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**Occupational And Residential Adjustment
Of Rural Migrants**

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Occupational and Residential Adjustment of Rural Migrants¹

ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL MIGRANTS IN URBAN AREAS

Rural-Reared Compared With Urban-Reared

THIS CHAPTER attempts to shed new light on the adjustment of rural migrants in urban areas.² Whether these findings can be generalized to other populations is problematical. But we do know that most of the other studies that have been carried out have only limited applicability to the case of migrants from the midwestern farm areas. Unfortunately, some of the most interesting studies of the consequences of migration have dealt with what might be termed the more "exotic" migrants.³ As a consequence the findings have been somewhat foreboding and have given the impression that the adjustment problems of rural-reared persons are somewhat greater than they are in fact.

What we seem to know. When attempting to assess the adjustment of rural-reared migrants in urban areas, the usual approach

¹The data on immigrant labor contained in this paper were obtained with the support of the Research Committee of the University of Wisconsin Graduate School, a three-year grant from the National Institute of Mental Health (Project RG-5342), the Urban Research Committee of the University of Wisconsin, and the Ford Foundation Urban Grant. These data are a very small part of the data that have been collected by interview and other techniques in connection with a study of value assimilation among in-migrant workers in Racine, Wisconsin. The author of this paper and Professor Robert McGinnis are co-directors of the project.

²Those who wish to pursue the extensive literature on adjustment should see Verne Wright, "Summary of literature on social adjustment," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 7, June, 1942, pp. 407-22. Suffice it to say that the definitions of adjustment are countless. Adjustment will be operationally defined in several ways in the course of this chapter.

³See, for example, Grace Leybourne, "Urban adjustment of migrants from the southern Appalachian plateaus," *Social Forces*, Vol. 16, Dec., 1937, pp. 238-46; Morris G. Caldwell, "The adjustment of mountain families in an urban environment," *Social Forces*, Vol. 16, Mar., 1938, pp. 389-95; Lewis M. Killian, "The adjustment of southern white migrants to northern urban areas," *Social Forces*, Vol. 32, Oct., 1953, pp. 66-69.

has been to show how the migrant is faring in comparison with his urban-reared counterpart. While this approach is certainly acceptable and yields some provocative results, it is in a sense misleading because the cards are stacked. It is highly unlikely that the rural-reared will appear in a favorable light by comparison with their somewhat advantaged urban-reared counterparts. Studies with such a design tend to foster the impression that the rural dweller is indeed a rustic who cannot make out in the city. This we know to be incorrect.

Fortunately, such studies have often mitigated the impression that is presented by examining the varied adjustment of rural-reared urban migrants in relation to the time that they have been in the city. The differences in adjustment that at first seem to be so great between the rural-reared and the urban-reared tend to wash out over a period of time.⁴

A sampling of the research on urban migrants yields almost uniform conclusions. Ronald and Deborah Freedman found that the farm-reared are over-represented in low status positions, whether the measure of status is education, occupation, family income, or self-perception of status.⁵ The farm-reared held low-status jobs and earned low incomes. These findings remained even when age, sex, color, and region of present residence were held constant. Not only did the Freedman study show that the rural-reared were lower on the average in terms of external criteria of adjustment, but that their self-concept was lower than that of their urban-reared counterparts. When asked which of four "class" names best represented their class membership, they said "lower" in disproportionate numbers. The Freedman study also indicated a lower level of political participation and a lower sense of political efficacy among the farm-reared than the nonfarm-reared.

Were the difference only one of participation in organized groups, there would not be quite so much to be concerned about inasmuch as numerous studies have shown that urban, working-class families do not participate in formally organized voluntary associations very much anyway.⁶ The very low rate of participation

⁴ See Thompson P. Omari, "Factors associated with urban adjustment of rural southern migrants," *Social Forces*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Oct., 1956, pp. 47-53. Omari's study of 200 Negro migrants in Beloit, Wisconsin, demonstrated that length of residence in Beloit was more highly correlated with socio-economic status and community satisfaction than any of a dozen or more other variables that were hypothesized to have some relationship to adjustment.

⁵ Ronald Freedman and Deborah Freedman, "Farm-reared elements in the non-farm population," *Rural Soc.*, Vol. 21, Mar., 1956, pp. 50-61.

