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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

A GEOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS' EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM UPON THE RELOCATION OF OKLAHOMA INDIANS, 1967-1971

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A GEOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS' EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM UPON THE RELOCATION OF OKLAHOMA INDIANS, 1967-1971

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DEDICATION

To a loving wife and fine son

PATTI SUE and JIM KIRK

and

dedicated parents

CECIL and HESTER

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter — Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Contemporary Status of American Indians: Forces for Migration 2

Employment Assistance and Population Distribution 3

II. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF OKLAHOMA INDIAN MIGRATION 6

Indian Relocation: Theoretical Perspectives 6

Movement through the Employment Assistance Program: The Decision to Move 10

Decision Process in Employment Assistance 13

Movement through the Employment Assistance Program: Environmental Considerations . . . 15

Variables: The Case of Oklahoma Indian Migration 18

Environmental variables 18

Attributes of movers 21

Return-Migration 23

General Theory of Return-Migration and Assimilation 23

Theories of Indian Assimilation 25

Return-Migration Variables 29

Methodology Utilized in the Investigation of Oklahoma Indian Migration 32

Comparative Analysis 33

Out-Migration for Sponsored Migrants 33

Tabular and cartographic analysis 33

Ecological model: sponsored-out-migration of Oklahoma Indians 34

Chapter Page

Return-Migration 35
Efficiency ratios of stream vs. counterstream 35
Tabular and cartographic analysis 36
Return-migration model 37

III. EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: AGENCY OF SPONSORED RELOCATION 39

Historical Background to Employment Assistance 39
Bureau of Indian Affairs: Oklahoma 41
History of the Relocation Program 47
Adult Vocational Training: Aid to Adjustment 50
The Relocation Process: Role of the Relocation Officer . . 52
The Relocation Process: Role of the Field Officer 53
Summary 55

IV. INDIAN OUT-MIGRATION FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA 56

Comparisons of Sponsored and State Total Indian Populations 56
Sponsored Migration Patterns 61
Out-Migration and Personal Characteristics 74
The Model Results: Out-Migration for Oklahoma Indians 78
Summary 84

V. RETURN-MIGRATION 86

Efficiency Results for Relocation Centers 88
Efficiency Results for Oklahoma Agencies 94
Return-Migration Model 94
Summary 99

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION 100

Summary 100
Conclusion 102

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
4.1	Comparisons Between Bureau of Indian Affairs' Movers and Oklahoma Total Indian Population	60
4.2	Movement of Sponsored Migrants to State of Destination	73
4.3	Comparisons of Characteristics of Migrants Between Agencies for Total Movement	75
4.4	Comparisons of Characteristics of Migrants to Each Destination Center for Total Movement	76
4.5	Oklahoma Indian Migration: Regression Coefficients	79
5.1	Efficiency Ratios of Agencies and Destination Centers	87
5.2	Stream Efficiency Ratio from Each Agency to Each Destination Center by Year for Direct Employment	89
5.3	American Indian Return-Migration: Regression Coefficients	95

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
2.1	Employment Assisted Residential Location Decision Process Model	9
2.2	Residential Location Decision Process Model	11
2.3	Graves' Conceptual Model for Economic Adjustment	26
3.1	Indian Population: Oklahoma 1970	40
3.2	Indian Territory 1866-1889	42
3.3	Origin of Oklahoma Indian Tribes	43
3.4	Bureau of Indian Affairs: Office Jurisdictions	45
3.5	Bureau of Indian Affairs - Agency Boundaries: Oklahoma - 1973	46
4.1	Out-Migration - Oklahoma, 1965-1970: Total Migration	58
4.2	Out-Migration - Oklahoma, 1967-1971: Sponsored Migration	59
4.3	Volume-Distance Migration Relationship	63
4.4	Temporal Out-Migration Trends: Anadarko Office	64
4.5	Temporal Out-Migration Trends: Muskogee Office	65
4.6	Out-Migration - Destination Cities: 1967	66
4.7	Out-Migration - Destination Cities: 1968	67
4.8	Out-Migration - Destination Cities: 1969	68
4.9	Out-Migration - Destination Cities: 1970	69
4.10	Out-Migration - Destination Cities: 1971	70
5.1	Number of Return Migrants: Field Offices	92

A GEOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS' EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM UPON THE RELOCATION OF OKLAHOMA INDIANS, 1967-1971

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Within the past three decades the population distribution of the American Indian has changed significantly. The changes are the result of two forces. First, the total Indian population is increasing at a rapid rate across the nation. Secondly, the American Indian is becoming more urbanized. Rural-to-urban movement of Indians is the process fundamental to the change in distribution.

The study is concerned with the government-sponsored rural-to-urban migration of Oklahoma Indians. The influence of the Employment Assistance Program on the spatial patterning of Oklahoma Indian migration is the research focus. Three aspects of the subject are examined. First, the role of the Employment Assistance Program in influencing migration is assessed. Some knowledge of the program's organization, structure, purpose for existence and means of operation is necessary to

assess its influence upon the redistribution of Oklahoma Indians. Secondly, a comparison of voluntary and federally supported migration is made. A comparison is made of the size of movement in both classes and the patterns of migration, i.e., direction, distance, characteristics of individuals, point of origin and destination. Finally, the individual migrant and his characteristics, i.e., distance of moves, temporal patterns, and frequency of return-migration, are analyzed.

Contemporary Status of American Indians: Forces for Migration

American Indians have undergone considerable economic suppression and cultural degradation from the white population of the United States. The history of the present economic and social condition of Native Americans is long and complex, but one theme is consistent through time. The Indian is assigned a status of life that is not commensurate with the living standards enjoyed by most Americans.[1] Approximately 400,000 American Indians reside on or adjacent to reservation or allotment lands. These individuals are the most poverty-striken group in the United States. In 1970 the median family income for reservation Indians was $4,326, and fifty-three percent had incomes below the poverty threshold (U. S., Bureau of the Census, American

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[1]The number of studies dealing with the historical aspect of white and Indian contacts are numerous with a number published in the last decade which present the Indian view of white-Indian relationships. Possibly the best known of these works is Dee Brown, Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1971). This work covers the period between 1860 and 1890. J. D. Forbes, ed., The Indian in America's Past (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964) is a compilation of a large number of short essays on American Indians and Indian and white contacts for the past 400 years. An attempt is made to present essays depicting the various opinions and

Indians: 1970). The unemployment rate for American Indian males residing on reservations and alloted lands was over 200 percent higher than that for the United States as a whole in 1967 (U. S., Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President: 1968). In 1966 over seventy-five percent of all reservation homes were substandard and over fifty percent needed to be replaced (Sorkin, 1969, p. 243).

The conditions for rural Indians have become more depressed in the last fifty years because of population growth. Consequently, during this period the economic difference between Indian and non-Indian areas increased. Because of the economic attractiveness of non-Indian areas, a steady migration, from reservations to urban centers has occurred. Until the past decade, this movement was small. Difficulties in assimilating into city life inhibited migration in the earlier period (Steiner, 1968, p. 179). World War II stimulated the movement from reservations to cities (Ablon, 1965, p. 362); however, the greatest impetus for Indian relocation has been programs of relocation sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Employment Assistance and Population Distribution

Because of the lack of opportunities available to reservation Indians in 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs instituted a program,

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attitudes of Indians, whites and governmental agencies during the period. Stephen Salsbury, ed., Essays on the History of the American West (Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden Press, 1975), a section of which, "Part II: The Frontier and the American Indian", is devoted to essays presenting the historical relationships between white and Indians as the European frontier moved across the continent. An example of the more slanted material being published is A. M. Josephy, Jr., ed., Red Power: The American Indian's Fight for Freedom (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971)--a statement of some contemporary Indians' goals and objectives in the political as well as social and cultural realm.

Employment Assistance, to relocate Indians from areas with large populations to areas where employment opportunities were greater. Under the policy individuals or families who desire to move are relocated from reservations or rural areas to urban centers. Transportation costs to designated urban areas, vocational training, assistance in finding employment, and additional social and economic services to assist migrants in the adjustment to city life are provided by the program (Martin, 1964, p. 290).

The number of Indians moving to major urban centers increased because of the Employment Assistance Program. By 1968, over 100,000 Indians had participated in programs. Relocation has changed the distribution of Indians. In California, for example, between 1890 and 1950 the Census of Population indicated the number of Indians increased from 16,624 to 19,943. After the first decade of operation for the Employment Assistance Program, the Indian population doubled, totaling 39,014 in 1960. In 1970 the population was 88,263; an increase of 125 percent from 1960. The increase cannot be attributed entirely to Employment Assistance, for other factors, such as enumeration procedures, also were influential. In 1960 the Bureau of Census used self-enumeration, a procedure that enumerated thousands of previously unidentified Indians.

Oklahoma has experienced similar growth since 1960. Within this period the number of Indians residing in the state increased from 64,689 to 96,803 according to the census, and Oklahoma became the state with the largest Indian population (U. S., Bureau of the Census, American Indians: 1970).[2] In the same period the number of Indians in the two

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[2]Discrepancies exist among the various governmental and private agencies which have recorded the population of Indians.

major urban centers nearly doubled. Oklahoma City's Indian population increased from 6,453 to 12,951 while Tulsa's grew from 7,924 to 15,183 (U. S., Bureau of the Census, Oklahoma: 1960 and U. S., Bureau of the Census, American Indians: 1970). The increased movement of American Indians to Oklahoma City and Tulsa is in part because both became relocation centers for the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the decade (U. S., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko Yearbook: 1970, p. 16).

From the analysis of the influence of government programs upon the distribution and movement patterns of Indians from Oklahoma, insight may be gained for the Indians across the nation. The size and tribal diversity of Oklahoma's Indian population makes the state an excellent study area. The study is one of the most thorough invertigations of one of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' major programs. Therefore, the research not only makes a contribution to the migration literature, but also it has value because of its contribution to understanding the significance of policy on Indian population distribution.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF OKLAHOMA INDIAN MIGRATION

Two aspects of Oklahoma Indian relocation are examined. First, sponsored Indian migration is compared to non-sponsored movement. The significance of sponsored movement in shaping the pattern of total Indian migration is obtained from the comparison analysis. The geographic patterns of sponsored movement are analyzed. The influence of selected variables on the pattern of out-migration is examined. An important part of this phase is the analysis of return-migration, that is, Indians returning to their home region after they have been relocated. An analysis of these topics should permit an overall evaluation of the impact of Employment Assistance on the redistribution of Oklahoma Indians.

Indian Relocation: Theoretical Perspectives

Migration of people is older than recorded history. The quest for theories explaining population movements also has a long history. Models have been formulated that provide frameworks for explaining the

decision to migrate, the selection of destination points, and the evaluation of migrant information.[1]

Migration models can be divided in two broad groups: Behavioral models and ecological models.[2] Ecological models are so designated because they emphasize the importance of environmental differences between the point of origin and the point of destination upon movement. Ecological models are also used to investigate the relationship between the patterns of movement and the socio-economic characteristics of migrants, such as age, sex, occupation, income and race. Ecological models tend to be deterministic, expressing precise relationships, for example, about migration distance and income, and are suited best to describing aggregate behavior.

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[1]An important study of the role of models in migration analysis is E. G. Moore, "Models of Migration and the Intra-Urban Case," The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology 2 (1966): 16-37. The paper (1) briefly assesses the role of the model in research, (2) presents a typology of migration models based on function, (3) discusses the usefulness of various types of model in the study of intra-urban changes of residence. A study which attempts to present in one place a summary of the several types of migration rates found in the literature of demography and vital statistics is C. H. Hamilton, "Practical and Mathematical Consideration in the Formulation Selection of Migration Rates," Demography 2 (1965); 429-443. The studies implementing regression analysis as the principal method of investigation are numerous. Michael Greenwood uses stepwise multiple regression in "A Regression Analysis of Migration to Urban Areas of a Less-developed Country: The Case of India," Journal of Regional Science 11 (1971): 253-262. In Wen Li, "Matrix Analysis of Migration Streams," International Migration 8 (1970): 174-181, the author uses the application of the Markov-chain modeling technique to the study of migration streams.

[2]The use of ecological and behavioral models in the investigation of migration is well documented in the literature. Julian Wolpert, "Behavioral Aspects of the Decision to Migrate," Papers of the Regional Science Association 15 (1965): 159-167 is a statement comparing the behavioral approach to ecological modeling. Wolpert points out the need for the behavioral approach to migration study in light of the needs left unexplained by ecological modeling techniques. F. E. Horton and D. E. Reynolds in "Effects of Urban Spatial Structure on Individual

Behavioral models normally are probabilistic, making possible evaluation or decision in the face of uncertainty, and are used for explaining the behavior of the individual. The basic concepts of the models are drawn from behavioral theory: theory dealing with the perceptual, preferential, and decision-making mechanism of the individual.

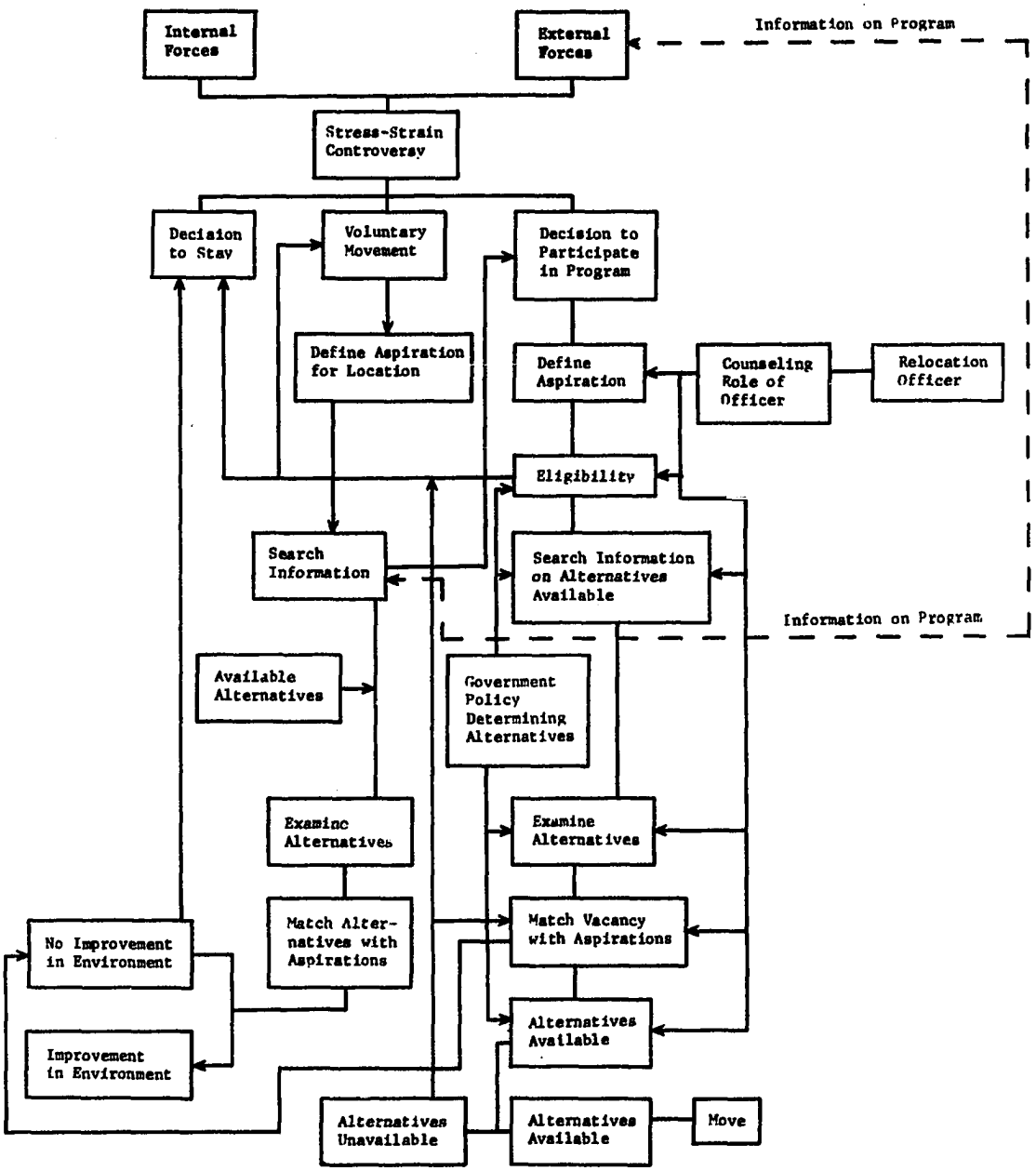
Concepts from both types of models were used in this research. A conceptual model of the decision process in sponsored migration has been formulated to illustrate how various participants interact in the decision process (figure 2.1). The models provide a framework for organizing hypotheses and interpreting the results of the statistical analysis. The models used in the analysis are of the ecological type; however, the data used in the models are for individuals.

Behavior," Economic Geography 47 (1971): 36-48 present several of the concepts basic to an understanding of the behavioral approach to geographic research and demonstrates the use of these processes in the behavioral approach in two empirical analyses. L. A. Brown and David Longbrake, "Migration Flows in Intra-Urban Space: Place Utility Considerations," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 60 (1970): 368-384 is an example of the behavioral technique using perceived place utility as a variable influencing the decision to migrate or stay. The authors attempt to derive a set of human behavioral conditions which might form the postulates in a theory of spatial structure. L. A. Brown and Eric Moore, "The Intra-Urban Migration Process: A Perspective," Geografiska Annaler 52 (1970): 1-13 is the framework for a study of movements within the urban area. A sequence of decision is postulated on the basis of existing research, and an attempt is made to specify the main factors which influence the outcome of each decision.

The use of ecological or environmental models predates that of behavioral models by several decades. E. G. Ravenstein in "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 48 (1885): 167-235 describes many of the basic relationships utilized in ecological models. Later technique models may be placed generally in one of two categories. In one group are those that assume a constant environment and observe migration among demographic subgroups; the study of migration differentials. Examples of this type are: Marvin McInnis, "Age, Education and Occupation Differentials in Interregional Migration: Some Evidence for Canada," Demography 8 (1971): 195-204; Jack Ladinsky, "Sources of Geographical Mobility Among Professional Workers: A Multivariate Analysis,"

EMPLOYMENT ASSISTED RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

DECISION PROCESS MODEL



Source: Author's Computations

FIGURE 2.1

Movement through the Employment Assistance Program: The Decision to Move

From a behavioral perspective migration can be viewed as two distinct but highly independent states: the decision to migrate and the selection of alternative locations. The decision to move is a function of locational stress, while the selection of alternative destinations is closely linked to information flows (figure 2.2).[3] Although the process of migration cannot be neatly separated into two components, this two-stage model provides a means of conceptualizing the different forces operative in the process.

Brown and Moore's (1970) model applies the concepts of place utility and action space to the individual decision process. Although developed for intra-urban migration, the model has conceptual validity at other scales. The first portion of the model (figure 2.2) represents a household's examination of factors leading to the decision to

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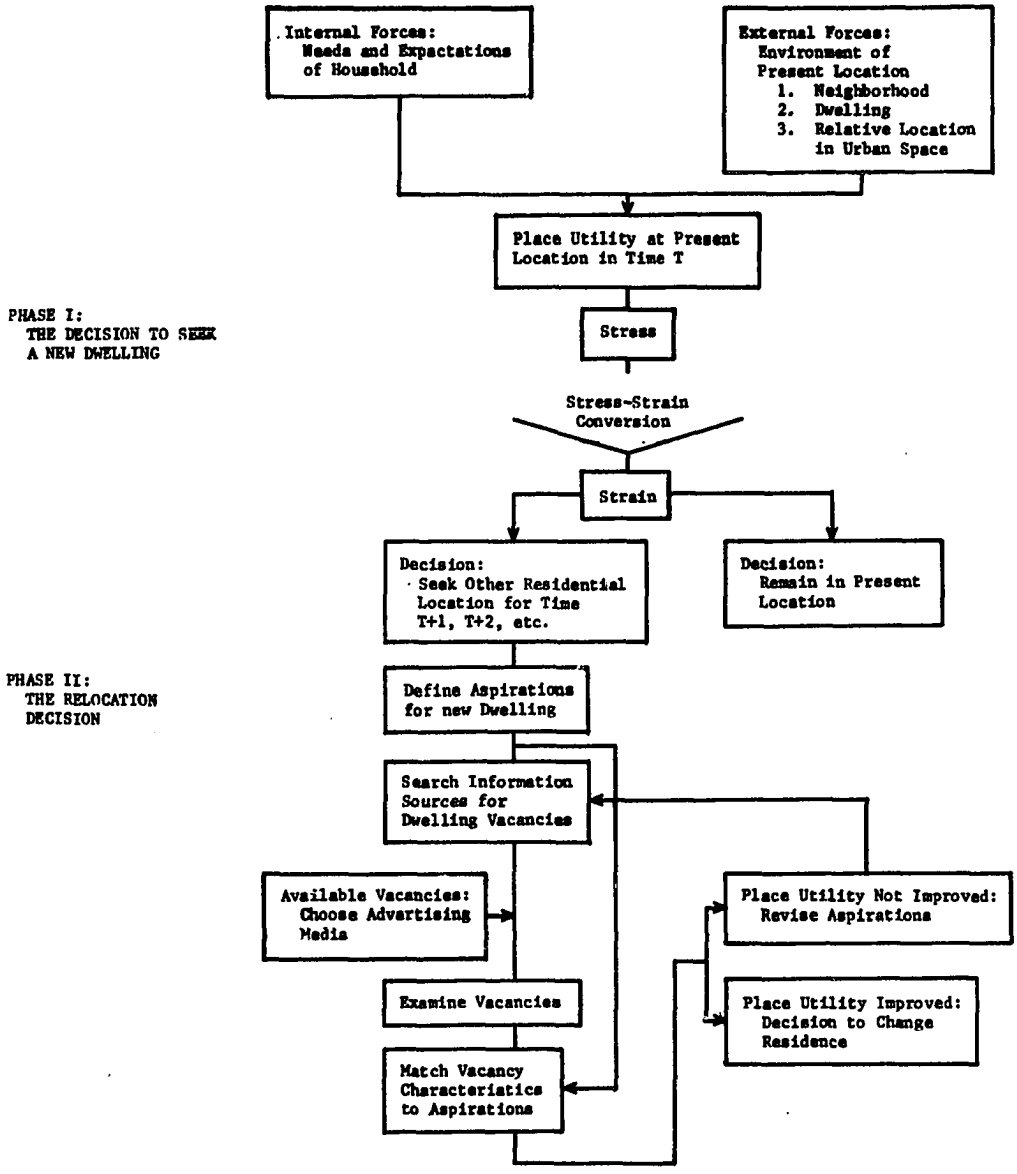
Demography 4 (1967): 293-309; and James Tarver, "Occupational Migration Differentials," Social Forces 43 (1969): 213-241. The second approach is to assume a constant population and observe variations in migration between places which differ in terms of intervening distance, economic characteristics or amenities. Examples are: Richard Lycon, "Interprovincial Migration in Canada: The Role of Spatial and Economic Factors," Canadian Geographer 13 (1969): 237-254; Donald Bogue and W. S. Thompson, "Migration and Distance," American Sociological Review 14 (1949): 236-244; and H. H. Karp, "Migration and Functional Expansion: An Ecological Analysis of Population Redistribution," Land Economics 47 (1971): 365-372. Richard Morrill in "The Development of Models of Migration," in Human Displacements, ed. Jean Sutter (Monaco: Entretiens de Monaco en Sciences Humaines, 1963), pp. 213-229 reviews a variety of other ecological modeling attempts. The advantages and disadvantages of ecological and behavioral models are further explained in this source.

[3]An outstanding work presenting the function of locational stress in the process of the decision to migrate is Julian Wolpert, "Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress," Journal of Social Issues 22 (1966): 92-102. Wolpert's work deals with the implications of loca-

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION DECISION PROCESS MODEL



Source: Brown, Lawrence and Moore, Eric. "The Intra-Urban Migration Process: A Perspective," in Larry S. Bourne, Internal Structure of the City. 1971.

FIGURE 2.2

seek a new dwelling, identified as Phase I of the migration decision. The household's environment is a continuous source of stimuli to which an individual responds. Certain stimuli create a state of stress for the household to which the household responds by (1) adjusting its needs to reduce the stress situation to tolerable levels; (2) restructuring the environment relative to the household to meet household needs; or (3) relocate, either in part or in whole.

Phase II of the model (figure 2.2) details the search and evaluation process. The individual defines upper and lower aspiration levels that are utilized as constraints in the search process. Known vacancies are investigated until a place meets one's aspiration levels, and then a move may result. The search procedure continues until a move is made or stress at the origin is reduced.

In long-distance migration, the distinction between the decision to move and the selection of alternatives is not as clear-cut. Wolpert's

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tional decisions by individuals and groups under strain caused by noxious environmental forces. The stress factor is responsible for the search behavior leading to the selection of an alternative site. An article introducing the ideas of information fields, social space and diffusion and how these effect the decision to migrate is Richard Morrill and F. R. Pitts, "Marriage, Migration and the Mean Information Field: A Study in Uniqueness and Generality," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 57 (1967): 401-422. The influence of kinship ties upon the decision process is presented in two studies: James Brown, H. K. Schwarzwaller and J. J. Mangalam in "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem Faily: An American Variation on a Theme by LePlay," Rural Sociology 28 (1963): 48-69 discuss the function of the kinship system not only in the movement of information and resulting migration decisions but in the adjustment of individuals within a migration system. F. M. Berardo in "Kinship Interaction and Communication Among Space-Age Migrants," Journal of Marriage and the Family 29 (1967): 541-554 discusses the role of kinship ties among upper class whites in the migration process. B. J. L. Berry and Paul Schwind in "Information and Entropy in Migrant Flows," Geographical Analysis 1 (1969): 5-14 analyze information flows and information gains in migration by using entropy theory.

place utility is a more integrated decision concept. Place utility is a positive or negative quantity expressing the individual's assessment of the net worth of a place. The utility associated with other points consists primarily of anticipated utility which lacks the reinforcement of past rewards. This is why information flow is so important in long-distance migration; information about prospects for residence must compensate for the lack of personal reinforcement (Wolpert, 1965, p. 161).

