto sample stated that they read a Native newspaper, compared to 24% in Vancouver. Yet the Toronto respondents scored low in terms of knowledge of Indian political issues. Only 28% had heard of the government's 1969 *Indian Policy* and only 18% had any knowledge of the Indian "Red" Paper. Vancouver scored by far the highest in terms of attendance of Indian activities. Sixty-three per cent of the respondents had attended at least one Indian ceremony in the past year with 14% attending five or more. In Edmonton an average of 25% of the respondents participated in a wide variety of Indian activities either "often" or "sometimes". These included social events (45%), pow wows (40%), sports events (35%), Native organizations (26%), Indian medicine (22%), Native handicraft (20%), and Native singing (19%).

Finally, migrants in all four cities demonstrated a great deal of “commuting” between the city and the reserve. More than two-thirds of the respondents in all cities reported that they returned “home” to their community of origin “sometimes” or “often”.

#### *Conclusion*

The following Table presents a summary of the data from the four cities. Several striking character-

istics emerge. First, the majority of Indians in large Canadian cities exhibit low levels of economic adjustment. High unemployment rates, low incomes, and heavy reliance on social assistance imply that a stable economic existence is beyond the reach of most urban migrants. Secondly, Native people are not, to any large degree, extending their participation into the institutions of the larger society. New channels of communication with the wider society do not appear

*Rating\* of Cities According to Selected Variables*

Variable	City			
	WINNIPEG	TORONTO	EDMONTON	VANCOUVER
Degree of urban proximity of respondent's community of origin (urban/developed)	low	low	—	very low
Proportion of respondents residing in the city for five years or less	moderate	moderate	high	high
Proportion of married respondents	high	low	high	low
Proportion of single respondents	low	low	very low	moderate
Proportion of households with 4 or more persons	moderate	low	moderate	high
Proportion of respondents who have grade 10 or more	low	moderate	low	moderate
Proportion of respondents employed full-time	high	low	moderate	moderate
Proportion of annual family incomes over \$6,000	very low	low	very low	low
Proportion of households receiving social assistance	moderate	low	high	very high
Proportion of respondents with relatives in city	very high	very high	high	high
Degree of residential concentration in inner city	high	high	low**	—
Degree of participation in voluntary associations of the larger society	very low	very low	very low	moderate
Degree of political participation	low	low	low	low
Degree of membership in Native associations	low	very low	very low	low
Degree of return migration	high	very high	high	high
Proportion of respondents able to speak a Native language	high	high	high	high

\* The ratings for the frequency percentages are: 0-20 % — very low; 21-40% — low; 41-60% — moderate; 61-80% — high; 81-100% — very high.

\*\* Although the rate of concentration in the inner city was low for Edmonton there was a distinct pattern of residential ‘clustering’ in low income areas of the city.



to be forming. Migrants do not seem to be changing their reference group and acquiring new roles, expectations, and values. Assimilation is not occurring.

At the same time there is little evidence to suggest that Indians are following the pattern of other ethnic groups by maintaining an ethnic identity through institutional completeness. Membership in Indian ethnic organizations is low in all four cities. Yet it is obvious that Indian identity is of central importance for the majority of migrants. This is evident from the striking patterns of participation in Indian activities, returning "home" to the reserves, retention of Native languages, and kinship networks.

Indian migrants, therefore, find themselves in circumstances of racial groups in an ethnically plural society. Their "minority situation" means that they are treated according to a categorical status which is negatively evaluated in the larger society. This, in turn, implies a disadvantaged position with regard to acquiring the values of the larger society or developing a functioning set of ethnic institutions.

The function of the community remains relatively unfulfilled among Indians in the city due to the lack of resources. There are not enough resources available within the community to make up an independent way of life, while, at the same time, members are not sufficiently qualified, or are denied access to values of the larger society. The lack of resources also means that there is little organization beyond the family, and members of the community cannot afford to be of much assistance to each other in the city. There is little tradition for formal organization and hence few voluntary associations that are indigenous in nature. As a result, there is little mutual aid and great reliance on outside agencies. Thus, as Nagler (1970) suggests, there is little source of social unity within these groups to serve as a basis for communal cohesion for collective action in the city. The racial community is thus a lower-class one whose economic situation renders it institutionally inadequate (Kramer, 1970: 258).

But the degree to which Indians in the city can be characterized as in a "minority situation" should not be overstated. Members of a minority group are in a minority situation only insofar as they accept the desirability of the values of the dominant society. It is based on the combination of the desire for and the deprivation of values which is produced by the particular relationship of power between the dominant and the minority groups.

Furthermore, it is important to consider the migrant's original aspirations and predisposition to change his behaviour as the result of his migration. Indians come to urban areas in search of employment opportunities lacking in their home communities rather than because of dissatisfaction with reserve life. Thus, many migrants do not commit themselves to an

urban lifestyle. Rather, they often exhibit a "dual-orientation" pattern of urban accommodation, exploiting the city for economic purposes while at the same time looking to the reserves in terms of ideology, cultural identity, and social ties. This is, perhaps, the most striking feature of Indian urban migration which distinguishes it from that of other ethnic groups. The degree to which this pattern will continue to exist in the future as Native people remain in the city for longer periods of time remains to be seen.

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