⁶ Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of voluntary association among urban working-class families," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 16, No. 5, Oct., 1951, pp. 687-93.

among the farm-reared does decline with time lived in the city, although those who remain manual workers never do come up to the level of their urban counterparts who become white-collar workers.⁷ What often appears to be a low rate of participation among in-migrant workers is simply the normal rate of participation of people in that socio-economic stratum.

The apparent difficulty or relative slowness with which some rural-reared migrants become integrated into the formal and informal social organization of urban areas should not, however, lead us to the conclusion that the migrant finds himself in a sea of secondary contacts characterized by extreme casualness or formality, in contrast to the intimate, face-to-face primary group contacts he experienced at home. While it is all too true that the constellation of factors usually associated with the rural-urban dichotomy has made such a distinction, very little research has been conducted to actually test the hypothesis that these differences do exist. Research does show that primary group contact is in some respects more a characteristic of urban life than of rural-farm or rural-nonfarm life. Reiss' sample of Nashville, Tennessee, and adjacent rural-farm and rural-nonfarm respondents brought him to the conclusion that the average urban, employed male spent significantly greater time in primary contact than did his rural-nonfarm or rural-farm counterpart.⁸ Harry Sharp and Morris Axelrod observed that mutual aid among friends and relatives is widespread in Detroit.⁹ They found some difference between natives and migrants, with 80 percent of the natives reporting that help is given and received and migrants reported 66 percent over-all with variation up to 73 percent depending on the section of the United States from which the migrants came. But Omari's research in Beloit led him to conclude that having relatives in the city was not significantly related to either socio-economic status or community satisfaction.¹⁰

Note should also be made of Seymour M. Lipset's analysis of

⁷ Basil G. Zimmer, "Participation of migrants in urban structure," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 20, Apr., 1955, pp. 218-24. In a midwestern community of 20,000, rural-reared manual workers did not reach the level of officership positions in organizations that natives did but the difference was not great. Those with farm backgrounds reached normal officership status in organizations more slowly than did those with rural-nonfarm or urban backgrounds.

⁸ Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Rural-urban and status differences in interpersonal contacts," *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. 65, No. 2, Sept., 1959, pp. 182-95.

⁹ Harry Sharp and Morris Axelrod, "Mutual Aid Among Relatives in an Urban Population," Freedman et al., in *Principles of Sociology*, Henry Holt Co., New York, 1956, pp. 433-39.

¹⁰ Omari, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

social mobility in Oakland, California:¹¹ the smaller the community of orientation, the more likely the individual was to have spent a considerable proportion of his work career in manual occupations; the larger the community of orientation, the higher the status of the job held and the greater the likelihood that a man will be successfully upward-mobile. The relevance of this research is somewhat reduced by the fact that 250,000 was the most effective cutting point for size of community of orientation. In other words, the most effective predictor of occupational mobility was not rural vs. urban background, but rural and urban up to 250,000 vs. urban communities of 250,000 or more.

A further study is one made by Howard W. Beers and Catherine Heflin.¹² This research, conducted in Lexington, Kentucky, concluded that rural-rearing was disadvantageous on the average but that the range of distribution of rural migrants was such that many rural-reared persons were above the median of urban-reared persons. Rural-reared migrants were scattered widely throughout the city; ultimate social and economic status were not determined by rural-rearing.

Explaining the findings. Had the research thus far referred to come out differently, it would indeed have been surprising. Of more concern is what explains or accounts for these findings. Much has been said about personality adjustment; it is implied by some and stated as fact by others that rural life just does not develop the kind of people who take to city life. Personality is one of the slipperiest concepts with which we deal. There have been at least 100 different definitions of personality, and no matter which one is employed as operational, personality is still quite difficult to measure. If rural life does develop such a personality in people as to make them unfit for urban life, it is too late for us to be finding out about it. What is more likely is that the rural-reared migrant must go through a period of transition during which he learns about new statuses and the roles that go with them. During this period of transition the migrant may well have some conflict as he learns a new set of norms for the new social situations in which he finds himself. The facts of the case are that people are unbelievably plastic and that only a relatively small proportion of the rural-reared migrants find themselves in

¹¹ See Seymour M. Lipset, "Social mobility and urbanization," *Rural Soc.*, Vol. 20, Sept.-Dec., 1955, pp. 220-28. The sample consisted of 935 principal wage earners chosen as a random sample of Oakland households after the highest and lowest socio-economic areas of the city had been eliminated. Community of orientation was obtained by asking the respondents: "Where did you live most of the time between the ages of 13 and 19? Did you live inside the city limits? Did you live on a farm?"