Decision Process in Employment Assistance

The decision process for migration sponsored by the Employment Assistance programs differs from prior models because of the importance of external forces in the decision process. Figure 2.1 is a schematic representation of the interactions present in the relocation decision. The important aspects of the decision process are as follows:

1. The role played by the relocation officer. The relocation officer performs two functions that have an impact on the decision to move and the selection of a destination. The amount of migration from an agency is related to the distribution of information about the program. The relocation officer is responsible for "publicizing information concerning relocation opportunities and employment, <u>including living conditions</u> in the cities to which relocation is encouraged" (Madigan, 1956, p. 6). The time at which the information is received by the Indian is important to the decision process. If an Indian receives the information prior to his/her decision to migrate under the program, the resultant decision can be viewed principally as a "pull" stimulus response, i.e., the impetus is one of attraction to the program's alternatives. In this case the relocation officer has a major

role in the decision to move and the selection of the destination. In other instances, information about the program is received after the individual has made the decision to migrate. In such cases, the importance of the relocation officer to the migration process is minimal.

In addition to information dispersal, the relocation officer counsels all potential program participants. This includes vocational counseling and selection of destination areas, both of which directly influence the pattern of migration flow from an agency. The direct involvement of the relocation officer in the selection of destinations is the major distinction between a voluntary migration and programmed relocation. It constitutes the basic reason for posing this investigation.

2. Governmental policy, more specifically that of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is an external force influencing the pattern of migration. Governmental policy directly bears on the migration process in two ways: (1) eligibility and (2) designation and appropriation of funds for destination areas. Eligibility criteria are set by federal policy. For example, the blood quantum of the participant must be documented and meet threshold criteria. The number of moves an individual may make under the program is limited by federal policy although the relocation officers make exceptions when appropriate.

The destination cities supported by the relocation program are determined by federal policy. Also, the amount of money available to assist and support relocatees at each destination is set by the government. How this money is dispersed makes a significant impact on the pattern of migration. For example, a relocatee may wish to move to

Denver; however, if funds are not available to support the move, a new destination must be selected or the individual is dropped from the program.

Several secondary effects illustrated in the model are significant because they raise important questions regarding the impact of the program on all the distribution of information (figure 2.1). An individual may have extensive consultation with the officer, but decide not to move or is ineligible for Employment Assistance. The effect this added information on urban areas has on any subsequent voluntary movement by the individual is important if the overall impact of the Employment Assistance policy on movement patterns is understood. Unfortunately the data in this research do not permit an investigation of secondary effects.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs stresses that the program is entirely voluntary; and that the initial decision to migrate is the individual's; however, from the time the individual seeks aid, the decision is no longer his alone. The move may be determined more by the relocation counselor's success with a particular center than by any real desire for the individual to go to that center. Since the destination city field office must accept each application prior to the move (Madigan, 1956, p. 5), the amount of money appropriated to a particular city may be the deciding factor. Whatever the case, the individual must share in the decision process with the employment agent.

Movement through the Employment Assistance Program: Environmental Considerations

Ecological models have been used extensively in migration analysis. Their use rather than the behavioral models is a function of data

problems as well as philosophical differences. To operationalize behavioral models requires survey data for migrants and non-migrants in sufficient numbers to warrant empirical varification of model relationships. Except for a few large national surveys, there does not exist a standard data source for the variables needed to operationalize behavioral models.

Ecological models are based on data sources that are generally available from standard data sources, e.g., national census. Data requirements, while important to the selection model, should not be the sole determinant for selection of ecological models. Theory is also important.

Beginning with Revenstein the process of migration has been viewed in terms of: (1) factors associated with points of origin; (2) factors associated with destination; (3) intervening barriers or obstacles; and (4) socio-economic characteristics of the migrants. Migration is viewed as an individual's response to environmental differences, and migration flows are thought to exist between areas that are polar in terms of the environmental qualities sought by the individual.[4] Economic variables have been used most frequently in ecological models of long-distance migration. Use of economic variables is based on the

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[4]Examples of the use of ecological models in migration analyses are numerous. Among studies using this technique are: M. L. Bright and D. S. Thomas, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities," American Sociological Review 6 (1941): 773-783; E. C. Isbell, "Internal Migration in Sweden and Intervening Opportunities," American Sociological Review 9 (1944): 626-639; S. A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities and Competing Migrants," Journal of Regional Science 2 (1960): 1-26; Richard Lycon, "Interprovincial Migration" (pp. 237-254); H. H. Karp, "Migration and Functional Expansion" (pp. 365-372); L. A. Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," Journal of Political Economy 70 (1962): 80-93; Phillip Nelson, "Migration, Real Income and Information," Journal of Regional Science 1 (1959): 43-74.

assumption that most long-distance migration is economically motivated. Although the acceptance of normative behavior has been a major assumption for ecological modeling; it is not essential to the ecological concept. Variations in any environmental characteristics, e.g., discrimination, climatic conditions, or social milieu are stimuli that generate migration flows between areas (Ullman, 1959).

Intervening obstacles are also an integral part of the ecological models of migration. Distance between origin and potential destinations has been used most frequently as a measure of this effect. Difficulty in overcoming the economic and phychic costs of distances has been a basic theme in ecological modeling. Empirical verifications attest to the importance of distance in influencing migration patterns. The distance/frequency association, however, points to one of the weaknesses of ecological modeling. Although the relationship exists, it differs with the type of migration. More importantly, explanations for the relationship have not been adequately developed. Distance may reflect the significance of economic costs, information, or psychic costs to migration. Rarely can one clearly identify the reasons for the distance/frequency relationship.

Characteristics of the migrants can also be incorporated in an ecological model of migration. Individuals respond differently to environmental stimulus. Age, sex, race, and income variations in the migrant are important factors influencing the pattern of migration between areas,[5] and their inclusion in the model helps differentiate between the influence of different ecological variables.

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[5]Some examples of ecological studies considering migrant characteristic differentials were documented earlier. However, some additional

Personal factors also influence the individual's decision to migrate. These exist throughout the life of the individual, but some occur in association with particular life cycle stages. Personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions can vary with the life cycle. Stages in the life cycle are reached when migration is the expected action (Lee, 1966, p. 292). Likewise there are periods where the propensity to move is reduced.

Many of the relationships tested in ecological models can be linked to behavioral concepts. Problems arise, however, in ascribing aggregate relationships to individuals. Ecological modeling procedures are utilized to examine out-migration in this study. The data used in the model are for individuals. Thus, while ecological modeling procedures are utilized, the data allow for a better understanding of the individual differences.

Variables: The Case of Oklahoma Indian Migration

To analyze the movement of American Indians from Oklahoma by relocation programs, it is necessary to identify those variables that are thought to have an influence on the pattern of out-migration.

Environmental variables. Although variables dealing with the characteristics of the origin and destinations are normally included in

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examples are: Everett Lee, "Migration in Relation to Education, Intellect and Social Structure," Population Index 6 (1970): 437-444; L. A. Sjaastad, "The Relationship between Migration and Income in the United States," Papers of the Regional Science Association 6 (1960): 37-64; D. S. Thomas, "Age and Economic Differentials in Interstate Migration," Population Index 24 (1958): 313-325; Ann Miller, "Migration Differentials in Labor Force Participation: United States, 1960," Demography 3 (1966): 58-67; R. J. Johnson, "Some Tests of a Model of Intra-Urban Population Mobility: Melbourne, Australia," Urban Studies 6 (1969): 34-57.

ecological models, only variables related to destination are included in the research. Elimination of origin variables is based on two considerations. The Bureau of Indian Affairs defines its agencies' regions as "areas where there is a large Indian population, opportunities for self-support are inadequate, land resources are insufficient either in quality or quantity, industrial development is negligible, and a considerable portion of the Indian population is faced with the alternative of leaving the area" (Madigan, 1956, p. 1). If this is correct, then variations in the socio-economic conditions of the origin areas should be minimal and should have limited influence in explaining differences in out-migration. Moreover, since the program is designed for people in need of employment assistance, one can assume that lack of employment opportunities in the origin area is the most significant variable influencing out-migration.

The selection of a destination city is based on social as well as economic conditions. Destination cities were selected by the government because they had a diversified, industrial employment base. Since to participate in the program, the migrant must either have a job or have a high probability of getting one upon arrival, uncertainities about employment are minimal. Consequently, social considerations at the destination become important in explaining the migration of an individual to a particular center.

An important social factor is whether a compatible Indian community exists in the destination center. The existence of such a community makes the process of adjustment to the city much less difficult and possibly does contribute to the individual's knowledge of opportunities

in the city in the beginning (Lee, 1966, p. 297). One measure of an Indian community is the Indian population in the city. A sizable Indian population would help the new arrival in making adjustments and reduce the cultural shock encountered. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the larger the Indian population in a given center, the greater the migration to that center.

As migration continues between a specific origin and destination, more information is sent back to the agency. If this continues, the flow of migrants from the agency to a destination should increase with time. This means that people from the same region will accumulate in the destination city and aid new arrivals. If this is true, then one expects volumes of migration to increase to particular destinations with time. Also, Indian population at the point of origin should be directly related to the amount of Indian migration from that agency. The greater the Indian population served by an agency, the greater the volume of migration from that agency.

It is hypothesized that American Indians moving by sponsored migration are more prone to move a short distance than a long distance, i.e., a move to Oklahoma City or Dallas is more likely than a move to Los Angeles or Chicago because of better information about the nearer centers and the ease of return if dissatisfied.[6] Since all cost of transportation for migrants is paid for by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, distance in the case of sponsored migration is more important as a barrier to the flow of information. The phychic cost of distance is also important. The benefits from relocation must outweigh the social costs

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[6]See footnote on page 16 for further documentation of this topic.

involved in leaving the familiar for movement to occur (Comay, 1972, pp. 419-429).

Attributes of movers. Characteristics of the individual are also important in explaining migration patterns. Age is the most important attribute influencing migration. Since the Employment Assistance Program was originally designed to assist people entering the labor market, most participants should be young. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the largest volume of the migrants moving through sponsored migration will be between the ages of seventeen and thirty-six.

The marital status of the migrant is also an important migrant attribute. The propensity to migrate is high at the time of marriage; however, with the advent of a family this propensity decreases and the likelihood of movement decreases with the passage of time and the growth of the family unit size. The kinship ties to the place of residence are multiplied. Single Indians and married couples without children find it relatively easy to move in comparison to those with larger families. It is hypothesized, therefore, that there will be an inverse relationship between family size and the distance of movement through the relocation program, i.e., the larger the family unit size, the shorter the distance of the sponsored move (Bowles and Tarver, 1965).

E. G. Ravenstein pointed out in his study that females tended to migrate shorter distances than males. In government-sponsored migration this finding should hold true because the same factors which restrict long-distance migration by females in the general population, e.g., strong family ties, greater degree of dependence among family members, and role of the females in society, are in effect. Females

will represent the greatest volume of short-distance movers.[7]

The educational attainment level of the mover plays a significant role in the selective process of migration. Indians with a greater degree of formal education are more prone to perceive the relocation program as an opportunity for a higher quality lifestyle. Also, the more highly educated the individual, the more likely he will learn of the program and of conditions at the point of destination (Bogue, Shyrock & Hoermann, 1957). Lee (1970) states that the more educated an individual, the more specialized his abilities. Individuals must move to the location of demand for highly specialized jobs. As the individual becomes increasingly well educated, his awareness space increases both as a result of the learning process and as a need to find desirable employment. Therefore, the higher the educational level, the greater the propensity to move and the longer the move. Consequently, it is hypothesized that a direct relationship will exist between the educational attainment level of the individual and the distance of the move.

The relationship of these variables to Indian out-migration is important. Taken in conjunction with the decision model this makes possible explanations of patterns and the formation of generalizations

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[7]A number of studies have found the relationship between sex and distance of migration to be in effect. E. G. Ravenstein in "The Laws of Migration" (pp. 167-235) points out its occurrence among migrants in England. D. J. Bogue, H. S. Shyrock, Jr. and S. A. Hoermann in Sub-regional Migration in the United States, 1935-40, vol. 1: Streams of Migration (Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1957), point out the varying migration rates between males and females. F. M. Berardo in "Kinship Interaction and Communications among Space-Age Migrants," (pp. 541-544) documents strong family ties of females and parents.

concerning sponsored migration. The movement out from a particular point by a volume of people is, however, usually accompanied by the return by some back to the point of origin. Consequently, to fully understand the migration process of Indians, the return aspect of sponsored migration must be considered.

Return-Migration

The return-migration associated with relocation is a major part of this research. Movement away from the initial center can be of two types: return-migration and secondary migration. Return-migration is movement back to the area of the original agency, and secondary migration is movement away from the destination city but not back to the home area, for example, from Denver to St. Louis.

The stability of the relocation process is important for it is a measure of the locational effectiveness of the program. The analysis of stability is also necessary for migration accounting procedure. If migrants are staying only a week or two in the urban environment before returning to the point of origin, in accordance with migration literature (Lee, 1966) no official relocation has taken place. In addition, some perspective on the success of the urban assimilation process will be achieved by an analysis of the return-migration patterns.

General Theory of Return-Migration and Assimilation

The counterstream phenomenon in migration is well documented.[8] Explanations for the counterstream vary. Some individuals return due to

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[8]A number of studies have dealt with the out-versus return-migration flows. Among these are: John Vanderkamp, "Migration Flows, their

the acquisition of new attributes, money or skills, at destination. The new attributes allow the individual to return to the point of origin under more advantageous conditions, economic as well as social. After relocating migrants may become aware of opportunities at origin that were not previously evident. The individual returns to take advantage of the opportunities. Some migrants retire to the home area. Others fail to assimilate at the point of destination and return to the more familiar home environment. In general, the stronger the social ties with people in the origin area, the more likely the individual is to become aware of opportunities there (Roseman, 1971).

Since many relocatees are moving from an area of familiarity to a markedly different type of environment, the problem of coping with a new environment is a very real problem for Indian relocatees. Although other rural Americans and European immigrants moved into urban societies, their experience is different from the Indians', these groups shared some values of urban society. American Indians, however, despite tribal differences hold to certain common values that are different or are completely contrary to those of the dominant white society. Most Indians are not aggressive toward others. They do not like to compete. In conflict situations they are more likely to withdraw than speak out. They would rather share their money and goods than to budget and save. Traditionally, a man's prestige was based on what he had given away and not

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Determinants and the Effects of Return-Migration," Journal of Political Economy 79 (1971): 1012-1031; Wen Li, "Matrix Analysis of Migration Streams" (pp. 174-181); C. C. Roseman, "Channelization of Migration Flows from the Rural South to the Industrial Midwest," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers 3 (1971): 140-146; D. J. Bogue, H. S. Shyrock, Jr. and S. A. Hoermann, Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40 (pp. 1-24).

what he had accumulated. The functional realistic time dimension is short and the deferring of educational or economic goals is alien (Ablon, 1965, p. 363). The adjustment process is not only one of adjustment from a rural-to-urban environment, but also adjustment to a totally alien value system for most movers. Therefore, the Indian relocating in an urban setting must undergo a much more complicated adjustment process than most urban immigrants.

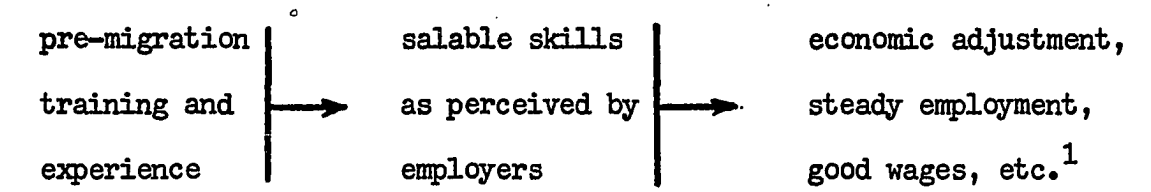
Because the migrant returns to the jurisdiction of his area offices does not mean he did not adjust to the urban environment. If, however, he remains in the city, some form of adjustment has occurred because he cannot be supported indefinitely in this environment by the Bureau of Indian Affairs Services. The adjustment may constitute only a move from federal assistance under the Bureau of Indian Affairs to assistance under state welfare, but some economic adjustment has taken place.

Theories of Indian Assimilation

A goal of the Employment Assistance Program is the assimilation of the American Indian into the mainstream of American life; a goal not always held by the relocatee. The quality of a migrant's economic adjustment is obviously a critical factor in whether he remains in the city. Graves (1966) has adopted a simple conceptual model for explaining economic adjustment. Graves assumed that a migrant's economic adjustment in the city depends on his capacity to display salable productive skills. He points out that this is a function of his pre-migration training and experience—his education, especially vocational training, and his contact with whites, especially in work experience (figure 2.3). Graves points out that these linkages are not direct; they are mediated

by employer perceptions of the migrant and the model is diagrammatically expressed as:

Figure 2.3. Graves' Conceptual Model for Economic Adjustment



[1]SOURCE: Theodore Graves, "Alternative Models for the Study of Urban Migration," Human Organization 25 (1966): 29.

The result of economic adjustment and steady employment according to Graves is continued residence in the city. If economic adjustment is not achieved, the relocatee will return to the area of origin. The literature dealing with the movement of American Indians to urban environments generally tends to emphasize economic reasons for movement (Martin, 1964; Ablon, 1965; Price, 1968; Sorkin, 1969 and Graves, 1966). These studies generally conclude that the city is perceived by Indian migrants as providing desired economic-material goals, whereas the reservation is considered limited in this sphere. They believe, however, that social love-and-affection goals, such as interaction with family and friends can best be attained on the reservation. Most authors agree that if the economic advantages of the city were available on the reservation, most Indians would prefer to remain on the reservation.

Chadwick and White (1973) in their study focused on the percentage of the person's adult life lived in an urban environment rather than on return-migration, but the concept is similar to the return process.

In their study six hypotheses relating employment, income, education, housing, acceptance of white culture, and Indian ancestry to continued urban residence were tested. The most significant finding to emerge from the study was the eminence of non-economic factors in explaining the continued residence of Spokane Indians in an urban environment. This result conflicts with much of the previous literature on the relocation program. Graves and Van Arsdale (1966) found that the economic advantages of urban living kept most Navajo in Denver. They pointed out the importance of non-economic factors in pulling migrants back to the reservation. The difference between Graves and Van Arsdale's and Chadwick and White's findings is in part due to differences in dependent variables. In Graves' study the dependent variable was current residence, i.e., either urban or reservation. In Chadwick and White's, it was the number of years of continued urban residence regardless of where the individual resided at the time. Also, different tribal groups and different urban centers were investigated by the two studies.

Roy's (1962) model of assimilation of Spokane Indians included three social processes. The three steps were acculturation, social integration, and amalgamation. Acculturation was measured in terms of socio-economic-status variables such as education, standard of living, and occupation. Socially integrated Indians were integrated into the formal institutional systems, government and church, that are set up primarily for Indians but had little interaction in voluntary organizations, particularly the fraternal ones. Amalgamation, measured as the percentage of white ancestry among Indians, was inversely related to age and directly related to education, standard of living, and income. Roy

concluded that the intercorrelation between all the measures of assimilation showed that Indian adults have been "progressively achieving higher socio-economic status, more education, higher standard of living and income, and are being amalgamated into white society." Ablon (1965) in contrast found that the basic Indian values are resistant to change. In her study in the Bay Area, she did not encounter any Indians she considered to be assimilated. Once again the explanation may be the different tribes being considered, the different cities, and the different determinants of assimilation.

Studies examining the characteristics of Indian who return after relocation have focused on a series of socio-economic attributes. Martin (1964) has shown that Indian migrants who are younger in age, have a higher level of educational attainment and have mixed blood—white and Indian, are more likely to adjust and remain in the urban environment than their older, less well-educated, full-blooded counterparts. Sorkin (1969) cited a study of Navajo relocation which found that those Indians who had attended public school and had previous occupational experience at school trades tended to remain in the city longer than those who did not. The study found that by 1968 over one-third of a sample of Indians relocated in 1963 had furthered their education by attending night school. In addition, a significant decline in anti-social behavior, as measured by the number of arrests, was observed for a sample of participants in the program. Definitely negative correlations with residence in the city were found for families with five or more children, heads of families over forty, and persons completing less than four grades of school. Chadwick and White (1973) found the two most important factors in continued

urban residence of Spokane Indians in Spokane were: (1) spouse's white ancestry, and (2) acceptance of white culture (white self-identity). The variables of age, white ancestry, regularity of work and education were not significant.

Return-Migration Variables

Nine hypotheses pertaining to return-migration are tested. The nine were selected because of their relevance to existing theories of return-migration.

Graves (1966), Graves and Van Arsdale (1966), Martin (1964) and Chadwick and White (1973) suggest that an important variable influencing adjustment to urban living is the Indian blood quantum. Martin (1964) suggests that blood quantum is related to the individual's self-concept of degree of Indianness. An individual of one-half or less Indian blood has less difficulty assimilating than an individual with three-fourths or more Indian blood, and, therefore, is less likely to return to the area of origin. This is based on the premise that an individual with less than three-fourths Indian blood is less likely to have a strong Indian self-concept than an individual with three-fourths or more Indian blood. The individuals who perceive themselves as Indians are more prone to perceive the white culture as alien (Ablon, 1965). Therefore, it is hypothesized that the greater the percentage of Indian blood, the more likely the return-move.

Three variables tested in other studies of Indian migration and assimilation are the age, sex, and family unit size of migrants. Cullum (Sorkin, 1969) found an inverse relationship between family size and the tendency to remain in the urban setting. The larger the family unit size,

the more difficult the original move and the greater the number of individuals who must be satisfied with the area of destination. Also, the ties with the home area are multiplied by the number in the family. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the larger the family unit size, the more likely the return movement.

Martin (1964), Sorkin (1969), and Chadwick and White (1973) all found that younger migrants have a greater tendency to remain in the destination center than do older ones. Younger people, singles or married with children, moving during the age span of eighteen through thirty-five are moving because of compelling factors in the life cycle and are more adaptable to an urban environment than their older counterparts. Therefore, it is hypothesized that a direct relationship exists between age and the propensity to return to the area of origin.

Studies on sponsored migration have found opposite results for females and the assimilation process. Martin (1964) had a higher degree of assimilation for females than males for Navajo and Choctaw relocates, but a lower success rate for Sioux females. Chadwick and White (1973) found degree of white ancestry of the spouse, regardless of relocatee's sex, the most important determinant of Spokane Indians' assimilation in Spokane. Earlier, it was hypothesized that females would constitute a large portion of short-distance movers. If this is true, females will be closer to the home region. Therefore, it is hypothesized that females will have a higher propensity to return to the area of origin than males.

Educational attainment level and success of relocation were found to be correlated by Martin (1964) and Sorkin (1969). Chadwick and White (1973), however, found no relationship. An individual with a relatively

high educational attainment level should be capable of making the necessary adjustments upon arrival in the urban setting. Therefore, it is hypothesized that migrants with relatively low educational attainment levels will have a higher propensity to return to the area of the agency than those with relatively higher attainment levels.

Distance is significant in return-migration (Stouffer, 1960). Someone moving a short distance from the home area is more capable of maintaining informational ties with the area than one who moves a long distance from the home area; consequently, he will be more aware of opportunities in the home area and more capable of returning to take advantage of them. Family members and friends are more accessible when the move is a short-distance one; consequently, kinship ties become influential in pulling the resident home. Also, the short-distance mover has relatively little cost to overcome if he wishes to return to the home area. Therefore, it is hypothesized that short-distance movers will have a greater propensity to return to the area of origin than long-distance movers.

Economic adjustment is critical to remaining in the urban environment (Graves, 1966 and Graves and Van Arsdale, 1966). An abundance of diversified employment opportunities should enhance the migrant's chances of finding compatible employment. A surrogate measure of the employment market in urban centers is the total population of the city. Using this as an employment indicator, it is hypothesized that the larger the population of an urban center, the smaller the stream of return-migration from that center.

Ablon (1964), Ablon (1965), and Price (1968) all stress the im-

portance of the size of the Indian population in the destination center. The urban Indian community assists the new arrivals in making adaptations to the new setting and cushions the shock of the change by presenting the new arrivals with a familiar reference group. The important role of the Indian community at the destination suggests the hypothesis that the greater the number of Indians in the center, the smaller the return-migration stream.

Clinton, Chadwick and Bahr (1973), Graves (1966), and Graves and Van Arsdale (1966) all found a high degree of correlation between migrants with a salable skill and the level of assimilation. The adult vocational program is one means of acquiring a salable skill, consequently, it is hypothesized that Direct Employment relocatees who have successfully completed a vocational program will constitute a significant number of those who do not return to the area of origin.

Methodology Utilized in the Investigation of Oklahoma Indian Migration

To analyze the hypothesized relationships, five years (1967-1971) of data were obtained from the Employment Assistance files of the eleven state Bureau of Indian Affairs' agency offices. The data files were obtained with the permission of the state's two area directors and area Employment Assistance directors.

Information in the files included personal data and relocation information. In addition, the records contained accounts of the relocatee's progress and adjustment problems at the new center. If the individual moved from the destination center, a record of the movement was usually available, particularly if it occurred within three years of the initial move. It should be stressed that the location of Indians utilized in the study represents the last known address of the trainee.

The focus of this study is in the influence of the Employment Assistance on migration patterns, rather than the contemporary distribution of Employment Assistance relocatees.