¹² Howard W. Beers and Catherine Heflin, "Rural people in the city," *Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul.* 478, July, 1945, 19pp.

serious trouble simply due to the different pace of life and whatever else distinguishes the city from the country.¹³

But when the farm-reared youth or adult enters the urban labor market with less education and less experience than his urban-reared counterpart it would be most unrealistic to expect him to compete as effectively, at least initially. Every study has shown that rural-reared migrants are at a disadvantage educationally. This in itself is a difference that is measurable and meaningful in terms of the experience of rural-reared migrants.

Rural-Reared in the City Compared With the Country

The basis for comparison. Although the studies that have been cited comparing rural-reared with urban-reared make an important contribution to knowledge about the problem, they are not completely satisfying. The crucial question, it would seem, is whether or not rural-reared persons have bettered themselves by moving to the city.

There are two kinds of data to which we may turn in an effort to answer this question. The socio-economic status of the rural-reared migrant can be measured before and after and at intervals thereafter. This is an external criterion of change, and we shall presume that movement upward on a scale of socio-economic status is the intended direction of the migrant. It is likewise possible to employ something of an internal criterion, i.e., how does the migrant feel about the way that things are working out? Although this approach has been taken, it has not been as frequently used as has the former.¹⁴

Change in the status of rural-reared migrants. A study by Alvin L. Bertrand and Harold W. Osborne measured the increased level of living in the homes of persons who went to work in a local factory during the period from 1950 to 1957. The increase in level of living was greater for those who turned from farm to factory work during this period. Not only did their level of living go up but 96 percent of the factory employees attributed the higher level of living in the community to factory employment. Factory employees also increased their social participation during this period.¹⁵

¹³ Lewis M. Killian concluded that the so-called hillbillies in Chicago were changing slightly in spite of themselves. Killian, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁴ See, for example, Eldon D. Smith, "Nonfarm employment information for rural people," *Jour. Farm Econ.*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 1956, pp. 813-27. Smith's research on Indianapolis, Indiana, migrants indicated 44 percent feeling dissatisfaction and hoping or actively planning to return to farming.

¹⁵ Alvin L. Bertrand and Harold W. Osborne, "Rural industrialization in a Louisiana community," Louisiana State Univ. Agr. Bul. No. 524, June, 1959, pp. 30-32.

Awareness that nonfarm work leads to a higher level of living and the goals for which they are struggling is demonstrated by expressions of choice of work desired. Ward F. Porter and William H. Metzler found that 90 percent of the persons seeking work from a formerly agricultural valley preferred nonfarm work.¹⁶ Other studies have pictured farm youth as eagerly looking for work in the city.

It seems clear that, for the foreseeable future, a surplus of young and older workers from the farm will seek a solution to their problems in cityward migration.

THE ADJUSTMENT OF MIGRANT WORKERS WITH TIME AND ANTECEDENTS AS VARIABLES

Value Assimilation Among In-migrant Laborers

The Problem. The data to which we shall refer were collected as part of a 3-year study of value assimilation among in-migrant workers. The study is an attempt to determine which factors impede and which factors facilitate the assimilation of values in an in-migrant group. Interviewing in the community selected for study was preceded by a year of rapport-building, construction of schedules, pretesting in another community of a similar in-migrant population, and training of bilingual interviewers. The relative ease with which the interviewers obtained entry into homes that had in the past presented something of a problem to other groups can be explained in terms of the careful groundwork that was laid and the selection of interviewers who were not so likely to be immediately defined as outsiders. A 2-hour interview was conducted to collect the data required for a test of 12 general hypotheses derived from a theory of value assimilation.¹⁷

Selection of the sample. The in-migrant workers selected for study were Mexican-Americans, a group of in-migrant workers arriving on the scene in Racine, Wisconsin. They were concentrated in three areas in Racine at the time the first interviewing was conducted in summer 1959. A systematic sample was selected

¹⁶Ward F. Porter and William H. Metzler, "Availability for employment of rural people in the Upper Monongahela Valley, West Virginia," West Virginia Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 381, Morgantown, 1956, 43pp.

¹⁷The data collected were: place of origin, occupational status of respondent, parents, and grandparents, familial background and history, level of aspiration, job-seeking experiences, reasons for migration, conception of past and present place of residence, work experiences, patterns of influence and association, world views, ethnic attitudes, level of living, educational status of respondent and family, life style, and use of leisure time.

from a listing of the population built up from a number of sources during the year of preparatory work. A systematic sample of non-Mexican white residents was selected from areas adjacent to the areas of Mexican-American concentration. By this means it was hoped to obtain persons with somewhat similar social and economic antecedents. While this was difficult to do, the design of the study was such that it would have been highly undesirable to compare the Mexican-American group with persons whose antecedents would have at the outset marked them as entirely different persons. Hereafter, the control group of non-Mexican white residents will be referred to as Anglos and the Mexican-American as Mexicans.¹⁸

The bilingual interviewers were Mexican-Americans, trained for this particular study and imported from the pretest community. The Anglo sample was interviewed by white school teachers and social workers, recruited and trained for the task at hand.

Complete interviews were secured from 209 Mexicans and 189 Anglos. These interviews were coded and punched on IBM cards for analysis. The data presented in this chapter are only a small portion of those collected, and this relatively simple analysis has been made independently of a more systematic analysis of all the data carried out in the Numerical Analysis Laboratory of the University of Wisconsin.

Some characteristics of the samples. The samples in this study have the educational characteristics that might be expected. They play a part in the relatively lower mobility of the Mexicans when contrasted with the Anglos and point up that the migrant enters the industrial world with inadequate preparation compared with his urban counterpart. Table 11.1 indicates that the modal Mexican has from 3 to 7 years of normal schooling and that the modal Anglo has from 8 to 12 years of formal schooling. In this case it is probably not only a function of ethnicity and rurality but also a function of regional differences in the background of the respondents.

The modal Mexican was 35 to 45 years of age but the Anglos were quite dispersed, ranging from about 20 to 70 years of age.¹⁹

Ideally, it would have been easier to deal with the problem at hand had a good proportion of each sample been rural for

¹⁸ Lest the reader be tempted to reject this study as another one dealing with an "exotic" population, it should be noted that ethnicity or race alone do not make an in-migrant group unusual or a very special problem. Eldon D. Smith found that the adjustment experiences of Negroes in Indianapolis were better than those of the whites. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 824.

¹⁹ Omari found that age was significantly related to socio-economic status and community satisfaction. Omari, *op. cit.*, p. 50. This may be a factor tending to maximize the differences between Mexicans and Anglos in Racine.

Table 11.1. Education of Mexican and Anglo Respondents by Sex*

Years	Mexican		Anglo	
	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Male (percent)	Female (percent)
No school	17	20	4	4
1-2	11	8	3	1
3-4	25	18	5	5
5-7	20	22	14	12
8	11	8	15	29
9-12	13	10	51	35
13+	2	1	7	8
Not ascertained	1	13	1	6
	100	100	100	100

*How many years of education have you (your husband) had?

Unless indicated otherwise, the following number of persons are in each subcategory of the sample: Mexican Male = 104; Mexican Female = 105; Anglo Male = 78; Anglo Female = 111.

Tests of the significance of differences will be used only when crucial to the acceptance or rejection of a proposition.

community of orientation. Since about 90 percent of the Mexican respondents were from Texas or Mexico there is some question as to just how urban their community of orientation might have been. Unfortunately it is not clear how many of the respondents grew up in the cities they have referred to as the place they grew up in, and how many have simply named this because it facilitated response to the interviewer's question or was more prestigious than to say that early life had been spent in a small house on the edge of the community or some distance out. What we do know is that many of the communities referred to in response to the question on community of orientation did not have a way of life that is comparable to urban life in other parts of the United States. Furthermore, other questions elicited responses leading to the conclusion that the Mexican sample was far more rural than Table 11.2 would seem to indicate.

The annual income range within occupational classifications for the Mexican sample and the Anglo sample, and the distribution of annual income for each sample are presented in Table 11.3. The fact that annual income is not too closely correlated with occupational classification will account, at least in part, for some of the relationships to be found in the data at hand.