Comparative Analysis

One aspect of the research is a comparative analysis of sponsored and non-sponsored Indian migration. The analysis includes a comparison of volume of migration, spatial patterns of movement, and the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants. Census data as well as Employment Assistance information are used. Differences in data set necessitated slightly different classes of characteristics. Categories selected for comparison were determined primarily by what has been determined significant by researchers in the field of migration analysis and by what was available in both census and Bureau of Indian Affairs' data. Comparisons were made among the state total population, Adult Vocational Training participants, Direct Employment participants and total Employment Assistance Program participants.

The socio-economic characteristics compared were age, educational attainment level using the median for the state and the mode for the assisted movers, sex, and mean family size. Cartographic techniques were used to compare the geographic patterns of movement. Census regions were used because of limitations posed by the census information. This generalized the comparison, but gross variations were discernible.

Out-Migration for Sponsored Migrants

Tabular and cartographic analysis. Cartographic and statistical techniques were utilized to analyze the movement of Employment Assist-

ance migrants. State and agency aggregations were used. The total movement for the entire state of Oklahoma to each of the destination centers for each year was calculated. This was also done for each agency. Since each agency deals primarily with a particular tribe or tribes, inferences about the influence of tribal variations were possible. The agency aggregation also was more useful in showing regional flows with the state.

The movement of Direct Employment migrants for each of the five years was mapped. State totals were compared to agency totals for the five-year period. The proportion of agency-to-state migration to each destination was also presented cartographically.

A comparison of migrant characteristics among agencies was also done. Indian agency comparison identified significant differences in the behavior of the Employment Assistance migration program within the state. Tables comparing the personal characteristics of participants in the Direct Employment Program and Adult Vocational Program among agencies were calculated. The migrant characteristics were: percentage of Indian blood of the mover, family size, age of the migrant, sex of the mover, and educational attainment. Education was classified into four levels: eighth grade or less, ninth through eleventh grade, high school graduate, beyond high school.

Ecological model: sponsored out-migration of Oklahoma Indians. To analyze migration flows from the agency offices and from the entire state, a linear model of the type:

$$P(M)_i^{t+1} = f(d_{ij}, M_{ij}^t, p_i^j, P_j) \qquad (1)$$

where: $P(M)_i^{t+1}$ = volume of out-migration for the i agency

d_{ij} = distance between the agency and the destination city

M_{ij}^{t} = migration between the agency and the destination city in the previous period

p_i^j = Indian population in the area served by the agency

P_j = Indian population in the destination city

is used to test the various relationships in the model. A multiple regression model of the form:

$$Y=a+b_1x_1+b_2x_2+b_3x_3+b_4x_4 \qquad (2)$$

was used to describe the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. Statistical significance was measured where appropriate. The model was selected because of its widespread use in previous studies of migration, and because of the ecological perspective adopted for the anlysis. The dependent variable was expressed in absolute terms since the data did not permit determination of the proportion of movers to non-movers. The previous year's movement was available from the Employment Assistance record. The distance was measured as airline distance from the location of the agency office to the destination center. For the state, Wewoka was selected as the most central agency and distance was determined from that town. The Indian population of the agency service area was obtained from the 1970 and 1972 Yearbooks for the Anadarko and Muskogee Area Offices. The Indian population of the destination centers was that listed in the 1970 Census of Population.

Return-Migration

Efficiency ratios of stream vs. counterstream. The tendency for migration to become channelized into identifiable streams and counterstreams is well documented. The steam efficiency, i.e., the net redistribution of population, is one method of calculating the relationship

between the two opposing flows. Stream efficiency is meaningful for, as Lee points out in his research, relationships exist between stream efficiency and the characteristics of the place of origin, the destination, or the intervening obstacles. Whether these relationships hold for sponsored migration is important to understanding the system. Also, to measure the influence of the Employment Assistance Program on the distribution of Oklahoma Indians, it is necessary to identify agency and destination efficiency ratios. They provide a measure of the net redistribution of population occurring because of migration.

To determine the efficiency of the streams of migration, an efficiency index was computed using the formula: (Galle and Williams, 1972)

$$SE_{ij} = \frac{\Sigma M_{ij} - \Sigma M_{ji}}{\Sigma M_{ij}} \times 100 \qquad (3)$$

where: SE_{ij} = stream efficiency factor

M_{ij} = migration from origin i to destination j

M_{ji} = return-migration from destination j to origin i.

The efficiency ratios were determined from each agency to each destination over the five-year period. Comparisons among agencies were made. The same index was calculated for each of the destinations, and for total state movement for each year of the program to each of the destination cities. Agencies, cities and years with high or low efficiency ratios were identified and analyzed.

Tabular and cartographic analysis. The same personal characteristics as tabulated for out-migration were calculated for the return-movers[9], the characteristics of the return-migrants were compared to the

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[9]Due to the method of recording return-migrants used by the Concho and Shawnee Agencies, they are excluded from the return-migration analysis.

characteristics of migrants who did not return. The volume of return-migration was mapped to illustrate spatial variations in the flows and significant relationships in stream-counterstream patterns.

Return-migration model. To analyze the importance of environmental and personal attributes in influencing return-movement, a linear model of the type is used:

$$P(RM_{ji}^{t+2}) = f(BQ_r, Fs_r, A_r, S_r, E_r, d_{ji}, Tp_j, pi_j, VT_r) \qquad (4)$$

where: $P(RM_{ji}^{t+2})$ = dummy variable, 1 for return, 0 if stay

BQ_r = Indian blood quantum of the migrant

Fs_r = family size of the migrant

A_r = age of head-of-household

S_r = sex of head-of-household

E_r = educational attainment level of head-of-household

d_{ji} = log of distance from origin to destination

Tp_j = log of total population of relocation center

pi_j = log of Indian population of destination center

VT_r = did migrant have vocational training prior to move.

Multiple regression was used to determine the associations of the variables in the model. The decision to stay in the destination city or return to the state of origin was scaled as a dichotomous variable. By using a dummy variable to represent the decision to return or stay in the destination center as the dependent variable, it is possible to determine the degree of association between the independent variables and the propensity to return to the agency (Comay, 1972).

Unfortunately the range of the dependent variable requires that independent variables with large values must be scaled. Total population,

Indian population, and distance were transformed to a log scale to accomodate the model. The data were each of the Direct Employment migrants who moved under the program. Over 2,000 were included in the analysis. The use of a dichotomous dependent variable with such a population size means that high levels of statistical association are unlikely. Hypotheses can be tested, however, and associations determined. The model was applied at the state level to determine relationships for the entire state, and at the agency level to determine variations that exist between agencies.

CHAPTER III

EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: AGENCY OF SPONSORED RELOCATION

To understand the importance of the Employment Assistance Program in redistributing Oklahoma Indians, the structure and operation of the agency and the program must be fully understood. The structure of the relocation program within the Bureau of Indian Affairs at a national level as well as within the state of Oklahoma is discussed. Program organization, implemented procedures, objectives, and alleged failures are examined so as to obtain a picture of the program's influence upon Oklahoma Indian migration.

Historical Background to Employment Assistance

The historic relationship between whites and Indians in the United States helps explain the volume, distribution, and diversity of Oklahoma's Indians. The Indian population of the state represents more than sixty tribes, an indication of Oklahoma's unusual past (Underhill and Battle, 1970, p. 197). Indians in Oklahoma are concentrated in the northeastern portions of the state (figure 3.1). In some northeastern counties the Indian population is over twenty percent of the total.

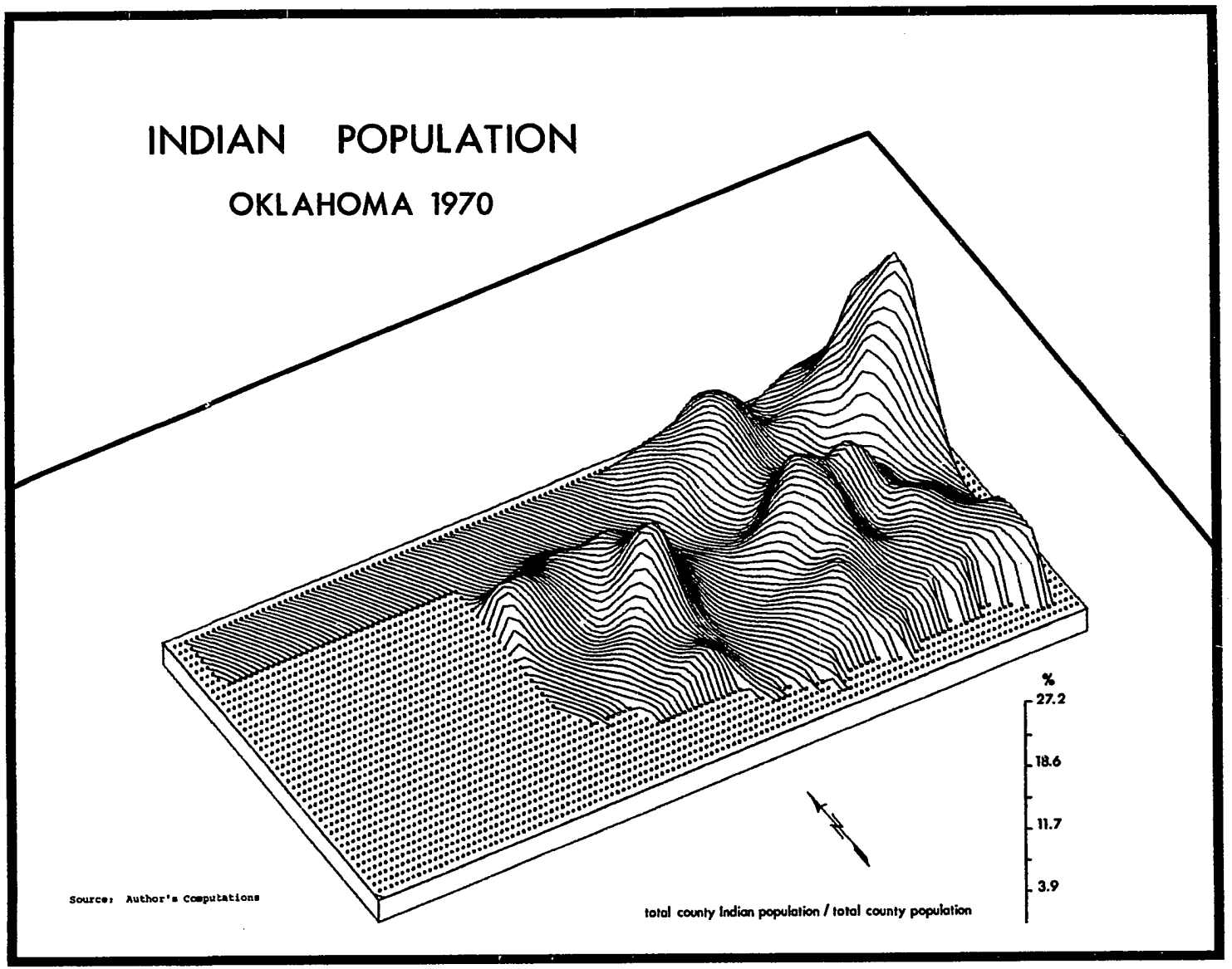
INDIAN POPULATION
OKLAHOMA 1970
%
27.2
18.6
11.7
3.9
Source: Author's Computations
total county Indian population / total county population

FIGURE 3.1

The large and diverse Indian population of the state is explained by the historic role assigned to Oklahoma Territory. Trouble between the European pioneer and American Indians started almost as soon as the former set foot upon the North American continent. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 offered a solution to the white-Indian problem, the movement of all eastern Indians to land west of the Mississippi River. Removal actually became a systematic governmental policy in 1825 with Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, primarily responsible for its implementation. In 1832 during Andrew Jackson's first administration, Congress created the Bureau of Indian Affairs to aid in the removal process. Two years later Congress created Indian Territory and by 1840, the Five Civilized Tribes, numbering approximately 50,000, occupied most of the eastern half of present Oklahoma. Other tribes from the East were moved into the present state. In 1874 and 1875, some Plains Tribes were permanently placed on reservations by the United States Army. This ended the period of forced relocation on reservations by the government (Figures 3.2 and 3.3).[1]

Bureau of Indian Affairs: Oklahoma

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has been the agency charged with administering the Indian policies of the federal government. In this role, it administers the Employment Assistance Program. Employment Assistance directors are normally situated in the area offices at Aberdeen, South Dakota; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Billings, Montana; Juneau,

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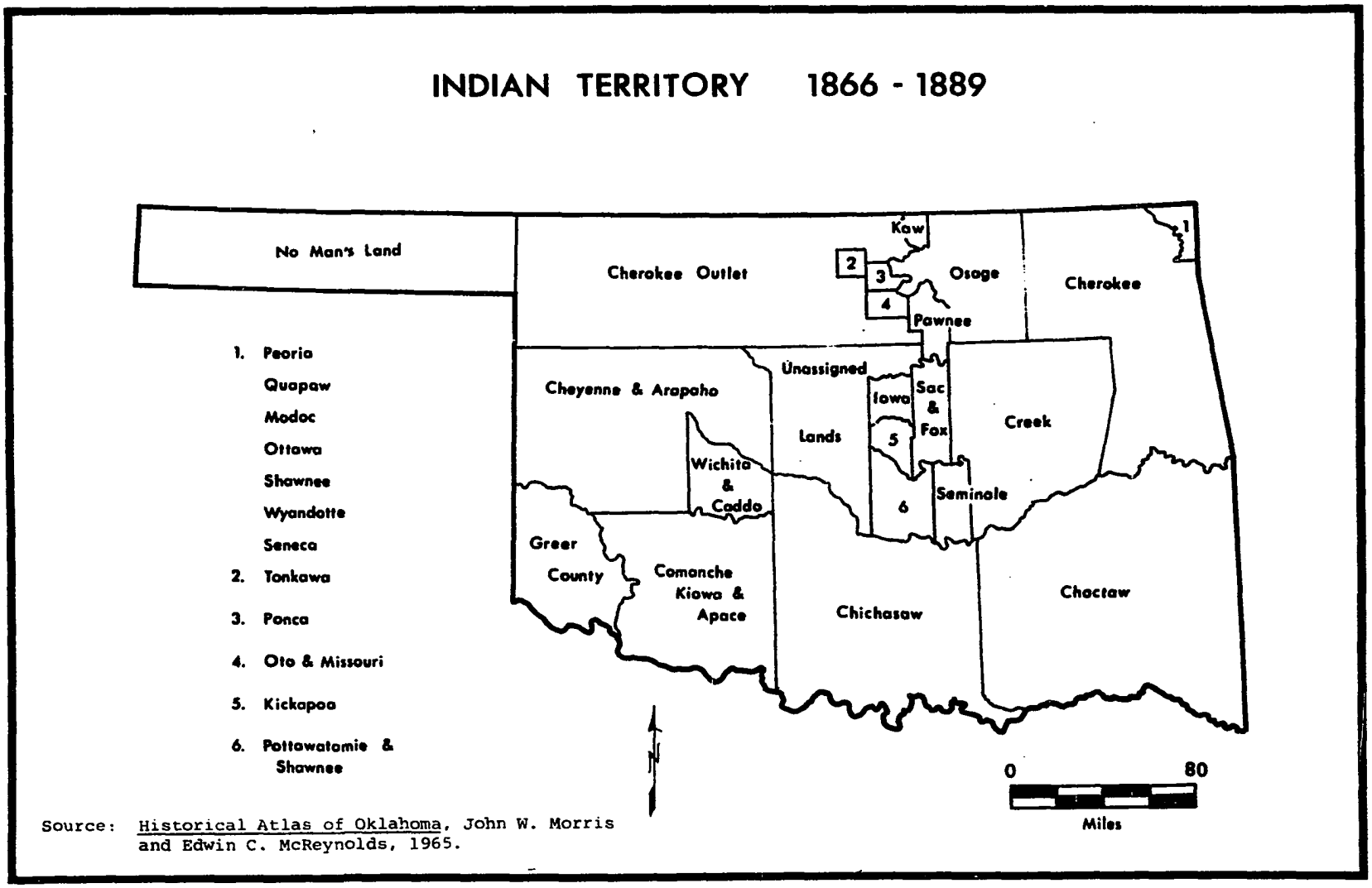
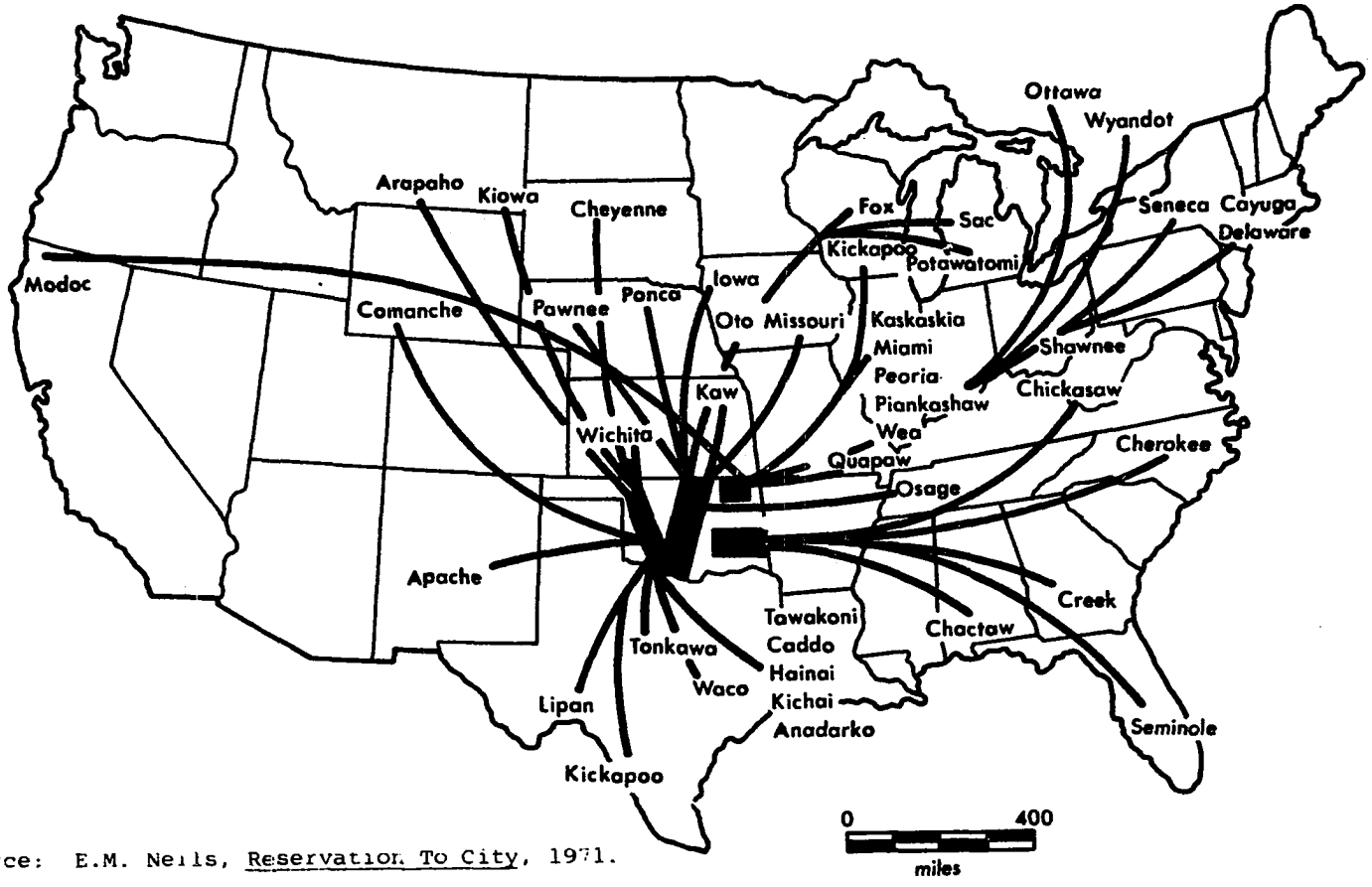
[1]For a general history of the relocation of the various tribes into Oklahoma, see: Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries (Norman, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Corp.), 1965.



Source: Historical Atlas of Oklahoma, John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, 1965.

FIGURE 3.2

ORIGIN OF OKLAHOMA INDIAN TRIBES



Source: E.M. Nells, Reservation To City, 1971.

FIGURE 3.3

Alaska; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Window Rock, Arizona; Portland, Oregon; Sacramento, California; and Anadarko and Muskogee, Oklahoma (figure 3.4).

In Oklahoma, twelve agency offices are under the jurisdiction of the two area offices. Eleven of the agency offices are set up to serve the tribes within the state of Oklahoma; the twelfth is outside the state. Any Indian[2], however, can apply for Employment Assistance from any of the agency offices. Agencies are not restricted to serving only the tribes in their district (D. Williams, personal communication, August 14, 1973).

Five agency offices are under the jurisdiction of the Anadarko Area Office. Each serves a designated geographical region and specific tribes. One of the five agencies, the Horton Agency, is located in Kansas and outside the area considered in this study. The four agencies within the state are Concho, Anadarko, Pawnee, and Shawnee. Their location and the counties they serve are shown in figure 3.5. The Anadarko Agency is in the same town as the area office and serves approximately 17,000 enrolled members of the Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Wichita, Caddo, Delaware, and Fort Sill Apache Tribes (Figure 3.5). The Concho Agency serves the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma whose members live on or adjacent to the original seven county reservation area. Approximately 3,820 live in the agency's boundaries. The Pawnee Agency (figure 3.5) provides services for approximately 5,500 members of the Pawnee, Ponca, Otoe, Kaw, and Tonkawa Tribes. The Shawnee Agency has responsibilities for the Iowa, Sac and Fox, Kickapoo of Oklahoma, the Citizen Band of Pottawatomie, and the Absentee-Shawnee. Their population totals 3,840 (U. S., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko Yearbook: 1970).

Seven agency offices are under the jurisdiction of the Muskogee

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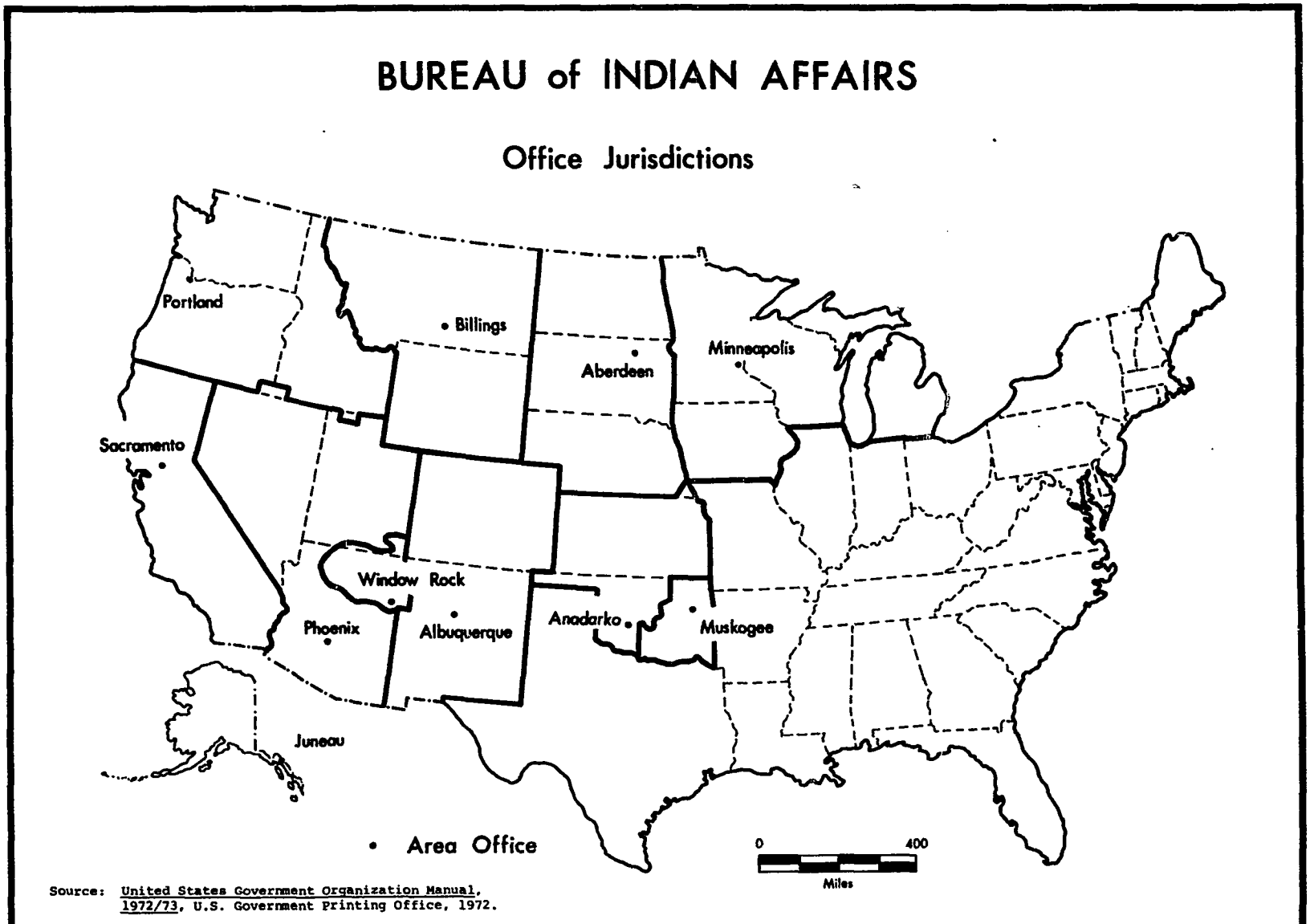
[2]The Bureau of Indian Affairs generally sets minimum requirement at one-quarter blood Indian ancestry. Exceptions are made, however, to comply with tribal standards when at variance with Bureau standards.