Table 11.2. Size of Community of Orientation of Male Respondents*

	Mexican (percent)	Anglo (percent)
Rural; open-country, farm	1	4
Up to 1,000	5	11
1,000 to 2,500	3	3
2,500 to 5,000	20	2
5,000 to 7,500	8	1
7,500 to 10,000	1	2
10,000 to 50,000	3	10
50,000 to 100,000	8	35
100,000 and over	27	5
Not ascertained	24	27
	100	100

*Where did you (your husband) live while growing up?

The Adjustment of In-migrant Workers

Changes in the way of life. The data in Table 11.4 were derived from two questions not strictly comparable. The Anglo respondent was asked how he thought the lives of people changed after moving to Racine. The Mexican was asked how he thought the lives of Mexicans changed after moving to Racine.

Mexicans believed that changes in their way of life were for the better. In most cases Anglos did not evaluate the over-all changes in way of life for people moving to Racine. Since 36 percent of the Anglos always lived in Racine they found this question difficult to answer. Only 3 percent of the Mexicans always lived in Racine. Here we see the Mexicans' evaluation of their particular situation contrasted with an evaluation of change for people in general. Without question, all groups interested in Racine's less fortunate were concerned about the status of the Mexican population. Comparison was made with long-term residents of Racine and with other groups that had acquired the wherewithal to live according to standards acceptable to the middle class.

Perhaps most interesting of all is the fact that so much of the concern over the "plight" of the Mexican-Americans revolved around the apparent lack of concern over their own sorry state of affairs evidenced by the Mexicans. This in itself was cause for great alarm on the part of middle-class persons. Knowledge of the environment from which the Mexicans came might have tempered local concern over the attitude of the Mexicans toward their present living conditions.

Table 11.3. Type of Job and Annual Income of Respondent or Respondent's Husband (1958)*

	Professional, technical, managerial, proprietor, clerical, sales		Craftsmen and foremen		Operatives (semi-skilled), maintenance and service, industrial laborers		Agricultural tenant farmers, peasants		Not ascertained		Total percent	
	Mex.	Anglo	Mex.	Anglo	Mex.	Anglo	Mex.	Anglo	Mex.	Anglo	Mex.	Anglo
\$7,000 +	0	9	2	10	9	5	0	0	0	2	5	14
\$6,000 to \$6,900	0	8	5	10	17	5	0	0	0	1	11	13
\$5,000 to \$5,900	1	5	7	10	28	11	0	1	0	4	19	16
\$4,000 to \$4,900	0	2	3	9	60	16	0	0	4	3	32	16
Up to \$3,900	1	9	1	10	28	26	1	0	4	8	20	28
Not ascertained	0	7	1	4	13	10	7	0	9	4	13	13
	2	40	19	53	155	73	8	1	17	22	100	100

*Approximately what was your total family income last year (1958)? Respondent's figure was not accepted if it was inconsistent with answers to the following questions: What is your (your husband's) hourly wage? How many hours do you (does your husband) usually work in a week? How many weeks do you (does your husband) usually work in a year? Does the family have any income besides these wages?

Table 11.4. Change Perceived Among In-migrant Workers*

	Mexican		Anglo	
	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Male (percent)	Female (percent)
Changes good	66	69	12	13
Changes half-and-half or not good	13	15	4	3
Change either not perceived or not evaluated or not ascertained	18	13	48	49
Always lived in Racine	3	3	36	35

*Sometimes you hear people talking about the way life is changed by coming to Racine. From what you've seen, what kinds of big changes take place in the life of [Mexican] people when they come to Racine?

If the respondent did not mention economic improvement, the neutral probe, "Any other changes?" was employed. The Mexican group was not quite so sure that economic changes could be positively evaluated. The Anglos were also slightly less sure of economic changes being for the good than they were in reference to over-all changes. The total mention of economic change is presented in Table 11.5.

Table 11.5. Economic Change Perceived Among In-migrant Workers*

	Mexican		Anglo	
	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Male (percent)	Female (percent)
Economic improvement	53	65	8	10
Economic disadvantages as well as improvement, or economic disadvantages	13	11	4	1
Economic change either not mentioned or not evaluated or not ascertained	31	21	52	54
Always lived in Racine	3	3	36	35

*If respondent did not mention economic improvement, the following probe was employed: Any other changes? Any mention of economic change in response to the original question or the probe is included in this table.