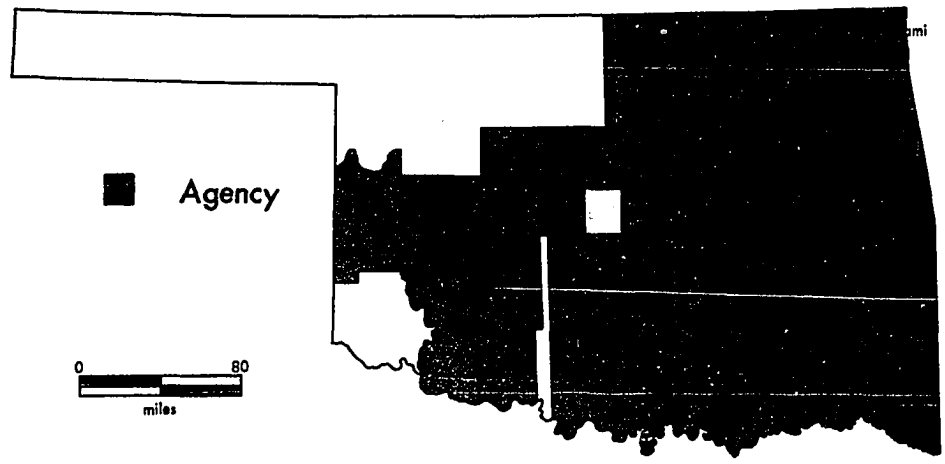


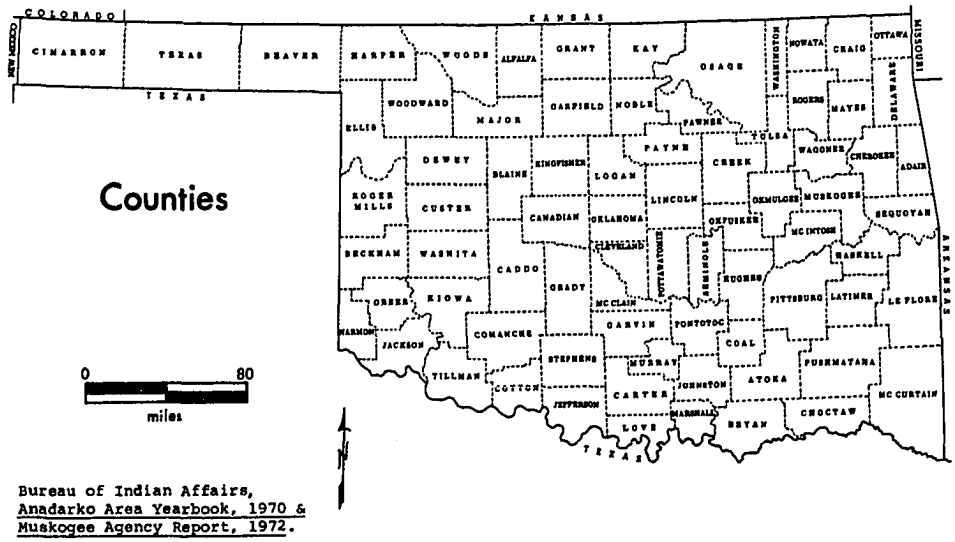
Source: United States Government Organization Manual, 1972/73, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

FIGURE 3.4

BUREAU of INDIAN AFFAIRS—AGENCY BOUNDARIES

OKLAHOMA—1973





Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko Area Yearbook, 1970 & Muskogee Agency Report, 1972.

FIGURE 3.5

Area Office: Ardmore, Miami, Okmulgee, Pawhuska or Osage, Tahlequah, Talihina, and Wewoka (figure 3.5). The Ardmore Agency serves approximately 5,850 members of the Chicksaw Tribe. The approximately 2,000 members of the Eastern Shawnee, Seneca-Cayuga, and Quapaw Tribes are in the jurisdiction of the Miami Agency. The Okmulgee Agency serves the Creek Indians, whose population is approximately 15,618. The Pawhuska Agency or Osage Agency, as it is also known, serves the Osage Tribe, which number about 3,368 people. The Tahlequah Agency is responsible to the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma, the largest tribe in the state with over 21,000 members. The Choctaw people, totaling 10,849, are administered through the Talihina Agency. The Wewoka Agency serves the 3,115 members of the Seminole Tribe (Muskogee Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Report of Program: 1972).

These eleven agencies comprise the total for the state and for this study. Each agency offers Employment Assistance programs, and therefore, is considered a source area for movement. All movement is considered to originate from the agency office.

History of the Relocation Program

The Relocation Program was established in 1952 to be the primary policy for assimilating American Indians into the mainstream of American life. It was to do so by "relocating surplus population away from the reservations or attempting to enlarge the tribal domains and to develop economic opportunities near by" (Forbes, 1964, p. 122).

The critics of the program were many, and the policy was viewed as an attempt to do away with all government responsibilities to the Indian. The philosophy underlying this action has been challenged.

> Alcoholism is symptomatic of a number of basic problems faced by Native Americans whenever they have been forced to adjust to a profound change in their relationships with the

> world beyond the tribe. To move from a rural to a highly urban environment creates tension enough—to move from a tribal society into the center of a great city must be, for many, a traumatic experience. The trauma is deepened by the fact that the federal government seems concerned only with acquiring housing and employment for the relocatee. His social-phychological adjustment is of little moment, and if a meaningful life is to be discovered in the city, the Indians themselves must discover it. Perhaps to be truly "assimilated" every minority must become urban slum-dwellers, sinking into the whirlpool of a great city and becoming absorbed in the mass of humanity around them. But how many private tragedies occur in the whirlpool and how many useful lives are lost along the way (Forbes, 1964, p. 123)?

Opponents of the program argue further:

> Because Indian people showed a marked aptitude for industrial work during the war, and it was obvious they would not succeed as farmers, the solution was simple. Relocate them in urban centers, preferably in each case as far from the home reservation as possible, and legislate the reservation out of existence so that Indian people could not run home when things got tough or share their good fortune periodically with kinsmen who lacked the gumption to get out on their own (Lurie and Levine, 1968, pp. 42-44).

The Indian Affairs Manual states the official purpose of the Relocation Program as:

> Basis of Need. On many Indian reservations throughout the country and in certain other areas where there is a large Indian population, opportunities for self-support are inadequate. Land resources are insufficient either in quantity or quality, industrial development is negligible, and a considerable portion of the Indian population is faced with the alternatives of leaving the area to seek new opportunities, including adequate employment, or remaining to live in privation or dependent, wholly or partially, on some form of public assistance.
>
> Purpose. The purpose of the Relocation Program is to seek and develop areas of opportunities where Indians may relocate and become self-supporting; disseminate information about such opportunities; assist Indians and their families, who voluntarily desire to do so, or move from the reservation, where opportunities for self-support are inadequate, to the new area of their choice; provide or arrange for services to them in adjusting to the new environment; and aid them in securing permanent employment (Madigan, 1956, p. 3).

With a beginning in the early fifties as a program to relocate Navajo applicants in Denver, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles, the Bureau

moved to expand its programs. In 1952, Congress appropriated slightly over one-half million dollars for relocation and opened offices in Los Angeles, Denver, and Chicago to potential Indian urbanites from all Bureau-supervised reservations and areas (Neils, 1971, pp. 71-72). Offices were opened later in Oakland, San Jose, Dallas, Cleveland, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and San Francisco. All were functioning in 1971. Offices were also opened but not maintained in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Joliet, and Waukegan. The centers in Joliet and Waukegan were experiments with centers in smaller communities. The Bureau at that time was working with the assumption that it would be possible for the Indians to make an adjustment to life in smaller communities with less difficulty than in large metropolitan centers. The Bureau was able to develop employment possibilities in these smaller cities, but with the inception of vocational training services for prospective relocatees, these cities did not have the vocational training facilities possessed by the larger urban areas (Neils, 1971, pp. 71-72). Consequently, they were closed.

In the first three years of its existence, the Relocation Program provided transportation to prospective relocatees to the desired destination point, employment placement services, payments of subsistence allotments until the receipt of the first pay check, and some counseling to aid the individual in adjusting to the urban environment. In 1955, appropriations to the program were increased and the Bureau of Indian Affairs enlarged the range of services it could provide.

In 1957, the House of Representatives' Indian Affairs Subcommittee conducted a study of the operations of the relocation program in Chicago and Los Angeles. The subcommittee investigated services rendered

to the Indians, employment and employment opportunities, home environments and other aspects of the program. The subcommittee concluded:

> While the number of placements have shown a steady increase since the inception of the relocation services program, it must be borne in mind that a sizable number of relocatees leave their jobs in which they were placed upon their arrival; others become disillusioned and return to the reservations; and still others become enmeshed in the mainstream of city life and lose their identity as relocatees. Although adverse critics of the program have said that the returnee percentage may be as high as 75 percent, Bureau of Indian Affairs' figures indicate that 71.4 percent of the persons who relocated between 1953 and 1957 remained in their new environment (House Subcommittee, 1957, p. 3).

The debate regarding the percentage of the total number of Indians moving through the Employment Assistance Program who stay in the urban environment still continues. If the desired goals and stated purposes of the program are to be achieved, the relocatee must remain in the urban environment. Therefore, determination of the percentage remaining in the urban environment and factors associated with staying or returning are significant. Analysis of the return-movement of Oklahoma Indians is an attempt to examine this aspect of the program.

Adult Vocational Training: Aid to Adjustment

In 1956, Public Law 959 established the Adult Vocational Training and Employment Assistance programs. By doing so, it added vocational training to the original relocation services. The name of the relocation program was also changed to the Employment Assistance Program. Public Law 959 made three major types of services available to Indian clients: On-the-Job Training, Adult Vocational Training, and Direct Employment. The Law provided for the availability of all these services through the home area offices as well as the field offices. On-the-job Training

provided for the apprentice-type training of Indian employees. It was designed primarily for vocational training in factories in the area of Indian reservations or settlements; relocation was not intended. Adult Vocational Training and Direct Employment services were available both for jobs within the home areas and at the field employment assistance offices.

Indians entering the Adult Vocational Training Program contract to attend vocational classes in some specified field, complete training in the field, then seek employment within the designated field. The costs of attending the vocational school are paid by The Bureau of Indian Affairs, including the cost of tuition and fees for books and tools and the living costs while the individual is in the program. Upon completion, the individual is eligible for Direct Employment Assistance benefits as well as funds for purchase of household goods. The amount of funds available to each is determined according to a fixed family-size scale (Neils, 1971). Therefore, Adult Vocational Training and Direct Employment are the two main classes of services available for relocating Indians away from the areas of dense Indian population. Persons who have a job prior to arrival in the field office may also apply for relocating assistance to the field office city and aid in establishing themselves. This would make available to them certain counseling services, but no job orientation or placement or financial assistance would be involved in these cases.

For most persons Direct Employment is limited to three moves. The local agency relocation counselor may allow additional moves in exceptional cases. A relocatee is allowed twenty-four months of voca-

tional training but may repeat as a trainee, or change from one course or school to another. Such courses cover a wide range of fields in an attempt to qualify the applicant in a field for which employment opportunities are good.

The Relocation Process: Role of the Relocation Officer

Relocation is a fairly complex undertaking. A number of steps are prescribed by the Indian Affairs Manual. The Employment Assistance Office publicizes information concerning relocation opportunities and employment, including living conditions in the cities where relocatees may move. The area or agency relocation accepts applications from those desiring Employment Assistance aid. The officer is responsible for discussing with applicants their qualifications for relocation and employment and their needs and desires as well as those of their families. The Employment Assistance officer is also responsible for counseling with the applicants and presenting them with a realistic portrayal of employment opportunities, costs of living, and living conditions in the city. If the applicant agrees, he/she may be encouraged to apply for Adult Vocational Training in one of the Bureau training centers before receiving employment benefits if no prior training has occurred. Once a tentative plan is established this information along with other relevant information is forwarded to the relocation office in the destination city. The area or agency relocation officer makes recommendations for applicants who should be considered favorably when the tentative plan is submitted. Officials in the Employment Assistance Office in the destination city determine if they will accept an applicant or not. Once

the officials accept an applicant, the area or agency officer assists the applicant and his family in making arrangements for departure and counsels them on the change to occur in their lives (Madigan, 1956, pp. 6-7).

The transportation costs of the relocatee are paid as part of the program. The costs of shipping household goods, subsistence enroute and after arrival while the worker establishes himself are also included as support under the program. In addition, tools and equipment are provided at the Bureau of Indian Affairs' expense for the individual who enters apprenticeship training after arrival at the relocation destination.

The Relocation Process: Role of the Field Officer

The city Employment Assistance officer must make a judgement as to whether the applicant can be expected to succeed. If approval is given, the Employment Assistance officer schedules an arrival date. Upon the relocatee's arrival, the officer arranges temporary housing for him/her until he/she has gained regular employment. After becoming established in a job, relocatees are aided in securing permanent housing commensurate with their place of employment and income, if they desire. Counseling and guidance are provided to explain community recreational and social resources and to give aid in budgeting, cost of living, personal appearance, sanitation health facilities, and other necessary topics for a proper adjustment to the new environment. Intensive employment counseling is provided followed by recommendation of the relocatee to employers (Neils, 1971, pp. 65-66).

The operations of the field offices in the destination cities are divided into four programs: vocational training, employment, community living, and housing. The goals of the first two have previously been presented. The others are:

> Housing. One of the principal objectives of the Relocation Services program is to help Indian people appreciate the value of living in standard housing . . . Standard housing should be in reasonable proximity to social and economic resources . . . The Housing obtained must be directly related to the income of the family in order to furnish economic self-sufficiency; it should be adequately provided with the accepted standard household items, utilities, and conveniences; in good condition and meeting community health standards; and the location should be within easy access to work, school, shopping and recreational facilities. The selection of housing according to these criteria should contribute immeasurably to improving the Indian's way of life.
>
> Community Living. The primary purpose of Community Living Assistance is to provide eligible relocatee units (single and family) with sufficient information, timely help on specific problems, and self-confidence to supplement their own resources to enable them to secure the necessities of life on a level of decency and health, consistent with their ability to maintain such levels.
>
> It is also the purpose of Community Living through recognized social services and cooperation with other agencies to assist in strengthening family life and to assist in the development of people in order for them to attain self-sufficiency and independence (Neils, 1971, p. 65).

During the period of adjustment the relocatee is provided counseling on any problem the relocatee wishes to discuss. It is the Bureau's policy that these, as well as subsistence benefits with the exception of informal counseling, should not be available to relocatees after they have established themselves in the community and become eligible for public services. For most relocatees services should not be necessary after one year even though some communities require a longer period of time to become eligible for community assistance (Neils, 1971, pp. 65-66).

Summary

The voluntary Relocation Program began in 1952 to move Indians to the city, find them jobs, and remove them as wards of the government. In the 1960's, while employment was still the objective, Bureau employees spent most of their time counseling and dealing with problems presented by urban living. This reflects in part the policies of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. They were intended to help the American Indian become employed and self-sustaining; thereby, removing him from dregs of poverty which surround most areas of relatively dense Indian population.

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN OUT-MIGRATION FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

The research topics discussed in this chapter are the significance of the Employment Assistance migration to the movement of Indians of Oklahoma; the spatial pattern of sponsored movement and total Indian out-migration; temporal variations in the pattern of Employment Assistance migration; and results of the out-migration model.

Comparisons of Sponsored and State Total Indian Populations

The arrangement of Bureau of Indian Affairs' area and agency offices within Oklahoma makes possible an effective distribution of information regarding Employment Assistance programs. The dissemination of information has a marked impact upon the migration patterns of the state's Indian population. Also, with two field offices within the state, the Indian can make a move within the state under Employment Assistance. Theoretically, any Indian individual considering movement in the state could do so under the Employment Assistance Program. If even a sizable portion do so, there would be a similarity among move-

ment patterns for the total state Indian population and sponsored Indian migration over a similar time period.

The patterns of total Indian migration from 1965 through 1970 (figure 4.1) and those moving during the years of 1967 through 1971 by means of the Employment Assistance Program are quite similar (figure 4.2). Three specific similarities are evident: (1) a high incidence of in-state migration; (2) little movement to the southeast or northeast sections of the nation; and (3) a high frequency of western movement.

Somewhere between thirty-eight and sixty-seven percent of all Oklahoma Indians who moved to a different county were sponsored by either Adult Vocational Training or Direct Employment Assistance. The exact percentage is difficult to calculate because of data problems. The Census Bureau does not record movement of Indians younger than thirteen years of age (no. 7, table 4.1). To compare this cohort to the total for relocated Indians biases the results. The total of all relocated Indians includes some individuals younger than thirteen years of age. The other comparison, head-of-household of relocated Indians to those older than sixteen for the total state Indian population, also biases the results, giving a smaller percentage than actually existed. This comparison excludes all spouses and dependents over sixteen present in the sponsored numbers. Since the sponsored Indian data are recorded by households, personal characteristics of spouses and dependents are not obtainable. If, however, the minimum value is accepted, one mover in three is sponsored by Employment Assistance. A reasonable estimate is that between fifty-five and sixty percent of the movement is spon-

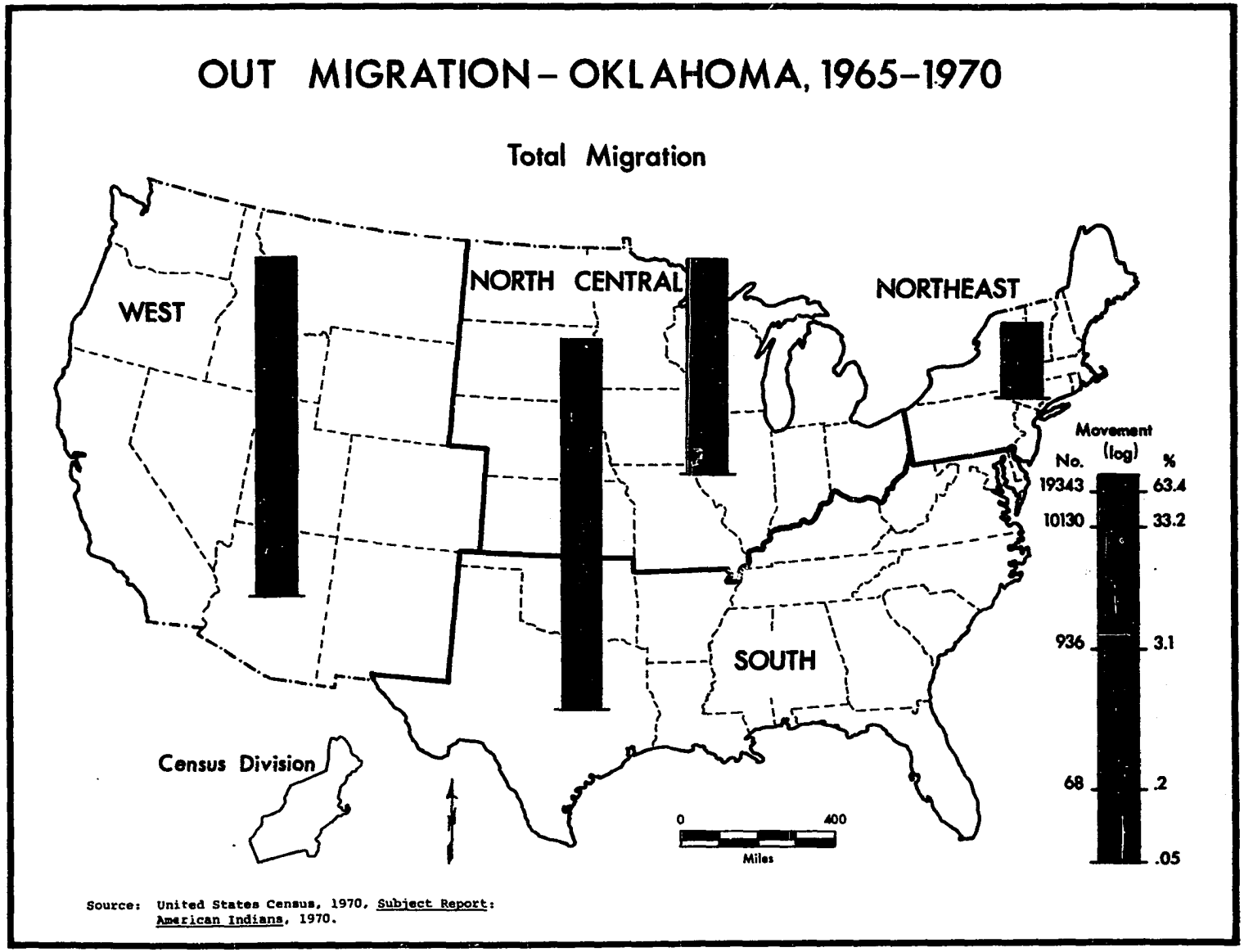

OUT MIGRATION - OKLAHOMA, 1965-1970
Total Migration
WEST
NORTH CENTRAL
NORTHEAST
SOUTH
Census Division
Movement
(log)
No.
%
19343
63.4
10130
33.2
936
3.1
68
.2
.05
0
400
Miles
Source: United States Census, 1970, Subject Report: American Indians, 1970.

FIGURE 4.1

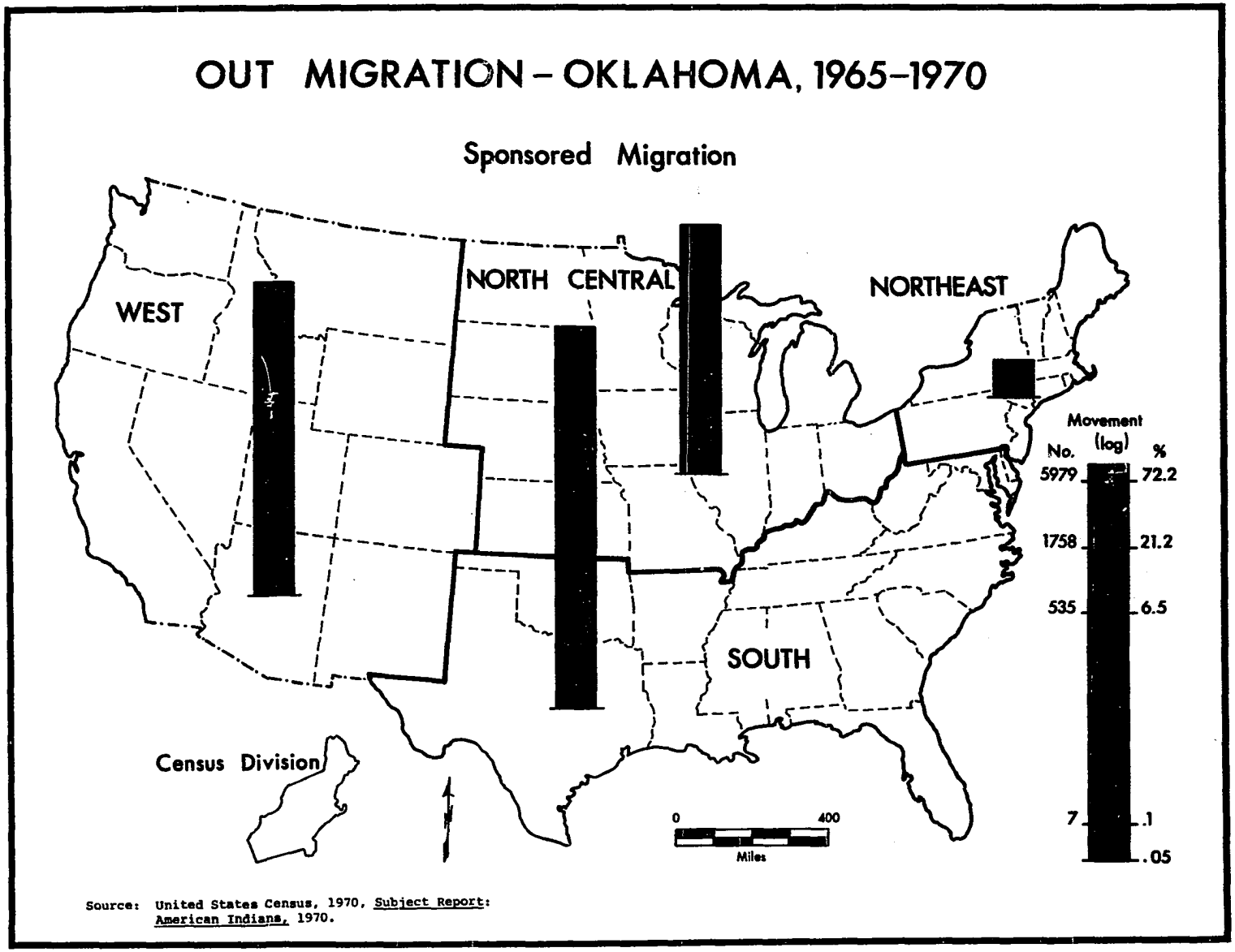

OUT MIGRATION - OKLAHOMA, 1965-1970
Sponsored Migration
WEST
NORTH CENTRAL
NORTHEAST
SOUTH
Census Division
Movement
No. (log) %
5979 72.2
1758 21.2
535 6.5
7 .1
.05
0 400
Miles
Source: United States Census, 1970, Subject Report: American Indians, 1970.

FIGURE 4.2

TABLE 4.1

COMPARISONS BETWEEN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS' MOVERS AND OKLAHOMA TOTAL INDIAN POPULATION

		State Indian Population*	AVT**	DE**	Total Program**
1.	Age (mean) (work force 15-65)	35.5 years	22.49	26.06	24.26
2.	Education	10.8 years (median)	12 years (mode)	12 years (mode)	12 years (mode)
3.	Sex (female)	52.1%	35.5%	29.89%	32.5%
4.	Sex (male)	47.9%	64.5%	70.11%	67.5%
5.	Family size (mean)	3.92	1.69	2.10	1.91
6.	Oklahoma Indian Population which changed residence 1965-1970	(over 13 years) 30,823 (16 or older) 28,248	(all family members) 3,492 = 11.33% (household heads) 2,063 = 7.30%	(all family members) 4,787 = 15.53% (household heads) 2,275 = 8.05%	(all family members) 8,279 = 26.9% (household heads) 4,338 = 15.53%
7.	Different County in United States 1965-1970	(over 13 years) 12,210 (16 or older) 11,400	(all family members) 3,492 = 28.60% (household heads) 2,063 = 18.09%	(all family members) 4,787 = 39.21% (household heads) 2,275 = 19.96%	(all family members) 8,279 = 67.81% (household heads) 4,338 = 38.05%

* SOURCE: U. S., Bureau of the Census, Subject Report: American Indians: 1970.
** SOURCE: Calculated by author

sored migration; a figure that certainly would influence the pattern of Indian redistribution.

Differences in personal characteristics of assisted movers and the total Indian population of the state are important. The average sponsored mover is slightly younger, better educated, more frequently a male, and has a family less than one-half the size of the average Indian residing within the state of Oklahoma. The difference in educational attainment level for relocatees and the total Indian population is very close to the result found by Sorkin (1969) for reservation Indians. A portion of the explanation for the higher educational levels may be that about seventy-five percent of the Adult Vocational Training programs require high school graduation. Price (1968), in a study of both sponsored and non-sponsored migration to Los Angeles, found the average educational attainment level of all migrants to be three years greater than for non-movers. Consequently, the higher educational attainment levels may reflect mobility rather than the influence of the program. Forty-two percent of all sponsored individuals moved to points outside the State of Oklahoma.

Sponsored Migration Patterns

Distributional patterns created by sponsored Indian migrants moving from the state of Oklahoma are an important part of this study. Previous results showed individuals moving through the Employment Assistance program to be a select group; consequently, one might expect migration patterns that differ from those associated with the general Indian population. Of particular interest are variations in the spatial pattern of the migration status of each agency, for these variations give some

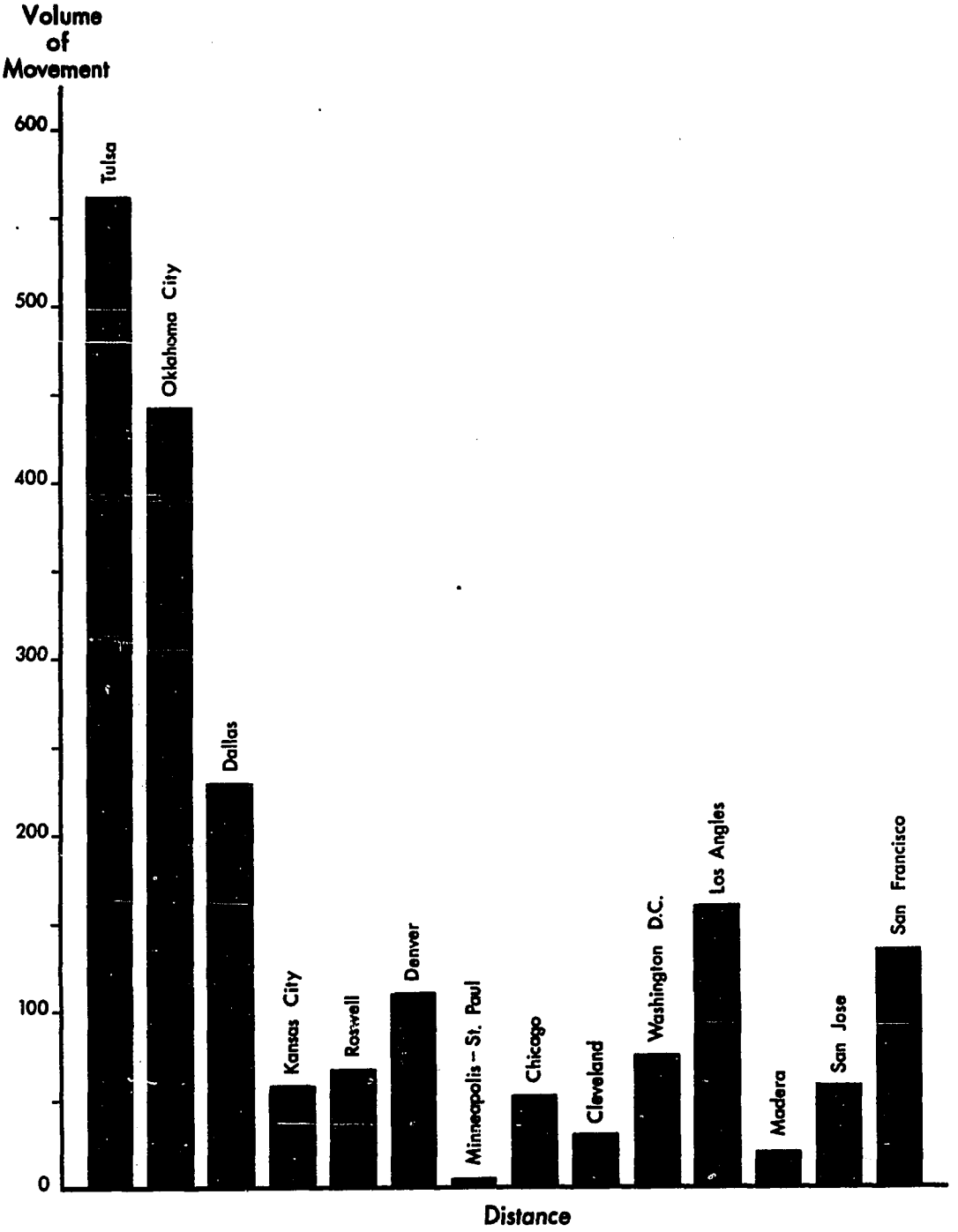
insight into the decision processes associated with migration.

From an analysis of the maps and graphs of out-migration (figures 4.3-4.10), four generalizations are evident. First, there is a decline in the volume of migration with distance. The explanation for this distance decay is undoubtedly multifaceted. Movers may select nearer destination centers for a variety of reasons. They may prefer centers which they have visited personally or may desire to remain near family and friends where return visits are possible. If unsure of their ability to adapt, migrants may be reluctant to undertake a move making return-movement difficult.

The distance relationship found in this empirical analysis is one documented in numerous studies and explained by various means. Adams (1969) explained the results as a function of the cognitive processes of the individual mover--his mental map. The map is the result of the search activity and awareness spaces of the individual. Adams' results, however, were for intra-urban migration and may not be applicable to inter-urban migration. Roseman (1971) explained the channelizedflows from the rural South to urban Midwest in terms of information and family and friendship ties. The distance relationship in this study indicates that distance as a barrier to information flow is in effect even though all economic costs of movement are paid. It would appear that an information interpretation is more appropriate.

Yet, in the case of relocation the information hypothesis of a distance decay function must also be qualified. Relocation officers are hired to disseminate information about all location centers. Assuming they are performing their assigned function adequately, the migrant

VOLUME - DISTANCE MIGRATION RELATIONSHIP

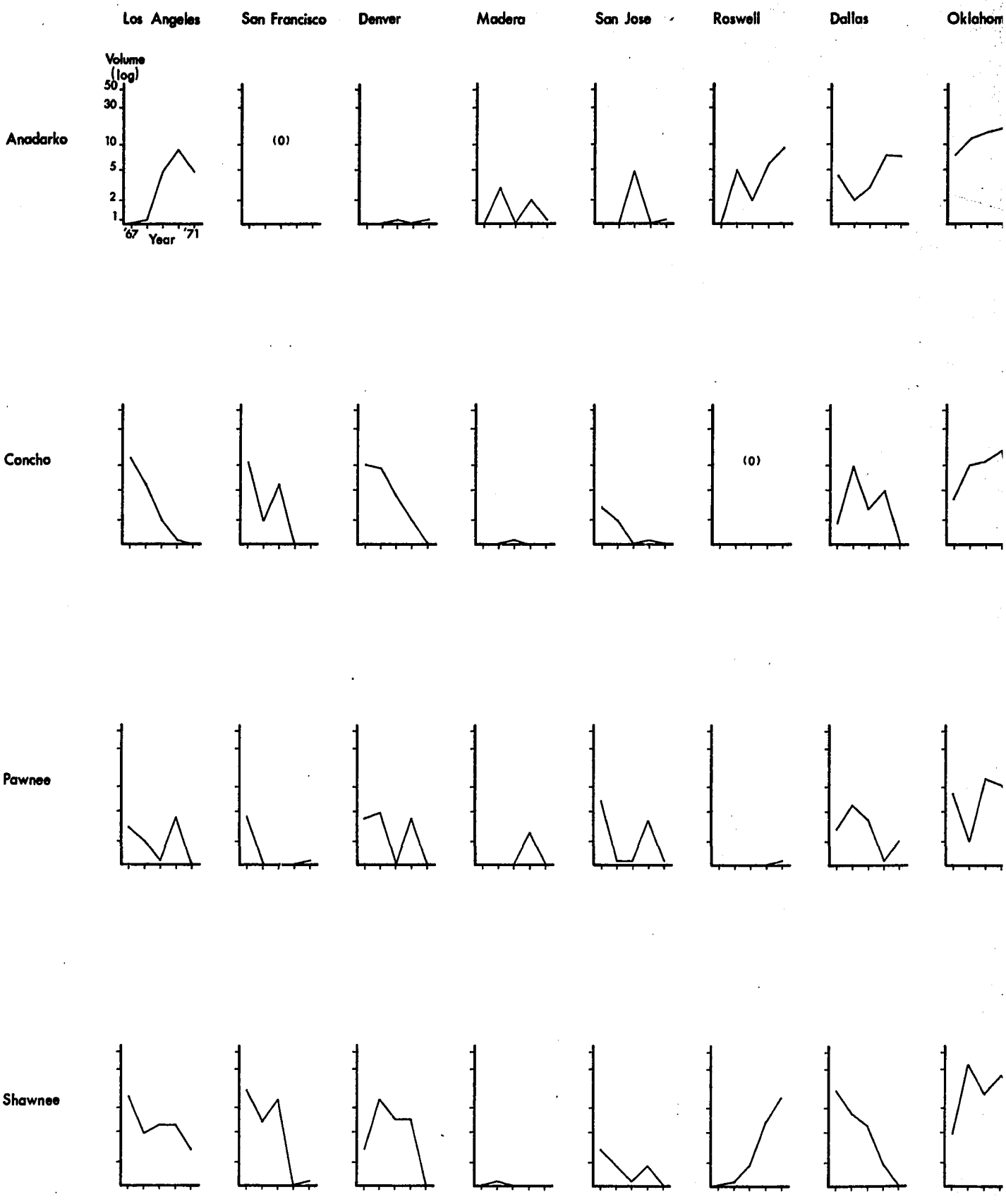


Source: Author's Computations

FIGURE 4.3

TEMPORAL OUT MIG

ANADARKO



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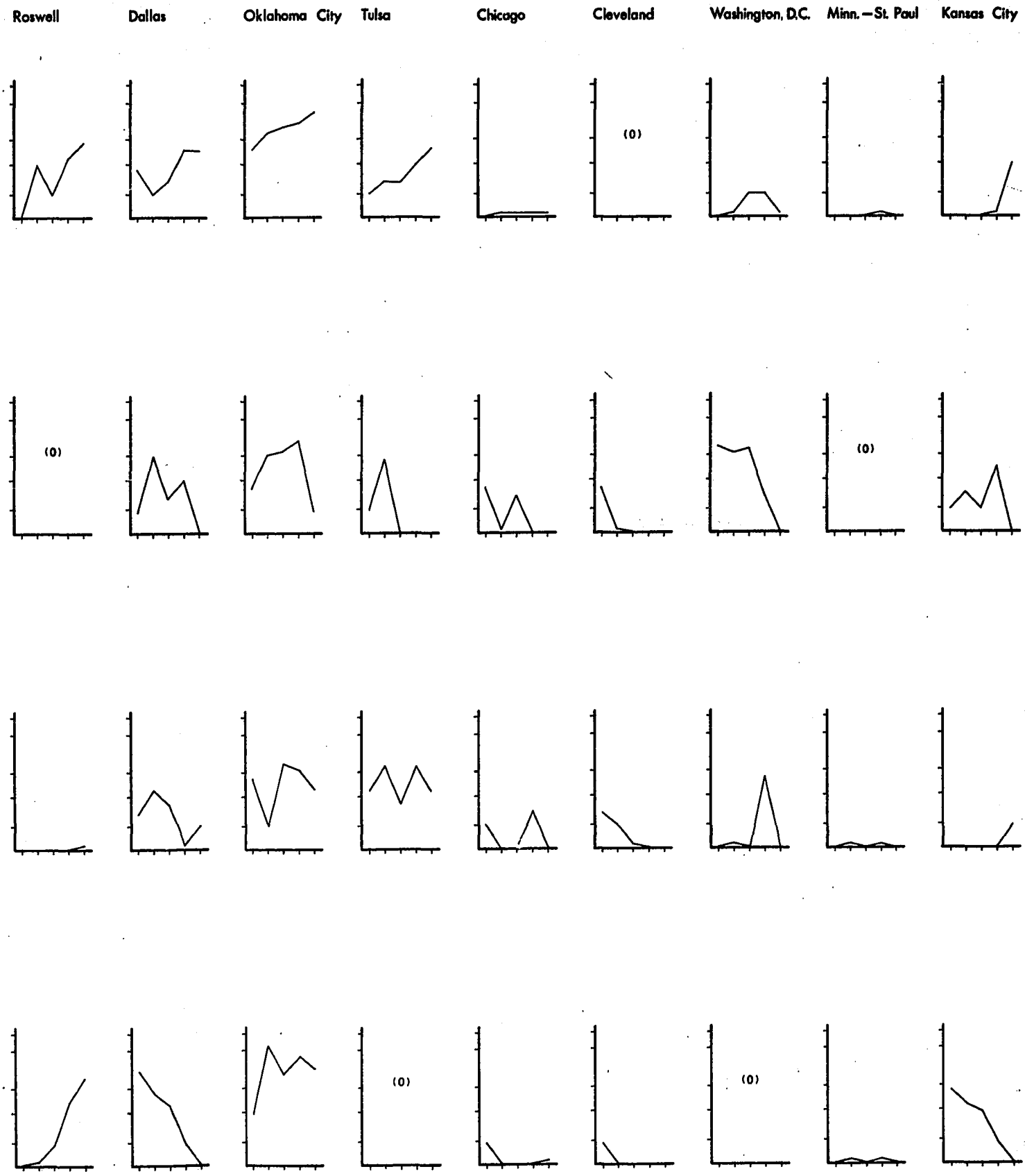
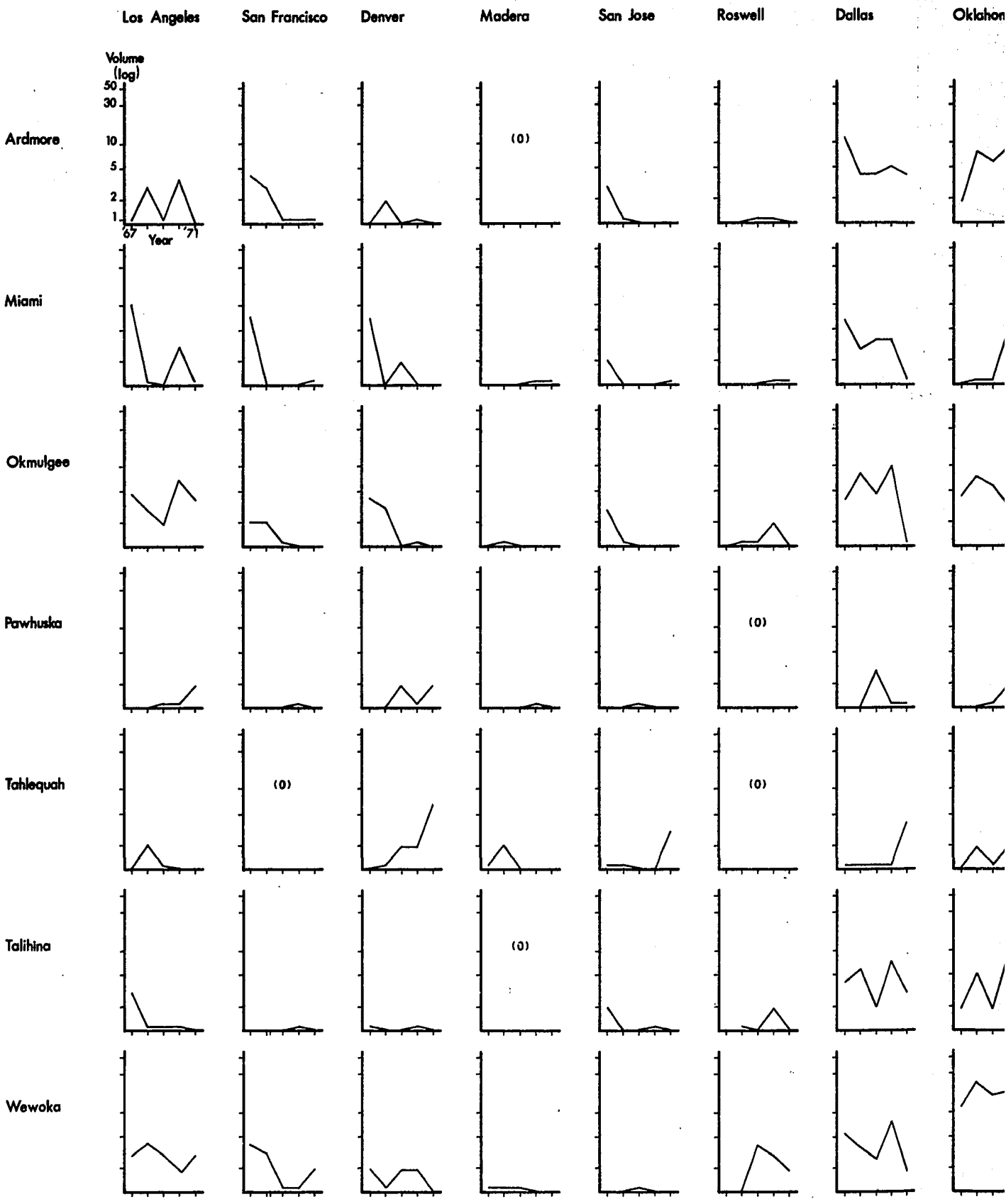
L OUT MIGRATION TRENDS