The next question was more direct: "How did your life change when you and your family came to Racine?" This question enabled the respondent to bring his or her own experiences into focus. In many ways it was a better question for the group with which we were dealing. Many of our respondents appeared to have had little time for consideration of the problems of the larger society. They were quite busy with their own struggle for survival from day to day, i.e., their focus of attention was on their own problems rather than on group problems.

The responses to this question are presented in Table 11.6.

Table 11.6. Change Perceived in One's Own Life After Migration*

	Mexican		Anglo	
	Male ^a (percent)	Female ^b (percent)	Male (percent)	Female (percent)
Changes good	59	61	76	64
Changes half-and-half or not good	18	15	10	17
Change either not perceived or not evaluated	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100	100

*How did your life change when you and your family came to Racine?

^a Mexican Male-Anglo Male test of significance: $\chi^2 = 1.6750$ 1 d.f. Not Significant. With residual category included: $\chi^2 = 3.4354$ 1 d.f. Not Significant.

^b Mexican Female-Anglo Female test of significance: $\chi^2 = .0043$ 1 d.f. Not Significant. The residual category was eliminated in testing for significance to avoid increasing the difference as an artifact of the data rather than the characteristics of the respondents. No difference will be considered significant unless it can be accepted at the .01 percent level of confidence; other levels of significance may be mentioned as a matter of information. With residual category included: $\chi^2 = .0660$ 1 d.f. Not Significant.

The Mexicans answers indicated that Racine had not brought them significantly different improvement than it had the Anglo sample that was interviewed. A test of the significance of Mexican-Anglo variation, holding sex constant, indicates that Mexican males regarded changes in their own lives not significantly different than did Anglo males. At the same time that the Mexican males mentioned changes affirmatively, they made more frequent half and half, or unfavorable references than did the Anglos. Mexican and Anglo females differed even less than did Mexican and Anglo males.

When respondents were probed about economic advantages for themselves, they were even more hesitant. The Mexican male respondents saw fewer economic benefits for themselves than did

the Anglo respondents. A test of the significance of Mexican-Anglo variation, holding sex constant, indicates that Mexican and Anglo males differ as do Mexican and Anglo females, although in a somewhat varied pattern. In neither case is the difference significant at the level established for this chapter, although the difference is closer to an acceptable level of significance for males than for females.

Table 11.7. Economic Change Perceived for Oneself After Migration*

	Mexican		Anglo	
	Male ^a	Female ^b	Male	Female
	(percent)	(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Economic improvement	45	50	62	49
Economic disadvantages as well as improvement, or economic disadvantages	30	24	14	8
Economic change not mentioned or not evaluated	<u>25</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>43</u>
	100	100	100	100

*If respondent did not mention economic improvement, the following probe was employed: Any economic change? Any change in your level of living? Any mention of economic change in response to the original question or the probe is included in this table.

^aMM-AM: $\chi^2 = 4.3980$ 1 d.f. $P < .05$ with residual category included; = 4.0412 1 d.f. $P < .05$.

^b χ^2 MF-AF: $\chi^2 = 3.8266$ 1 d.f. Not Significant. Residual category eliminated in testing for significance.

The Mexicans were aware of economic disadvantages in the Racine community to a far greater extent than were the Anglos. We shall see that their antecedents probably influenced their judgment of the situation. From the viewpoint of the Mexicans, economic improvement took place, even though one aspect of change may be favorable and another unfavorable. Among the Anglos there was perhaps recognition of the advantages that accrued to them in the city but not so much concern about the higher cost of living. The Anglos had become used to paying high rent in contrast to their Mexican counterparts who saw some economic advantage but had not yet adjusted to higher out-of-pocket expenses.

Reasons for coming to Racine and perception of change. The data suggest that it might well be fruitful to hold reason for migration constant and then examine perception of over-all change and economic change. Table 11.8 is made up of a number of collapsed categories of responses, consisting of basic economic

reasons for migration and of a variety of reasons related to the family, as well as a few personal or idiosyncratic motivations for movement from previous place of residence.²⁰ Some of the economic motivations for migration could be classified as push and others as pull. It is clear that the Mexicans came to Racine for work, and we would expect that their satisfaction with the community would be greatly influenced by their experiences on the job and any changes that might come about in their way of life or level of living that are related to the economic institution.