ANADARKO OFFICE



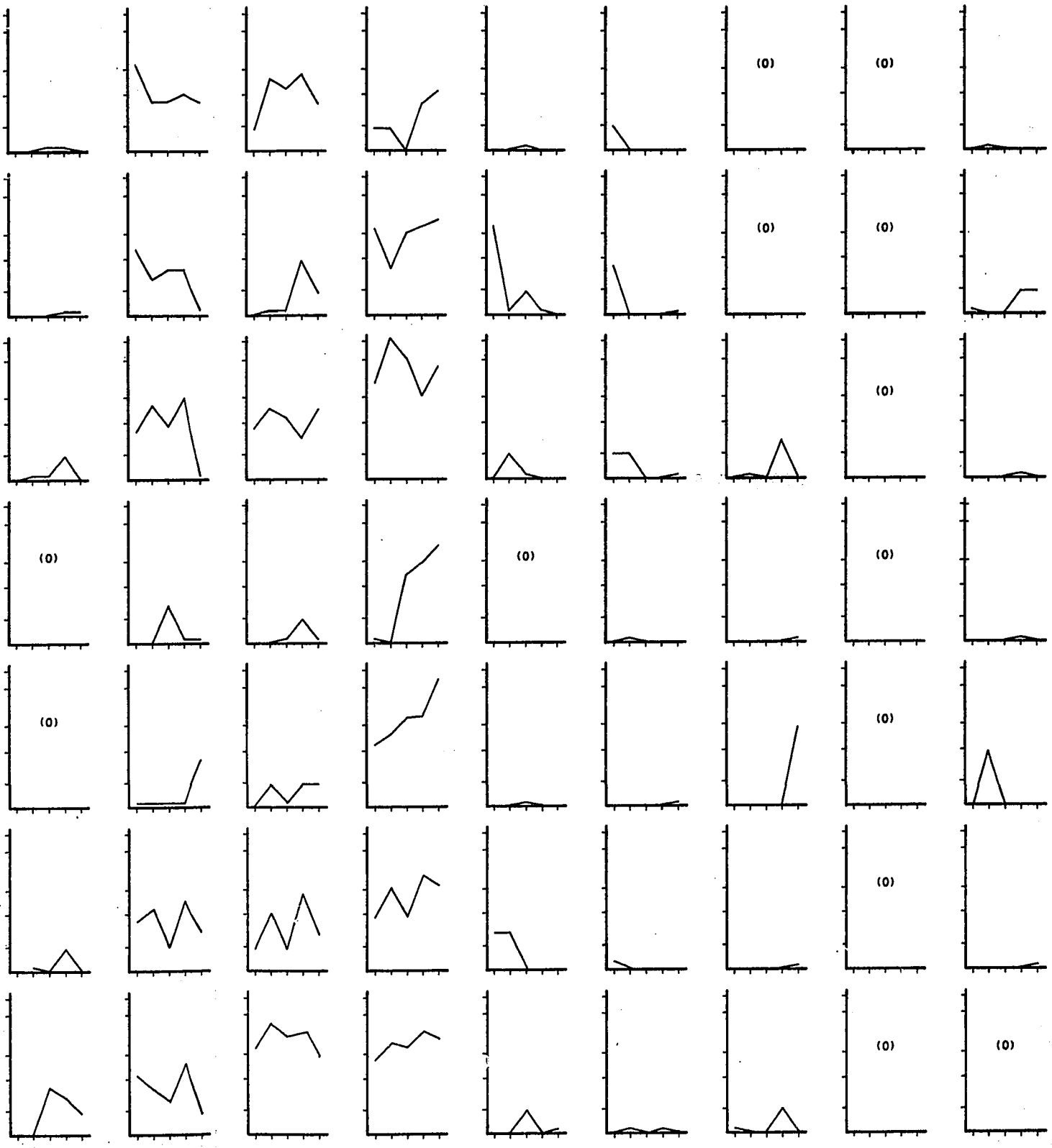
TEMPORAL OUT MIG

MUSKOGEE



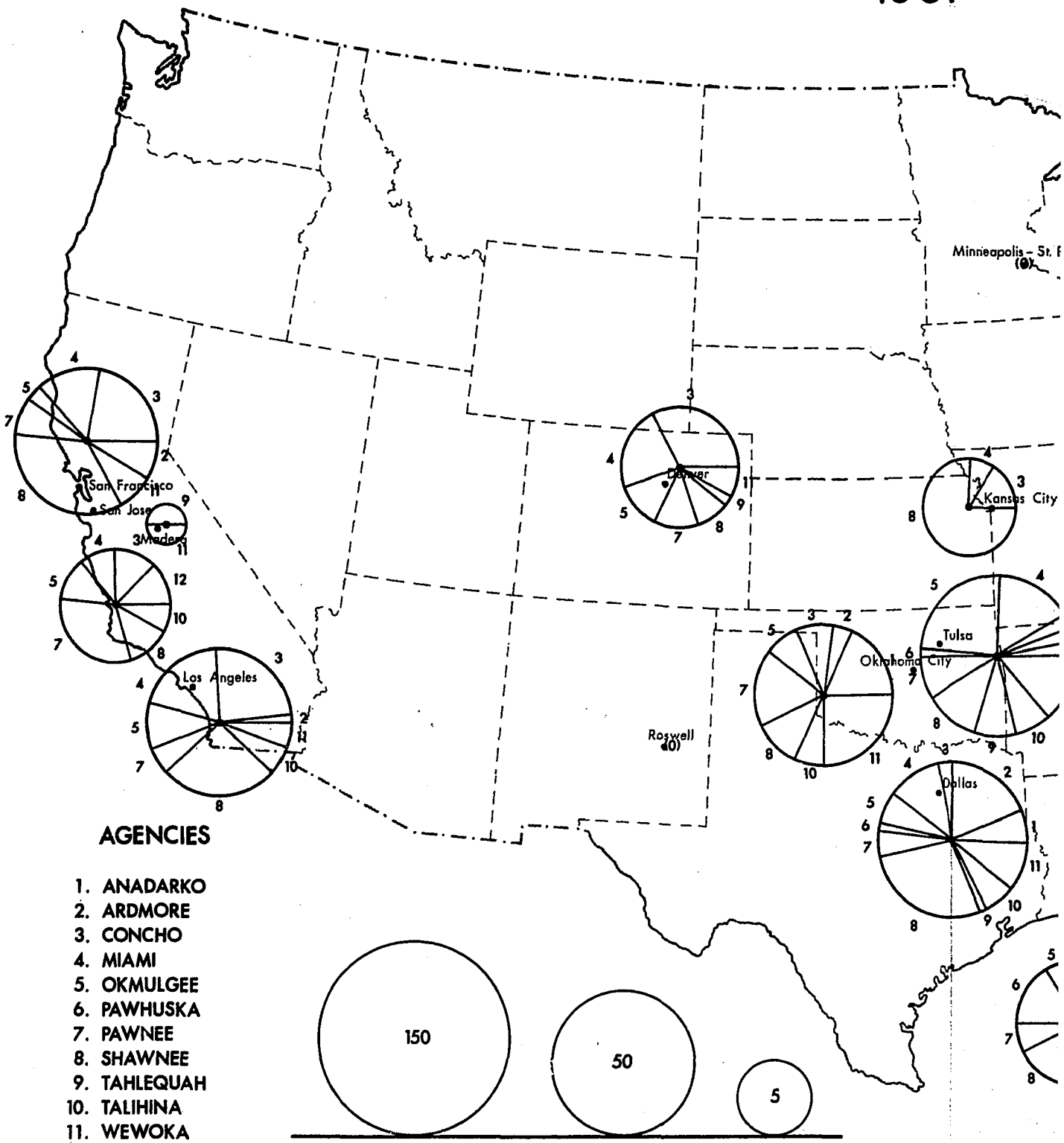
Source: Author's Computations

MUSKOGEE OFFICE



OUT MIGRATION–DESTINA

1967



AGENCIES

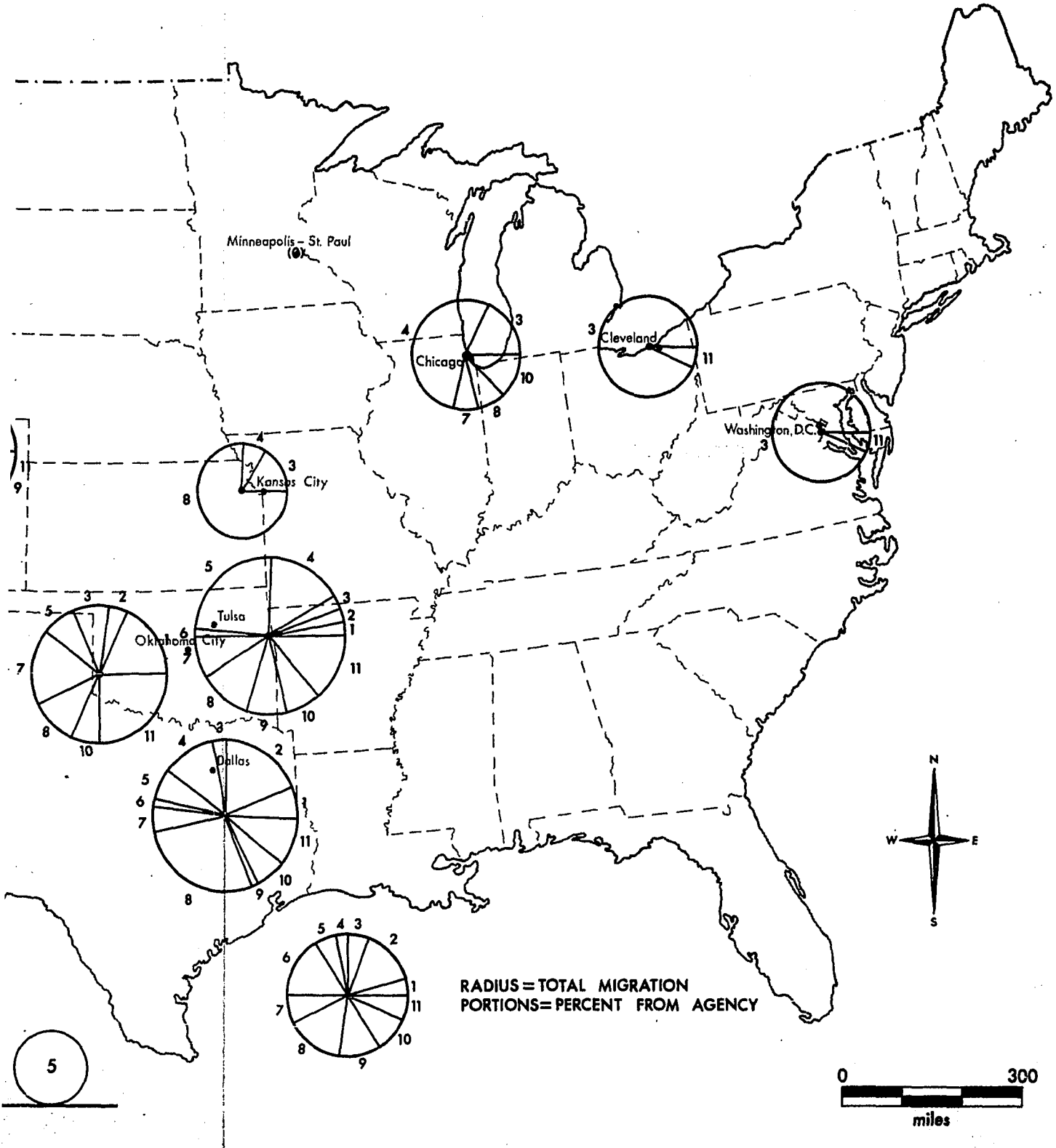
1. ANADARKO
2. ARDMORE
3. CONCHO
4. MIAMI
5. OKMULGEE
6. PAWHUSKA
7. PAWNEE
8. SHAWNEE
9. TAHLEQUAH
10. TALIHINA
11. WEWOKA

Log Transformation

Source: Author's Computations

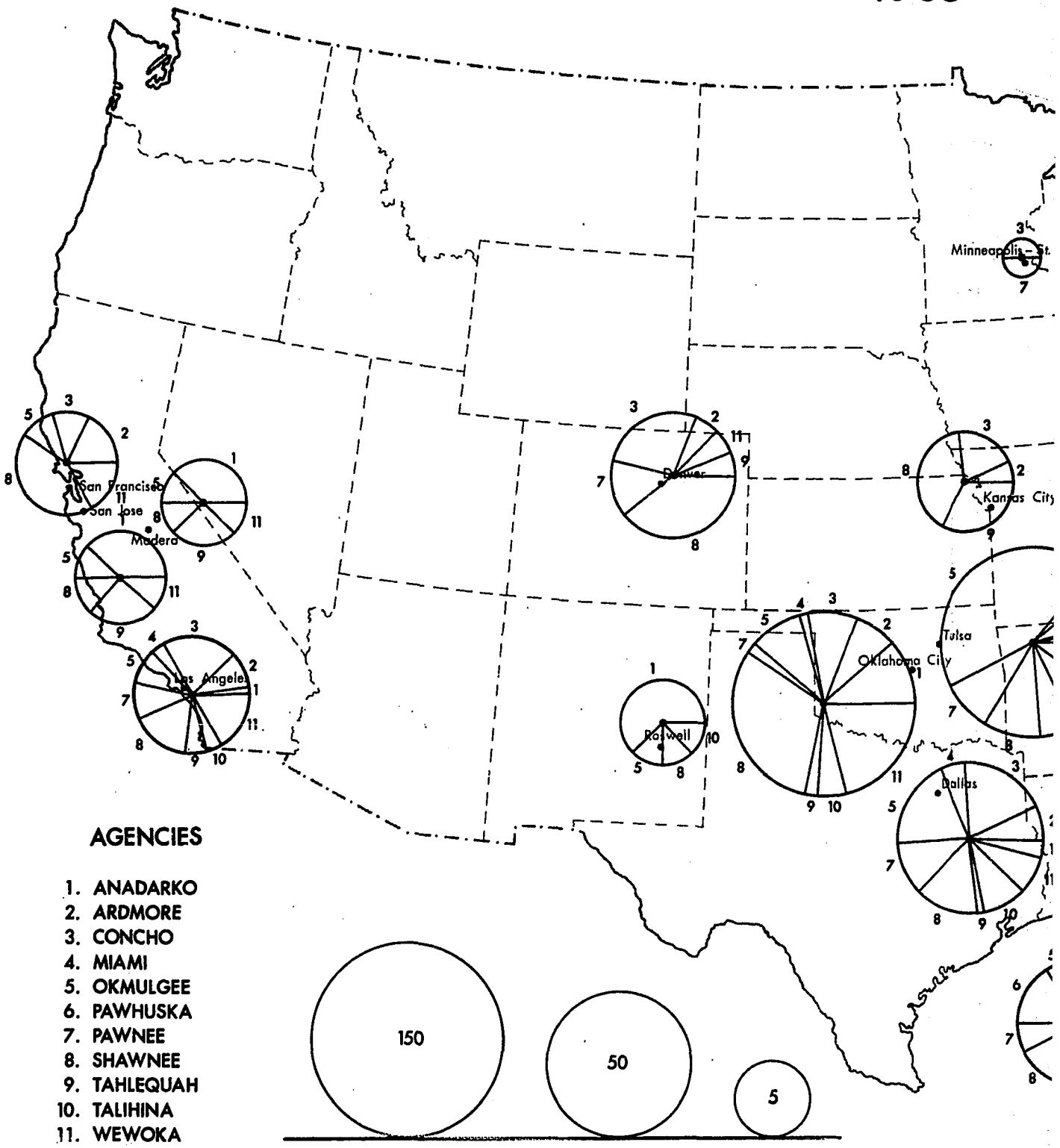
ATION–DESTINATION CITIES

1967



OUT MIGRATION–DESTINA

1968



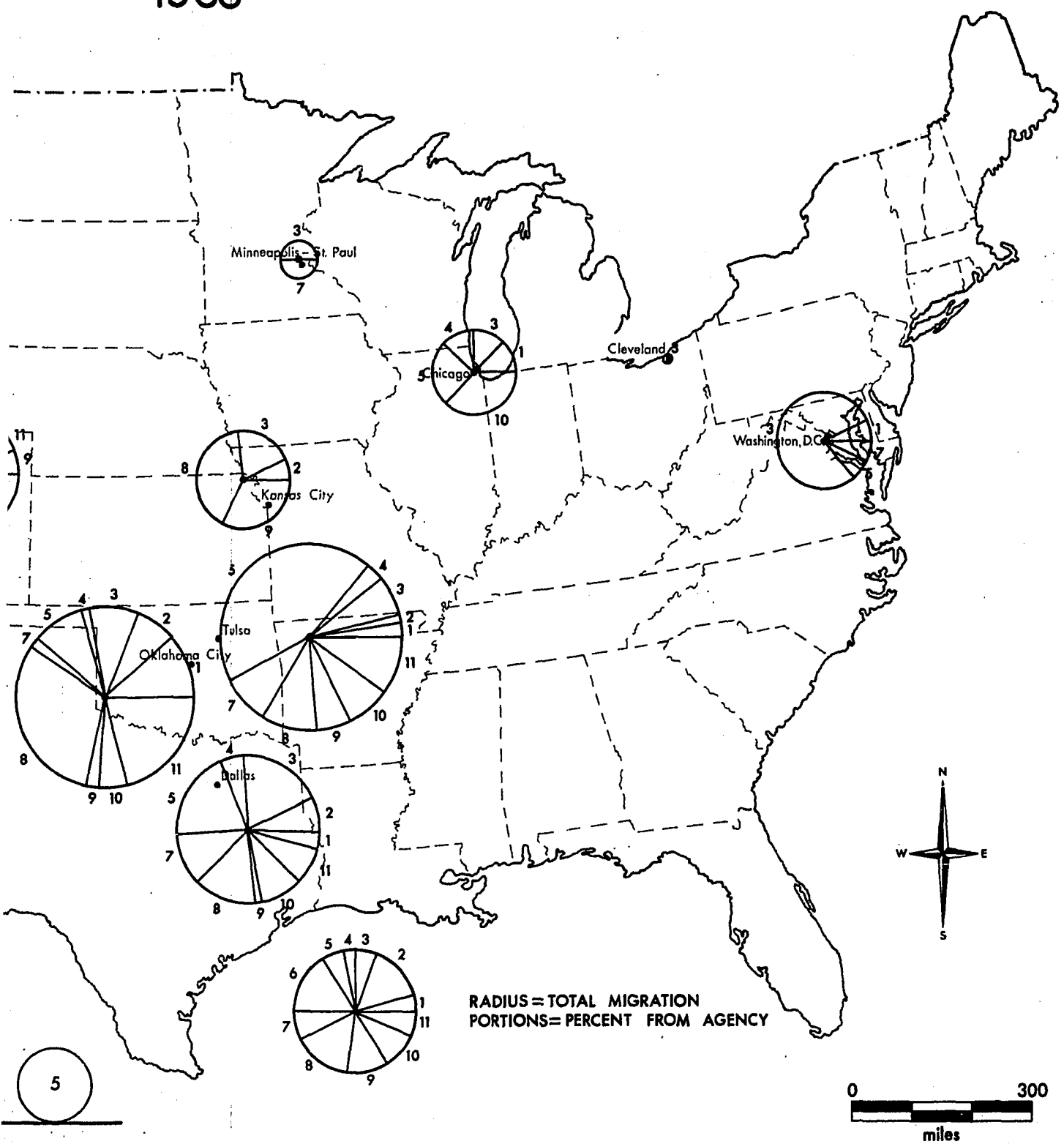
AGENCIES

1. ANADARKO
2. ARDMORE
3. CONCHO
4. MIAMI
5. OKMULGEE
6. PAWHUSKA
7. PAWNEE
8. SHAWNEE
9. TAHLEQUAH
10. TALIHINA
11. WEWOKA

Source: Author's Computations

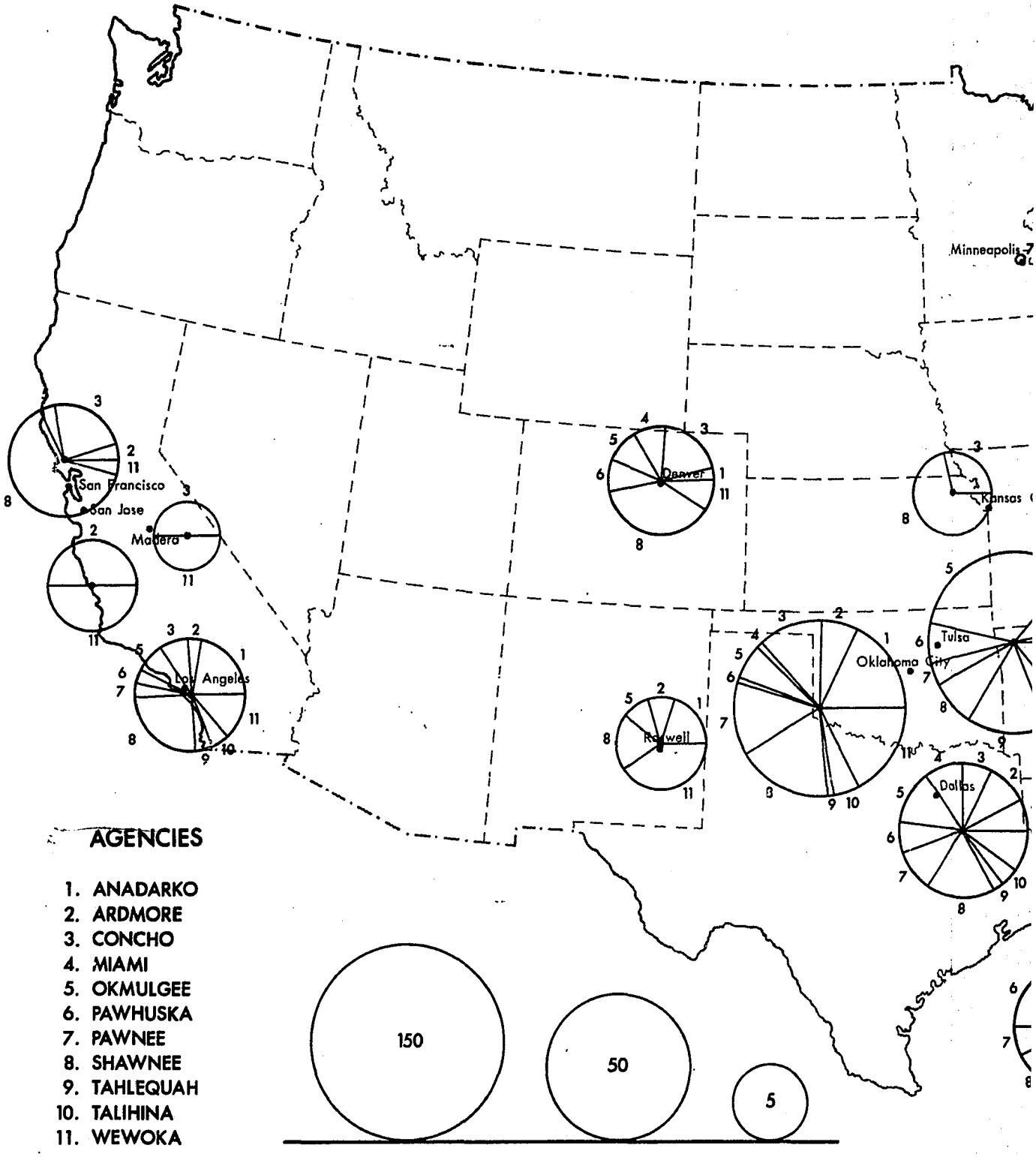
ATION–DESTINATION CITIES

1968



OUT MIGRATION–DESTIN

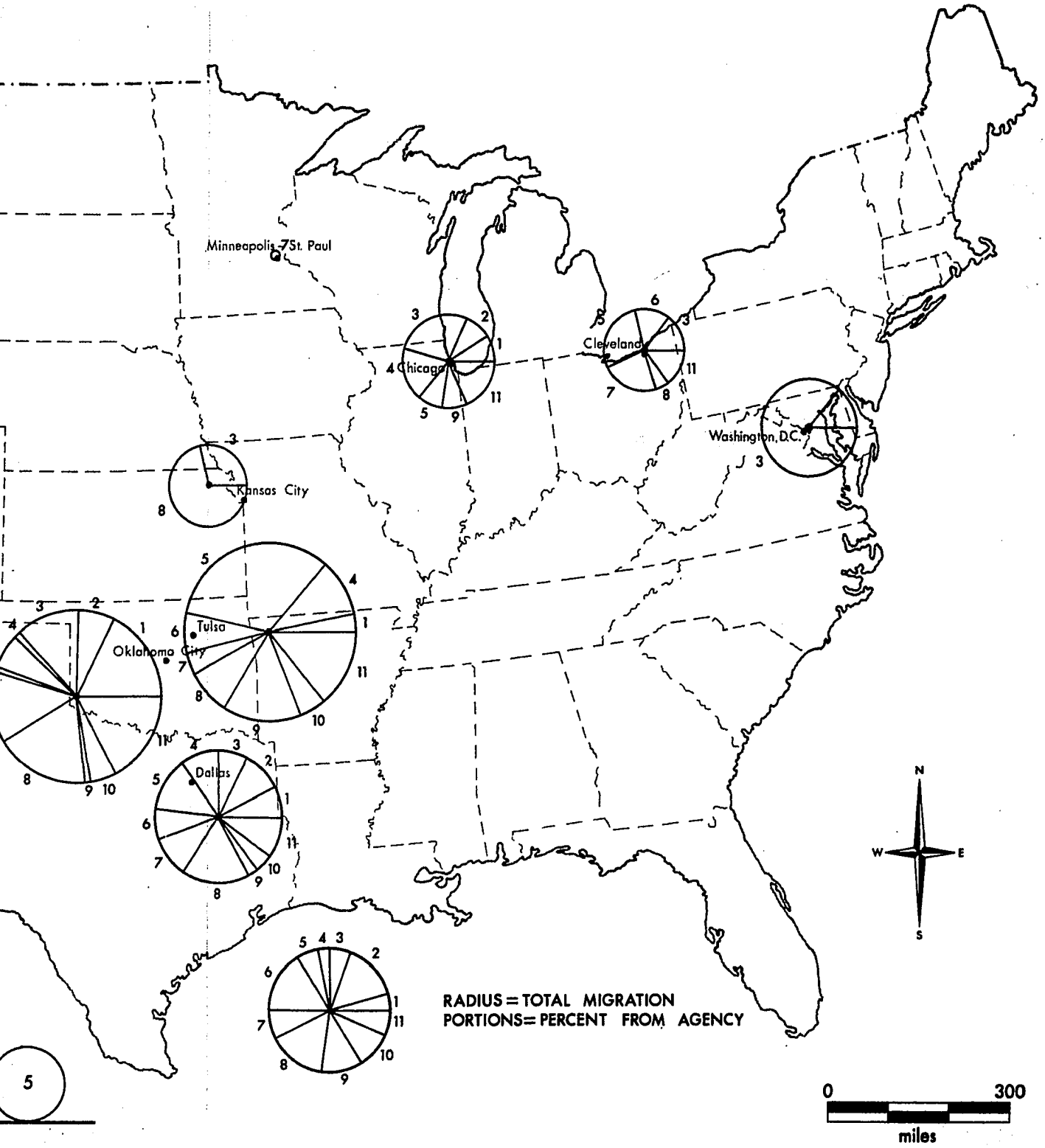
1969



Source: Author's Computations

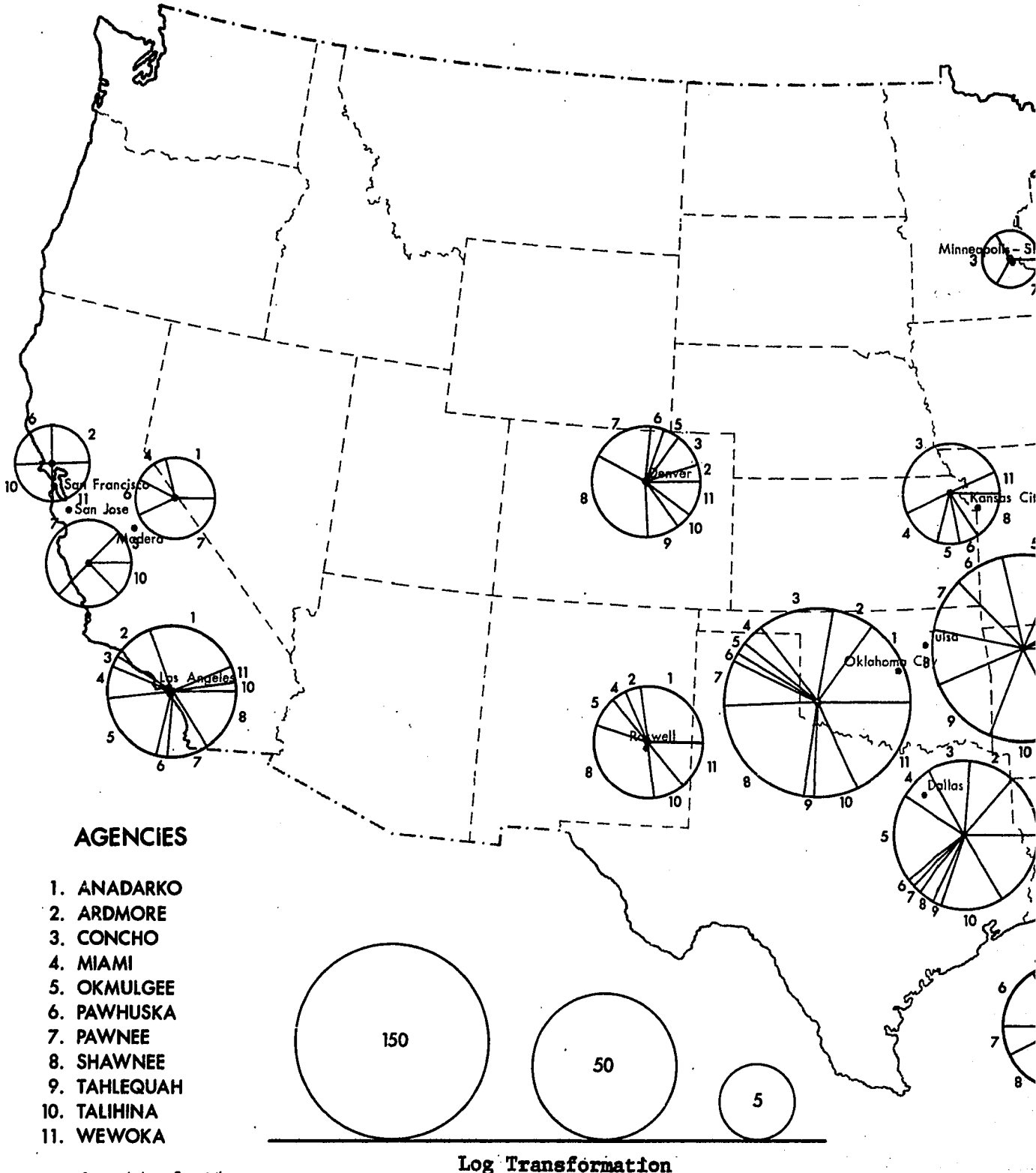
ATION–DESTINATION CITIES

1969



OUT MIGRATION–DESTIN

1970



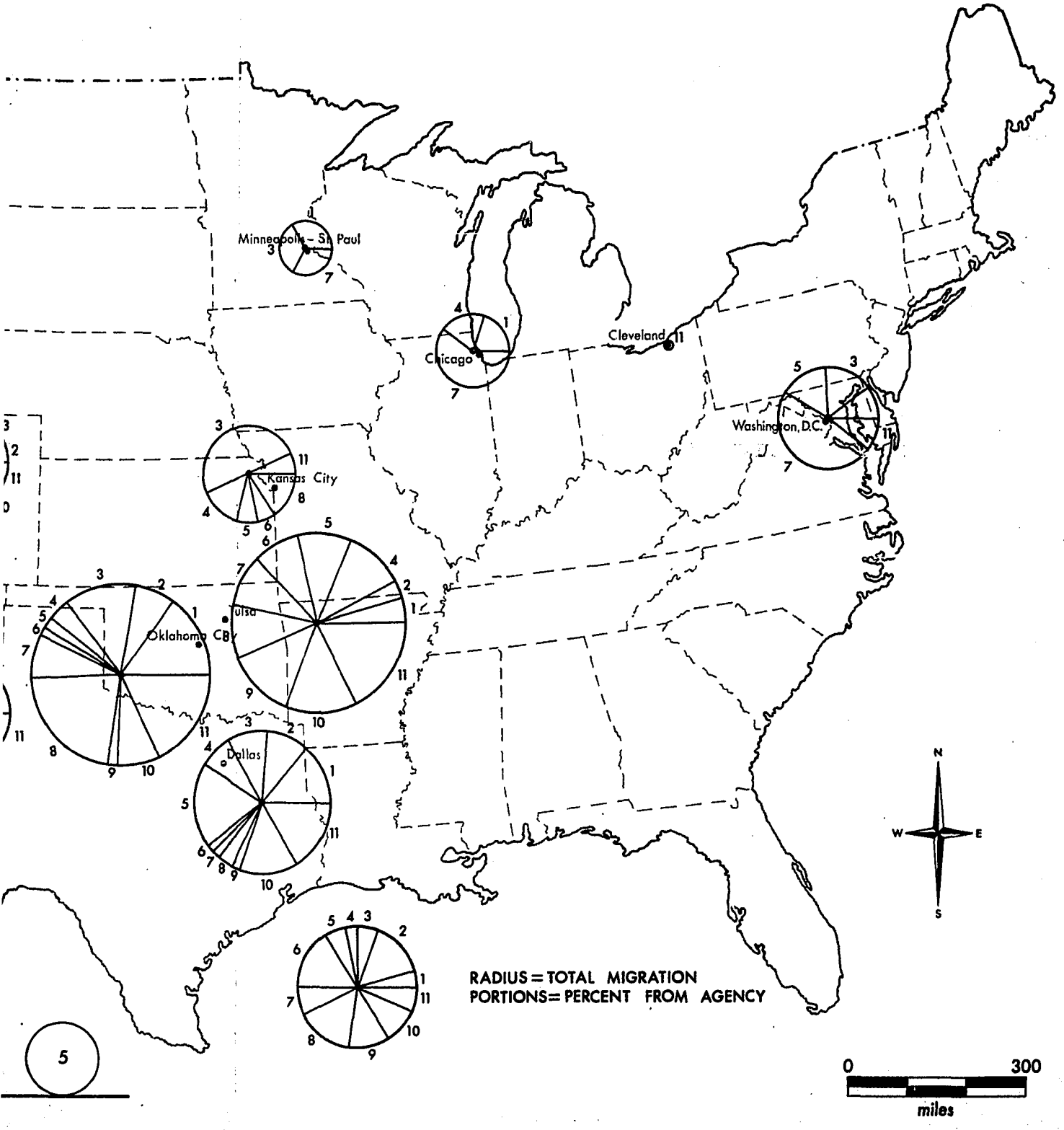
AGENCIES

1. ANADARKO
2. ARDMORE
3. CONCHO
4. MIAMI
5. OKMULGEE
6. PAWHUSKA
7. PAWNEE
8. SHAWNEE
9. TAHLEQUAH
10. TALIHINA
11. WEWOKA

Source: Author's Computations

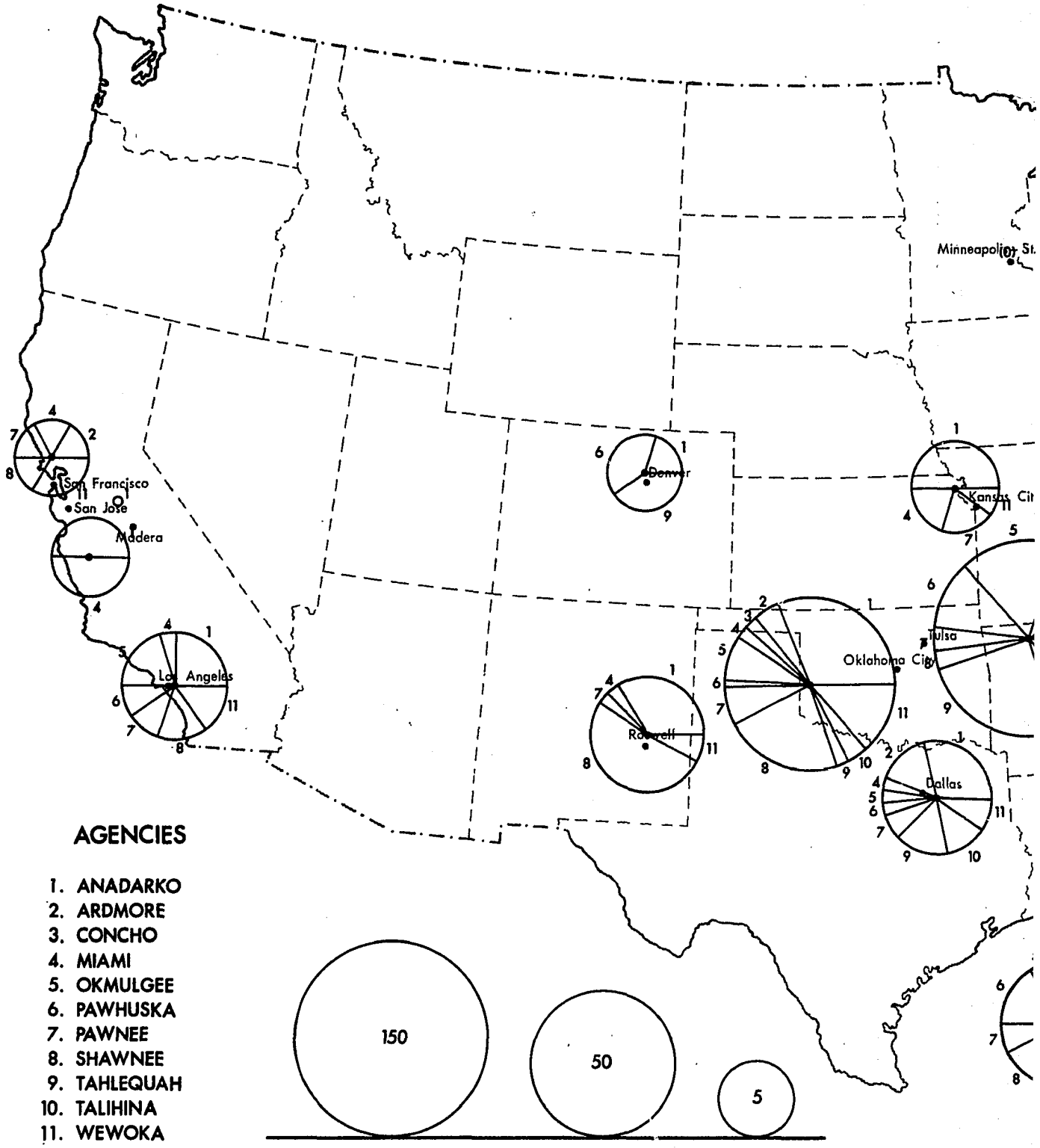
ATION–DESTINATION CITIES

1970



OUT MIGRATION–DESTINA

1971



AGENCIES

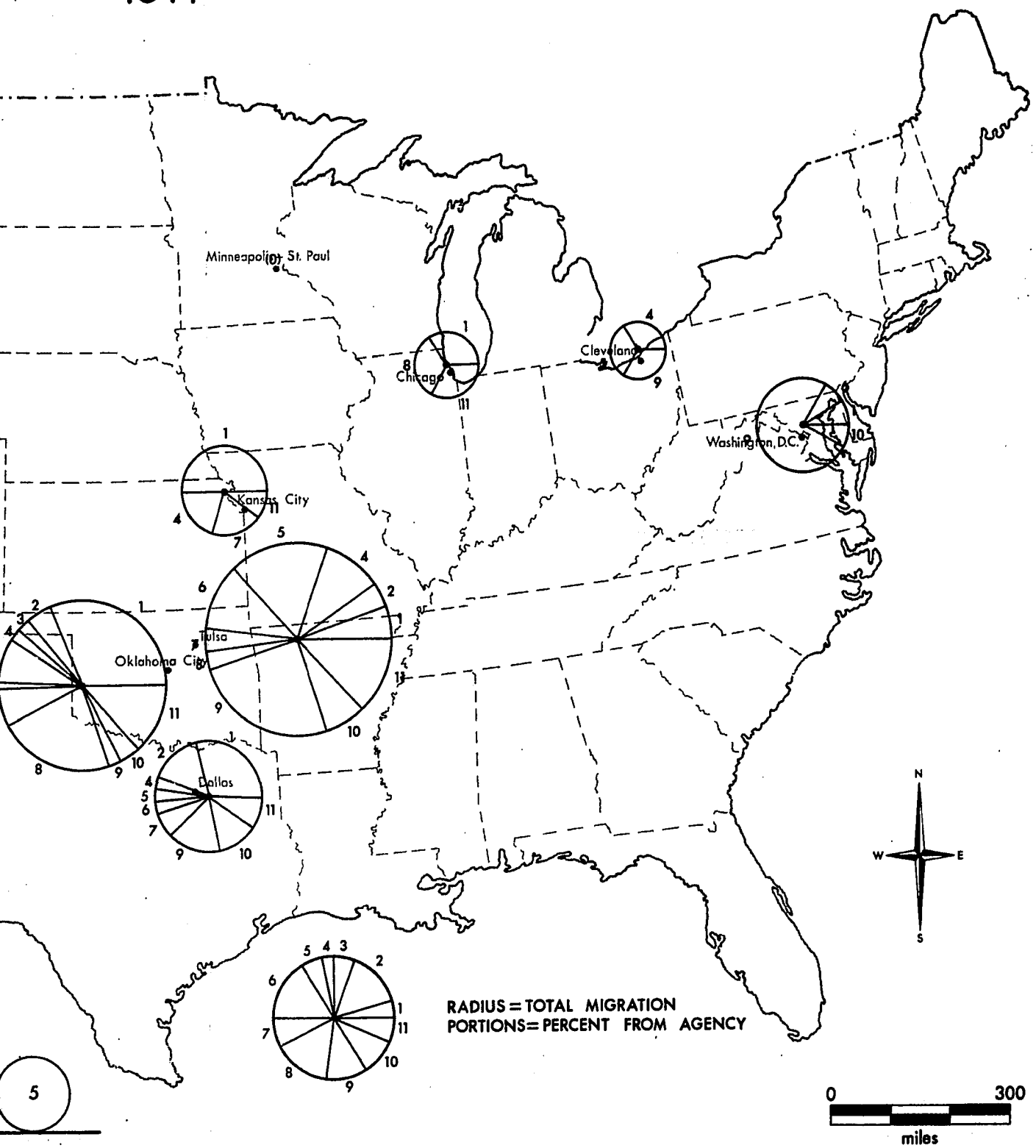
1. ANADARKO
2. ARDMORE
3. CONCHO
4. MIAMI
5. OKMULGEE
6. PAWHUSKA
7. PAWNEE
8. SHAWNEE
9. TAHLEQUAH
10. TALIHINA
11. WEWOKA

Log Transformation

Source: Author's Computations

ATION–DESTINATION CITIES

1971



would have equal access to information from all cities, at least the type of information included in this type of situation. The basic assumption that all relocation officers are adequately performing their assigned duties may be questioned, however. If a particular relocation officer is more successful in getting Indians to relocate and remain in the city, he may receive more funding through time than other less successful officers, and the migration to a city may be large irregardless of its distance.

The previous discussion assumes that the information provided by the Employment Assistance officer is the major source. In numerous cases, however, the migrant has decided on a destination prior to discussion with the officer. In these cases, personal information networks are more important than those of the agency. If personal information networks are significant, the distance relationship can be explained in terms of normal information theory.

The second trend is a regional orientation to the migration from the agencies of the two area offices of the state (figures 4.6-4.10). The movement from those agencies in the Anadarko Area jurisdiction tends to favor Oklahoma City. The second choice is Dallas rather than Tulsa. With the exception of Wewoka, the opposite situation exists for the Muskogee Area agencies. Movement focuses on Tulsa; however, Dallas is still the second choice in spite of the shorter distance to Oklahoma City. Only two agencies, Pawnee and Wewoka, have any type of balance in the number of relocatees to both Tulsa and Oklahoma City (figures 4.6-4.10). The avoidance of one of the Oklahoma field centers may be due to Employment Assistance Program directives or

because of tribal factions. Differences in eastern and western tribes may account for their unwillingness to move to cities dominated by tribes of a different background. The pattern is an interesting one. When viewed in terms of decision alternatives, it appears the choice is one of either going to one of the centers in-state or going out of state rather than a choice between the two in-state relocation centers.

A third general pattern evident in the maps is the directional bias of the movement toward the west-southwest (figures 4.6-4.10; table 4.2). While forty percent stayed in Oklahoma, approximately forty-five percent of the total population moved to the west or the southwest. California was the state receiving the greatest number of out-of-state movers, followed by Texas, Colorado, and New Mexico. A partial explanation for the westward and southwestward tendency is the number of centers located in this area. Over fifty percent of the field offices are in California, Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. This helps explain the westward bias of the pattern. The large number of field offices in the west is a manifestation of the westward shift in the population of Indians in the United States (Forbes, 1964). However, the pattern also raises the question of the effect of informational ties created during the depression and later periods upon present day sponsored migration patterns. Price (1968) found that twenty-five percent of the Indians in Los Angeles in 1960 were from Oklahoma and most had moved there during the 1930's. One speculates Indians may have created channels of information similar to those found for southerners moving to the Midwest in Roseman's study. It should be noted, however, that as figures 4.4 through 4.10 illustrate; the volumes moving to the West

Coast have declined. The decline reflects in large measure the increased importance of Tulsa and Oklahoma City rather than an eastern shift in the focus of out-migration.

TABLE 4.2

MOVEMENT OF SPONSORED MIGRANTS TO STATE OF DESTINATION

State	Total
Oklahoma	4,772
California	1,189
Texas	1,082
Colorado	305
Illinois	231
New Mexico	213
Kansas	173
Ohio	103
Washington, D. C.	93
Puerto Rico and 15 other states	118

SOURCE: Calculated by author.

A fourth generalization relates to the influence of program organization upon the patterns of movement. Certain patterns of movement are occasionally in contradiction to those expected: for one, the population of Washington, D. C., for relocatees from Concho. This anomaly also has a sex bias, it is female dominated and is a result of the nur-

ses training program at Haskell School in Kansas (table 4.3). These nurses relocate through the Concho Agency. This also helps explain the higher educational attainment level of movers going to Washington, D. C. (table 4.4).

Other anomalies are associated with Madera and Roswell. These centers had migrants with relatively lower educational attainment levels than other centers because they are special employment training centers, designed to aid those individuals who have had difficulty in previous relocations (U. S., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko Yearbook: 1970).

Out-Migration and Personal Characteristics

The largest number of migrants are between the ages of seventeen and thirty-six (table 4.3). The youthfulness of the migrants was expected for many participants are entering the labor force for the first time. Moreover, the Bureau of Indian Affairs encourages high school graduates to utilize the vocational training phase. A common pattern is graduation from high school, one or two years of vocational training, and the relocation under Employment Assistance. The pattern suggests that Indians who sought the services of the Employment Assistance Program were at an age when a move is the expected behavior. The migrants were probably going to move and simply used the program as a vehicle for that movement.

Females seem to be more prone to moving short distances. The number of females moving to centers located either within or near the state is greater than those to more distant centers, except for the Washington, D. C. anomaly. The total number of movers to the in-state centers is greater than that to the more distant centers. Though ex-

TABLE 4.3

COMPARISONS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS BETWEEN AGENCIES FOR TOTAL MOVEMENT

Agency Name	% 3/4 or More Indian Blood	Mean Size of Family	Mean Age of Family Head	% Female	% Male	Educational Attainment			
						0-8 Grade	8-11 Grade	12 Grade	Beyond 12
Anadarko	78.9	1.91	24.1	36.5	63.5	4.4%	27.0%	57.5%	11.1%
Concho	89.9	2.02	24.4	46.7	53.3	8.7%	18.5%	25.1%	47.7%
Pawnee	33.5	1.58	25.7	40.3	59.7	2.3%	21.0%	47.7%	29.0%
Shawnee	80.6	1.73	24.2	19.7	80.3	3.9%	18.8%	34.2%	43.1%
Miami	58.0	1.86	23.3	34.8	65.2	6.2%	25.2%	59.5%	9.1%
Wewoka	80.4	2.05	25.5	31.2	68.8	10.5%	23.9%	53.1%	12.5%
Talihina	76.0	1.62	22.7	36.8	63.1	4.9%	18.8%	67.1%	9.2%
Pahlequah	58.6	1.88	23.7	26.3	73.7	9.7%	24.0%	58.3%	8.0%
Okmulgee	57.1	2.21	24.1	29.7	70.3	6.9%	22.7%	63.6%	6.8%
Ardmore	54.9	1.97	24.7	27.0	73.0	15.6%	29.9%	45.5%	9.0%
Pawhuska	71.4	1.77	28.2	35.3	64.7	3.4%	25.2%	54.6%	16.8%

SOURCE: Calculated by author.

TABLE 4.4

COMPARISONS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT TO EACH DESTINATION CENTER FOR TOTAL MOVEMENT

Agency Name	% 3/4 or More Indian Blood	Mean Size of Family	Mean Age of Family Head	% Female	% Male	Educational Attainment			
						0-8 Grade	8-11 Grade	12 Grade	Beyond 12
Los Angeles	72.4	2.14	25.1	26.4	73.6	7.3%	25.3%	43.7%	23.7%
San Francisco	72.6	1.85	23.9	22.9	77.1	7.7%	19.1%	31.9%	41.4%
Denver	73.4	1.76	24.1	31.8	68.2	5.7%	13.4%	39.3%	41.6%
Madera	62.5	1.96	24.8	25.0	75.0	37.5%	50.0%	12.5%	0.0%
San Jose	64.2	1.58	23.9	30.3	69.7	5.5%	26.1%	51.5%	16.9%
Roswell	80.9	2.11	24.6	32.1	67.9	17.9%	65.5%	15.5%	1.1%
Dallas	70.8	1.97	24.1	37.6	62.4	6.9%	21.7%	54.5%	16.9%
Oklahoma City	73.2	2.05	25.1	37.6	62.4	9.2%	21.8%	48.7%	20.3%
Tulsa	64.1	2.03	26.2	35.6	64.4	7.3%	24.3%	52.0%	16.4%
Chicago	67.6	2.08	25.5	18.9	81.1	10.8%	36.1%	38.7%	14.4%

TABLE 4.4 --Continued

Agency Name	% 3/4 or More Indian Blood	Mean Size of Family	Mean Age of Family Head	% Female	% Male	Educational Attainment			
						0-8 Grade	8-11 Grade	12 Grade	Beyond 12
Cleveland	70.0	2.06	25.6	30.0	70.0	6.0%	42.0%	34.0%	18.0%
Kansas City	84.6	1.79	24.0	19.2	80.8	6.4%	18.0%	28.2%	47.4%
Okmulgee	57.85	1.60	21.6	24.9	75.1	2.6%	20.0%	75.3%	2.1%
Washington, D. C.	70.1	1.21	21.3	66.2	33.8	1.3%	3.9%	13.0%	81.8%
Minneapolis-St. Paul	80.0	2.00	24.0	60.0	40.0	0.0%	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%
All Other Destinations	73.8	2.11	25.0	34.6	65.4	6.5%	20.5%	47.8%	25.2%

SOURCE: Calculated by author.

ceptions exist, this holds true for most agencies. The result may be due to the factors of social roles, increased family ties, and greater degree of dependence among family members upon females (Bogue, Shyrock & Hoermann, 1957; Berardo, 1967). Bureau policy may be partially responsible because the Bureau approves the location of training facilities for females and Employment Assistance officials provide advise to female participants.

A direct relationship between the educational attainment level and distance of movement seems to hold true for most cases. The better educated move to the more distant centers (table 4.4). This association is consistent with other studies dealing with other ethnic and racial groups (Price, 1968; Sorkin, 1969; Lee, 1951). Some deviations exist, but these are due to special cases; for example, Concho's role as the agency for the Haskell School.

The Model Results: Out-Migration for Oklahoma Indians

The dependent variable in the ecological model was the volume of movement to each destination center each year. The four independent variables were: (1) the previous year's volume of movement; (2) distance of the relocation center from the agency; (3) the total Indian population in the area of the agency; and (4) the size of the Indian population in the destination centers. Results of the multiple regression analysis are shown in table 4.5. Since the data are for a total population rather than a sample, significance levels were not calculated and values are assumed to be important. The emphasis of interpretation is on the directional and relative strength of the relationship.

TABLE 4.5

OKLAHOMA INDIAN OUT-MIGRATION:
REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS

Agency Name	Constant	Variables				Results	
		Previous Year's Volume	Distance	Indian Pop. Served by Agency	Indian Pop. as Destination	Multiple Corr. Coef.	F Value For Multiple Regre.
State Total	3.08537	$.52387X_1$	$- .00239X_2$	$.00004X_3$	$.00011X_4$	.6358	70.2229
Anadarko	- 8.12002	$.95142X_1$	$- .00147X_2$	$.00138X_3$	$.00005X_4$	.8709	29.0525
Concho	6.70334	$.16309X_1$	$- .00108X_2$	$- .00064X_3$	$.00005X_4$	.2505	0.5860
Pawnee	4.92738	$.15534X_1$	$- .00158X_2$	$- .00045X_3$	$.00008X_4$	.4344	2.1520
Shawnee	7.29204	$.19163X_1$	$- .00515X_2$	$.00001X_3$	$.00025X_4$	.5203	3.6198
Wewoka	3.96257	$.47629X_1$	$- .00475X_2$	$.00032X_3$	$.00017X_4$	.8441	24.7849
Miami	- 8.03174	$.26335X_1$	$- .00107X_2$	$.00023X_3$	$.00026X_4$	.5609	4.2449
Tahlequah	.84327	$1.67815X_1$	$.00028X_2$	$.00002X_3$	$- .00006X_4$	.8647	17.7779
Talihina	4.59337	$.32223X_1$	$- .00256X_2$	$.00016X_3$	$.00009X_4$	.6552	5.8290
Okmulgee	3.39991	$.44140X_1$	$- .00578X_2$	$.00007X_3$	$.00031X_4$	.6756	7.3468
Ardmore	3.50768	$.25620X_1$	$- .00181X_2$	$.00008X_3$	$.00006X_4$	.5955	3.9843
Pawhuska	- .03269	$1.25542X_1$	$- .00067X_2$	$.00040X_3$	$.00004X_4$	.8690	13.8843

SOURCE: Calculated by author.

The direct relationship found to exist between the volume of migration for the previous year and the volume for the year under analysis is consistent with previous studies (Ablon, 1965) and with the relationship hypothesized by the author. The result may be explained as part of the cluster migration and feedback mechanism (Wolpert, 1967). Those who have moved encourage friends and relatives to join them in the city increasing the flow each year (Brown, Schwarzwaller & Mangalam, 1963). As stated earlier, Roseman (1971) has shown the importance of channelized informational flows in directing migration from the rural South to the Midwest. Wolpert (1967) also presents the importance of information and how this becomes channelized with time. Another factor may be the positive reinforcement mechanism which tends to encourage the relocation officer of that agency to advise other Direct Employment applicants to attempt the move. Also, those having completed the move and resided in the destination center for a time may reduce the difficulty of the adaptation process of new movers. The above reasons in combination rather than singularly are certainly responsible in part, if not in total, for the strong positive relationship which exists between the two variables.

The results of the agency model for the volume of the previous year's movement and the volume of movement for the year under investigation are interesting (table 4.5). The Anadarko Agency is the only agency in the Anadarko Area with a strong relationship between the two variables. Miami is the only agency in the Muskogee Area without a strong relationship between the two variables. The movement from Anadarko Area agencies to location centers varies from year to year to a

greater degree than it does for Muskogee Area agencies. The reasons for this may be due to the higher degree of channelization of informational ties for the Muskogee Area agencies. The finding may be related to the effect of distance upon the movement since the Muskogee Area agencies show a stronger relationship between distance and volume than do Anadarko Area agencies. The result could be due to governmental directives or tribal factors not identifiable in this study. Further analysis is necessary to determine what the important factors are.

The relationship between distance and the volume of migration for each year indicates that the greater the distance to the destination center from the agency, the smaller the number of migrants (table 4.5). The lone exception is the Tahlequah Agency. The finding supports the argument that the cost of movement is not the principal reason why volume of migration varies with distance. The results in this case are due to a combination of factors. It could be that the Indian migrants need personal information from other relocatees; if so, distance acts as a barrier to information. The feedback mechanism would be stronger for the closer centers than for the more distant. The psychic costs of distance are also probably important. The greater the movement distance, the more complete the disruption of social ties with the area of origin. Therefore, a threshold distance may be formulated by the individuals beyond which they perceive the move too costly in psychic terms.

Another possible explanation for the result may be program procedures. Since applications must be approved by the field office, the result may be due to regional preferences or priorities set by the field offices. In this case, the result will reflect the local biases of the

Indian agencies. The most logical explanation in this case appears to be the information interpretation. The history of the American Indian documents his reluctance to readily accept the values of the "dominant" culture (Forbes, 1964, pp. 74-82). Also, the American Indian has not always agreed with or supported all programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Josephy, 1971, pp. 93-127). Therefore, some reinforcement of the amenities to be gained from urban residence are sought by possible migrants from other Indian relocatees who have made such a move. The better the informational ties, the more likely future moves, assuming the original movers were satisfied. Informational ties are strongest with the closer relocation centers; therefore, movement is directed to them.

A positive association between distance and volume of migration for relocatees exists for the Tahlequah Agency; the agency serving the Cherokee Indians (table 4.5). Price (1968) found the Cherokees in Los Angeles more highly acculturated and assimilated than other tribes. The result of the model may be a reflection of the high degree of acculturation and assimilation to the "dominant" culture which has occurred among this tribe. It may be that a high degree of acculturation causes the Cherokee to be less prone to perceive the white culture as alien and to experience fewer problems in adjusting to urban life in a more distant center than other tribes.

Price (1968) also found a large number of the Indians residing in Los Angeles in 1960 were Cherokees from Oklahoma who had migrated during the 1930's or the mid 1950's. The relatively large number of Cherokees residing in Los Angeles may have created channelized infor-

mational ties between Los Angeles and the Tahlequah Agency. The relatively long distance of such a move could affect the distance to volume-of-movement relationship creating a positive association, but a relationship none-the-less related to information flows.

In the city Indians normally choose to associate with other Indians. Indian suspicions of whites and their unwillingness to disavow their cultural heritage reduce their interaction with non-Indians. The urban Pan-Indian activities have raised Indian consciousness and fostered even greater interaction among themselves. If it is assumed that similar circumstances exist in most of the relocation centers, the relatively strong positive relationship between the Indian population in the centers and the volume of Indian movement to the centers for each year is expected. One reason for this result, as stated in the theory, is the importance of the Indian population as a protective guard against the cultural shock created by such a move. As Ablon's study of the Bay Area indicates, the migrant may seek areas which allow the economic refinements of the "dominant" society, but where the cultural traditions of Indians may be maintained. Another explanation is that the greater the Indian population of the center, the greater the possibility of knowledge of opportunities in the city being relayed to the agency.

At the agency level Tahlequah is the only agency to show a negative relationship between the two variables. This result, again, poses questions about the unique cultural attributes of the Cherokee Indians. The result suggests that the Cherokees are less prone to move to cities with large Indian populations than are the other tribes in the state. The relatively large degree of Anglo acculturation of the Cherokee may

cause him to see white culture as much less alien than do other tribes. Therefore, the number of Indians residing in a destination may not be a primary consideration for these movers; an interesting result with promising possibilities for future analysis.

The only variable tested in the state model that is consistently weak is that between the Indian population served by the agency and the volume of migration. A direct relationship exists, but not with any magnitude (table 4.5). The lack of importance may be due to a number of factors. As was stated previously, the movers appear to comprise a select group with selectivity based upon age, education, and sex. Therefore, the number of Indians served by an agency is not as important as the number which belongs to the sub-population which have these characteristics.

The result also may be due to program directives. Funds to each agency office to finance all agency projects are allocated on the basis of need. Those agencies giving the Employment Assistance Program low priority receive little in the way of funding for their operation, and as a result relocate few individuals. The history of the Tahlequah Agency is illustrative of the importance of agency attitude on volume of out-migration. The rapid increase in program participation at that agency in 1969 (figure 4.5) was a result of a change in the operation of the office. At that time the Cherokee Nation assumed responsibility for operating the agency.

Summary

The results of the analysis of out-migration of Indians from Oklahoma show the people moving through the sponsored Employment Assis-

tance Program are a select group. They are younger, have a higher probability of being a male, and are better educated than the general population of the state. Results from the model at the state level indicate that the previous year's volume, the distance of the center from the agency, and the Indian population of the city play a significant role in explaining the volume of movement to specific cities. Model results at the agency level indicate that distance is more important in determining volume of movement for agencies in the Muskogee Area than those in the Anadarko Area, with the exception of the Tahlequah Agency. Results at the agency level reveal the unique characteristics of the Tahlequah Agency and the interesting qualities of the Cherokee Tribe.

CHAPTER V

RETURN-MIGRATION

The percentage of relocatees who returned to their home area of their agency is of major concern to both opponents and proponents of the policy. The proportion has been used as a measure of the success or failure of the policy. The rate of recidivism in relocatees does not constitute a valid measure of success; however, it is important in changing the distribution of Indians.

Stream efficiency ratios are one measure of recidivism. The migration counterstream is composed of Indians who have returned to their area of origin or any portion of Oklahoma except Oklahoma City and Tulsa. Secondary movement, movement to locales outside Oklahoma, is not classified as return-movement.

Stream efficiency ratios for each agency and relocation center were determined for every year (table 5.1). Only Direct Employment data were used since after Vocational Training, the participant is normally sent to another location. In Adult Vocational Training recidivism does not have a negative connotation.

TABLE 5.1

EFFICIENCY RATIOS OF AGENCIES AND DESTINATION CENTERS

Agencies	Out-Migration	Return-Migration	Efficiency Ratios
Anadarko	197	66	66.5
Pawnee	164	34	79.3
Wewoka	229	70	69.4
Miami	147	28	81.0
Tahlequah	129	30	76.7
Talihina	114	23	79.8
Okmulgee	253	45	82.2
Ardmore	103	44	57.3
Pawhuska	60	17	71.7
Destination Centers			
Los Angeles	159	29	81.8
San Francisco	97	6	93.8
Denver	110	10	90.9
Madera	21	11	47.6
San Jose	57	10	82.5
Roswell	67	12	82.1
Dallas	229	51	77.7
Oklahoma City	443	82	81.5
Tulsa	561	99	82.4
Chicago	53	16	69.8
Cleveland	29	5	82.8
Washington, D. C.	74	1	98.7
Kansas City	58	12	79.3
Minneapolis-St. Paul	5	0	100.00

SOURCE: Calculated by author.

Efficiency Results for Relocation Centers

In Table 5.2, the efficiency ratios indicate significant variation from year to year and between destination centers. For example, the ratios for the state to Los Angeles are: 94.0 percent in 1967; 65.6 percent in 1868; 87.0 percent in 1969; 73.0 percent in 1970; and 85.0 percent in 1971. Minneapolis-St. Paul has the most efficient stream-to-counterstream ratio of all destination centers; however, it has a total of only five households moving to it throughout the period. Washington, D. C. has the most efficient ratio for destinations with sizable volumes of migration. This result is undoubtedly influenced by the level of training associated with relocatees to Washington. The efficiency ratio of San Francisco and Denver are next. It is significant that the destinations with the most efficient migration systems are the more distant cities. The lack of return-moves may be due to the difficulties in returning (Lee, 1966), or since migrants with a higher educational level tend to move longer distances, the high efficiency rates simply relect the selective nature of the out-migration system.

The function of the destination centers is a major factor influencing efficiency rates. Madera's low efficiency ratio is because Madera is a special training center for those with major adjustment difficulties. Also, some of the Indians moved to this center were moved under Direct Employment although the purpose was vocational training. Consequently, upon completion of their training many return home.

Nearby cities have relatively low efficiency levels (figure 5.1); Dallas, Kansas City, and Oklahoma City rank above Madera, but below Los Angeles, Washington, D. C., and Denver. Several reasons can be cited for the relationship. First, better information flows between the closer

TABLE 5.2

STREAM EFFICIENCY RATIO FROM EACH AGENCY TO EACH DESTINATION CENTER BY YEAR FOR DIRECT EMPLOYMENT

Volume of Movement	Return-Migration	Destination Center	Efficiency Ratio %	Fiscal Year
50	3	Los Angeles	94.0	1967
49	2	San Francisco	95.9	
31	2	Denver	93.6	
2	1	Madera	50.0	
24	4	San Jose	83.3	
0	0	Roswell		
60	14	Dallas	76.7	
45	10	Oklahoma City	77.8	
69	18	Tulsa	73.9	
25	8	Chicago	68.0	
17	3	Cleveland	82.4	
15	0	Washington, D. C.	100.0	
0	0	Minneapolis-St. Paul		
12	1	Kansas City	91.7	
399	66			
29	10	Los Angeles	65.6	1968
17	3	San Francisco	82.4	
33	1	Denver	97.0	
8	4	Madera	50.0	
10	0	San Jose	100.0	
8	2	Roswell	75.0	
53	10	Dallas	81.1	
105	20	Oklahoma City	81.0	
128	21	Tulsa	83.6	
8	3	Chicago	62.5	
7	0	Cleveland	100.0	
14	0	Washington, D. C.	100.0	
2	0	Minneapolis-St. Paul	100.0	
15	3	Kansas City	80.0	
437	77			

TABLE 5.2 — Continued

Volume of Movement	Return-Migration	Destination Center	Efficiency Ratio %	Fiscal Year
23	3	Los Angeles	87.0	1969
21	0	San Francisco	100.0	
20	2	Denver	90.0	
4	2	Madera	50.0	
9	3	San Jose	66.7	
10	5	Roswell	50.0	
39	7	Dallas	82.1	
89	25	Oklahoma City	79.1	
94	22	Tulsa	79.6	
11	1	Chicago	90.9	
1	0	Cleveland	100.0	
14	1	Washington, D. C.	92.9	
0	0	Minneapolis-St. Paul		
7	5	Kansas City	28.6	
342	76			
37	10	Los Angeles	73.0	1970
5	0	San Francisco	100.0	
21	5	Denver	76.2	
6	4	Madera	33.3	
8	2	San Jose	75.0	
22	3	Roswell	86.4	
51	15	Dallas	70.6	
123	17	Oklahoma City	86.2	
115	21	Tulsa	81.7	
5	3	Chicago	40.0	
1	1	Cleveland	0.0	
19	0	Washington, D. C.	100.0	
3	0	Minneapolis-St. Paul	100.0	
14	1	Kansas City	92.9	
430	82			

TABLE 5.2 — Continued

Volume of Movement	Return-Migration	Destination Center	Efficiency Ratio %	Fiscal Year
20	3	Los Angeles	85.0	1971
5	1	San Francisco	80.0	
5	0	Denver	100.0	
1	0	Madera	100.0	
6	1	San Jose	83.3	
27	2	Roswell	92.6	
26	5	Dallas	80.8	
81	10	Oklahoma City	87.7	
155	17	Tulsa	89.0	
4	1	Chicago	75.0	
3	1	Cleveland	66.7	
12	0	Washington, D. C.	100.0	
0	0	Minneapolis-St. Paul		
10	2	Kansas City	80.0	
355	43			

SOURCE: Calculated by author.

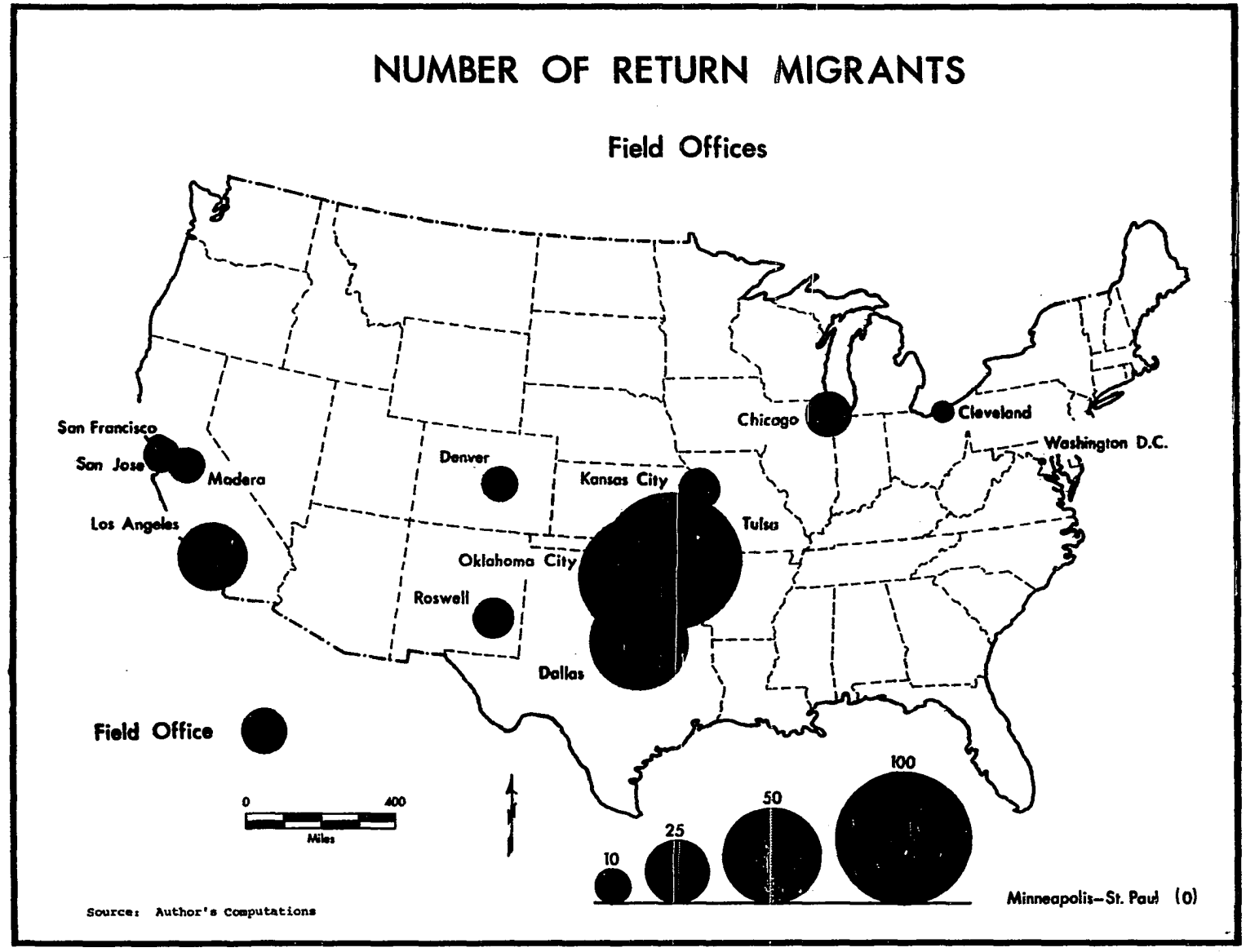

NUMBER OF RETURN MIGRANTS
Field Offices
San Francisco
San Jose
Madera
Los Angeles
Denver
Kansas City
Tulsa
Oklahoma City
Roswell
Dallas
Chicago
Cleveland
Washington D.C.
Minneapolis–St. Paul (0)
Field Office
0
400
Miles
10
25
50
100
Source: Author's Computations

FIGURE 5.1

destinations and the agencies of origin may enable the relocatees to learn of opportunities in the home area and return to take advantage of them (Roseman, 1971). The composition of the subgroup making the shorter move may also be important. As noted previously, females constitute a large proportion of short-distance movers. Berardo (1967) indicates that females are more prone to maintain family ties than males. Females are also expected to fulfill family support functions for aging parents much more frequently than are males. If Berardo's results are assumed to be applicable to Oklahoma Indians, this may account for a portion of the low efficiency ratio of nearby relocation centers. Finally, the high return rate of the closer centers may reflect a coping strategy by the Indians. The continual movement back to the home area may be an attempt to achieve the economic benefits of the urban environment while maintaining the social amenities of the rural agency. The strategy allows the Indian to take advantage of the most desirable aspects of two different environments.

Los Angeles and Chicago show results contrary to expected patterns, in that they are distant centers with a relatively large return flow. Local social and/or economic characteristics of the destination centers may be responsible. The Los Angeles earthquake of 1971 had a marked effect on the return rate of Indians who had relocated in Los Angeles from the Anadarko Agency according to agency officials (D. Paddlety, Personal Communication, March 1, 1971). Also, the two are the largest cities serving as field offices for Employment Assistance. Adjusting to urban living may be more difficult because of their size.

Efficiency Results for Oklahoma Agencies

Stream efficiency ratios were also computed for nine agencies[1], and several notable trends were evident (table 5.1). The high efficiency ratio for Okmulgee is related to the Adult Vocational Training programs in the area. Okmulgee Technological Institute is the largest vocational training school in the state. Most Indians relocated by Direct Employment finish school there and have a marketable skill. This improves the employment possibilities in the city and results in lower return rates for the Okmulgee agency, a pattern constant with Graves' interpretation of returnism (Graves, 1966) (figure 5.1).

Most of the nine agencies tested have one or two destination centers that have lower return rates, for example, Anadarko to Dallas; Pawnee to Washington, D. C. and Los Angeles; Wewoka to Tulsa and San Francisco (table 5.2). This result is due to a combination of factors. Information flows and kinship networks appear to offer some explanation; however, it may be that an Employment Assistance officer has more success with some centers and therefore, encourages additional movement to them.

Return-Migration Model

For the entire state education is the only variable (table 5.3) that appears to be strongly related to recidivism. The inverse relationship between education and returning supports the premise that the higher educational attainment level increases the Indian's ability to

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[1]Due to the recording techniques used by the Concho and Shawnee Agencies, it is not possible to determine if return-migration occurred. Therefore, these agencies are excluded from the analysis.

TABLE 5.3

AMERICAN INDIAN RETURN-MIGRATION:
REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS

Agency	Constant	Variables				
		Blood Quantum	Family Size	Age	Sex	Education
State Total	1.02	- .043	- .012	- .001	.021	- .060
Anadarko	.914	- .087	- .039	- .002	- .045	- .079
Wewoka	1.52	.043	.008	- .004	- .095	- .090
Miami	- .33	- .099	- .010	- .000	.030	- .006
Tahlequah	.95	.147	.001	- .011	- .003	- .155
Talihina	-1.07	.138	- .044	- .001	.016	- .096
Okmulgee	- .69	.082	- .005	- .000	.066	- .030
Ardmore	1.19	- .060	- .002	- .013	.158	- .095
Pawhuska	1.59	- .012	- .038	- .003	.020	- .040
Pawnee	1.20	- .119	- .013	.007	.003	- .092

SOURCE: Calculated by author.

TABLE 5.3 — Continued

Variables			Results		
Log. Dist.	Log. Total Pop.	Log. Ind. Pop.	A. V. T.	Mult. R	F Value
- .061	.021	- .012	- .110	.291	1.32
.058	- .054	.085	- .132	.248	1.33
- .122	.016	- .084	- .125	.272	1.95
- .121	.109	- .016	- .018	.281	1.30
.118	- .062	.035	- .011	.414	2.74
- .201	.156	- .031	.008	.376	1.85
- .188	.095	- .031	.162	.200	1.05
.075	.014	- .072	- .285	.389	1.76
- .161	.054	- .150	- .110	.273	.45
- .002	- .011	- .053	- .123	.376	2.79

adjust to city living. Also, the higher the educational attainment level, the greater the ability to find a job and maintain a higher standard of living than could be obtained in the rural area.

Completion of Adult Vocational Training has little correlation to returnism. The finding contradicts that of Clinton, Chadwick and Bahr (1973), Graves (1966) and Graves and Van Arsdale (1966). All found a high degree of correlation between completion of the Adult Vocational Training and permanence in the city. No such results were evident in this analysis. The finding is perplexing. It raises questions about the quality of adult vocational training programs available to migrants. Are the programs relevant to urban demand, and do they thereby ensure steady employment? This question demands further analysis.

In previous studies Indian blood was related to urban adjustment. For this study, percent of Indian blood also produces a fairly strong positive relationship with returnism. Return-migration increases with an increase in Indian blood. Graves (1966) found a similar pattern with Navajoes in Denver as did Martin (1964) in Denver and Chadwick and White (1973) in Spokane. An increased understanding of whites, possibly past association with them, may have enabled those Indian migrants with less than 3/4 Indian ancestry to adapt to the city. Their full-blood counterparts may be less aware of the white culture and less willing to accept the standards of the white culture. The result is difficulty in adjustment to the white culture and discrimination leading to a return-move.

At the agency level percentage of Indian blood is consistent with the state result in only four agencies. The four agencies, Wewoka,

Okmulgee, Tahlequah, and Talihina, serve four of the "Five Civilized Tribes". This is contrary to Price's finding for these tribes in Los Angeles. Price believes these tribes, "Tend to take their Indianness lightly; it is only one of the several components of their identity" (Price, 1968, p. 173). This study's results indicate that degree of Indian blood is related to a willingness to assimilate into white society, at least in these four tribes. Why this should be true for these tribes is not fully understood, but it raises questions for future research on the influence of tribal differences on urban adjustment.

The mean age and family size has weak associations; moreover, both are negative, contrary to hypothesized relationships. The tendency to stay in the destination city increases with age and with the size of the family. The results for return-migration and out-migration when considered jointly indicate that Indians with large families and/or relatively greater age are not as mobile as the younger, single Indians.

The relationship between distance and recidivism is not strong but is negative (table 5.3). The results are consistent with the research hypothesis. Reasons for the association have been discussed previously. In three agencies the relationship with distance is positive; the greater the distance, the more likely a return to the agency. Why a positive relationship exists for these three agencies is unknown. It may be that returnism is a random process in these agencies.

Other variables in the model contribute little to the explanation of return-migration. For total population the relationship is positive, the larger cities having higher return rates. Total Indian population is negatively related to returnism. The finding is similar to those of

Price and Ablon. Finally, there is no clear association between return-migration and the sex of the migrant.

Summary

The analysis of return-migration patterns revealed some important relationships and raised interesting questions about others. The variable most important in explaining recidivism was education. The finding that vocational training programs had little relationship to continued urban residence was significant in itself. It raised questions about the program's organization, the types of skills taught, and the level of training in the program.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The research examined the three subjects. First, the role of the Employment Assistance Program in influencing Indian migration of the state of Oklahoma was assessed. Voluntary and federally supported Indian migration was compared as to their size and patterns. Finally the spatial patterns of the migrants supported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Program were analyzed. Characteristics of the migrant and patterns of migration through time for out-migration and return-migration were analyzed.

The Employment Assistance Program is a major force in shaping the Indian migration patterns. Sponsored movers comprised the major portion of total Indian movement for the state of Oklahoma, approximately fifty-five percent. Because of this, sponsored migration and the movement of all Indians are similar. Both are characterized by a high incidence of in-state movement, little migration to the southeast or northeast, and a large volume of movement to the west and southwest.

Employment Assistance relocation is a selective process. Sponsored migrants represent a subset of Oklahoma Indians, They are slighly

younger, better educated, predominatly male, and associated with smaller families.

The factors influencing the pattern of Indian out-migration are similar to those normally associated with migration. First, an inverse relationship exists between distance and volume of movement. Analyses by maps, graphs, and statistical models show consistent distance biases to the migration. Also, the size of the Indian population in the destination center and previous year's migration volume are associated with migration frequency. Finally, the selection of destination center and the distance of the movement are related to the educational attainment level of the migrant.

The infrastructure of the Employment Assistance Program also influences the pattern of migration. The high frequency of movement to the west and southwest is related to the number of field offices in these regions. Also, the agencies have regional preferences within the state. Muskogee Area agencies send most of their in-state migrants to Tulsa while Anadarko Area agencies favor Oklahoma City.

The educational attainment level of the migrant is the most important factor influencing recidivism. Indian blood quantum and return-movement are positively correlated. Distance appears to act as an intervening obstacle to return-movement. In addition, all these relationships are consistent with previous findings in research associated with Indian return-migration.

Several results are contrary to prior research conclusions. First, for Oklahoma Indians there is no association between completion of the Adult Vocational Training Program and successful adjustment to

city living. The absence of a strong association raises serious questions about the effectiveness of the Adult Vocational Training Program and the Bureau of Indian Affairs' policy to encourage Adult Vocational Training graduates to move to urban centers. Also, the relationship between age and family size differs from previous studies; however, in both cases the associations are weak, and it is difficult to infer from them.

Conclusion

The similarities between the patterns for sponsored migration and those for the total Indian population suggest that the program strongly influences Indian distribution in Oklahoma. The question still remains whether the Employment Assistance Program in establishing its field offices selected sites which had proven popular among Indian migrants prior to the inception of the program or if the sites were selected for other reasons. The extremely small number of Indians residing in Dallas, Cleveland, and Madera prior to the selection of these sites as destination cities and the late approval of Tulsa and Oklahoma City as receiving centers, even though they had large Indian populations, suggests that the later is the case. If this is the case, the results are quite dramatic. It implies that the pattern of movement for a subgroup of the state's population has been almost totally shaped by federal policy. Policy which selected sites for field offices on the basis of "diversified and abundant employment opportunities" rather than expressed desires by the group being moved to go to these points. The prospect of governmental support for the migration of all low-income people has been proposed in the country. The effect

of such a policy in redistributing the nation's population should be carefully examined in light of the research findings of this study.

The selective nature of the migration process is important to Oklahoma for two reasons. First, approximately forty percent of the Indians in the program are going out of state. In addition, there appears to be a direct relationship between educational attainment, distance of movement, and return-migration behavior. Consequently, a sizable proportion of the best educated Indians with the most salable skills are leaving the state, and there is little likelihood of their returning. The process is removing the best educated and trained Indians from the state. The ultimate result for the state or for the Indian tribes is definitely not desirable and raises questions about the program. Is the quality and quantity of manpower brought into the state by the Employment Assistance Program sufficient to replace that which is being taken out? If not, is the Employment Assistance Program in the best interest of the state and tribes, and what may the state do to alter the present set of circumstances?

From a migration perspective the results of this study are significant. Even where all economic costs of movement are removed, as with sponsored migration, migration behavior is similar to cases where the costs of movement are paid by the individual. Economic restraints are not the most important restraints placed on the distance of migration; rather, information, especially information from friends and family, is a more important determinant of the spatial pattern of migration. Information becomes channelized with the passage of time and well-defined streams occur. Return-migration flows evolve counter to

the major flows, and the behavior of these flows is also influenced by information. The so-called psychic costs of distance also are important. The severing of kinship and even cultural ties is a traumatic experience for many Indians. A strategy for coping with this delimma is to select sites closer to home. Consequently, shorter-distance movement prevails.

The conclusions for return-migration are similar to those for out-migration. The results are similar to other studies. The significance of education indicates that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should emphasize the importance of education in selecting participants. The Bureau should attempt to determine the types of educational programs and facilities attended by "successful" relocatees. Additional emphasis should be given these programs, and greater attention focused on the desired educational program.

The poor showing of Adult Vocational Training poses questions concerning the program's organization and orientation. Are the minimal standards of the vocational schools sufficient to meet the minimal standards of industry? Are the programs offered those which create skills that industry demands? Are there regional variations in standards? Do Oklahoma Adult Vocational Training centers do an adequate job of training Indians for other areas? If the Bureau is to achieve its stated goal, it should scrutinize existing Adult Vocational Training programs, standards for facilities, and personnel.

The major conclusion of the study is that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should put less emphasis upon the urban residence objective and more on the self-perceived well-being of the individual. The economic

advantage of the city and the social ties of the rural area create strong push-pull factors that constantly agonize the individual. The Bureau must realize that this situation causes personal stress and influences the well-being of the Indians. Until the individual well-being of Indians is the major objective of federal policy, the Indian will never be able to retain his cultural heritage while achieving economic independence.

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