Table 11.8. Reason for Moving to Racine*

	Mexican		Anglo	
	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Male (percent)	Female (percent)
Work-oriented reasons	63	61	18	17
Family-oriented, other	11	20	17	23
Always lived in Racine, Racine move not a major one	<u>26</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>60</u>
	100	100	100	100

*What would you say was the main reason that you came to Racine?

The average in-migrant Anglo moved to Racine during the 1920's and 1930's while the in-migrant Mexican moved in the late 1940's and early 1950's. How much their experiences were influenced by different economic conditions is not a part of our data, but suffice it to say that the Anglo interviewee has had a longer period of time to make whatever adjustments must be made in the city. We have already referred to other studies showing the relationship between integration into the social organization and time spent in urban areas, and it has likewise been noted that this proceeds more rapidly among those in the middle and upper classes than those who remain in the lower class in terms of occupational classification.

²⁰ A major move by a Mexican respondent refers to a move from Mexico or Texas to any non-Mexico-Texas location. A major move by an Anglo refers to a move from a place where a person lived the majority of his years before he was 12 years old. Tables dealing with reason for moving to Racine are based on responses to a question that tended to elicit from the female respondent, not her own reason, but the family reason for moving to Racine. For example: "I came here to be with my husband who was working in the foundry." Thus, the personal content of the female respondent's answer was subordinate to an economic motivation that took the family to Racine.

Table 11.9 develops from the questions that have been raised in earlier paragraphs.

When reason for moving to Racine is held constant, the difference between Mexicans and Anglos in their evaluation of perceived change becomes less.

Table 11.9. Over-all Changes Compared With Economic Changes Among Persons With Work-Oriented Reasons for Migration*

	Mexican ^a		Anglo ^b	
	Satisfaction		Satisfaction	
	Over-all ^c (percent)	Economic ^d (percent)	Over-all (percent)	Economic (percent)
Changes good	63	50	79	55
Changes half-and-half or not good	15	28	3	12
Changes either not perceived or not evaluated	22	22	18	33
	100	100	100	100

*The questions referred to in Tables 11.4, 11.5, and 11.8 are the basis for data presented in this table. Mexicans = 129; Anglos = 33.

^a Mexican, over-all change-economic change: $\chi^2 = 5.5589$ 1 d.f. $P < .02$.

^b Anglo, over-all change-economic change: $\chi^2 = .9750$ 1 d.f. Not Significant. The t test indicated significance at the .05 level of confidence with the residual category included.

^c Over-all change, Mexican-Anglo: $\chi^2 = 2.9375$ 1 d.f. Not Significant. The test indicated significance at the .05 level of confidence with the residual category included.

^d Economic change, Mexican-Anglo: $\chi^2 = 1.7774$ 1 d.f. Not Significant. The residual category was eliminated in testing for significance in order to avoid increasing the difference as an artifact of the data rather than the characteristics of the respondents.

Over-all change was still more frequently evaluated as favorable by the Mexican sample than was economic change; the difference is significant for Mexicans but not for Anglos. The difference between over-all and economic satisfaction is significant for Anglos when the "t" test is used and a .05 percent level of confidence accepted. Economic motivations dominate the decision to move from prior place of residence and economic advantages accrued from the move, but even more extensive were the over-all favorable changes that took place in their way of life. Anglos expressed greater over-all satisfaction than did the Mexicans and somewhat greater economic satisfaction than did the Mexicans, but the differences are not quite statistically significant at the .05 percent level of confidence.

Size of community of orientation and perception of change. Since 9 out of 10 Mexican respondents had a Texas or Mexican community of orientation and more than 9 out of 10 of the Mexican male respondents had such a community of orientation, Table 11.10 is restricted to a presentation of perception of change in one's life by male Mexican respondents.²¹

If it is assumed that mention of change should be proportional to the number of respondents in each community of orientation category, the significance of any variation from a chance distribution of mentions may be tested by means of Chi Square.²² Perception of change is not significantly related to size of community of orientation.

It is probably unnecessary to remind the reader that this finding is inconsistent with other research were we to assume that there is a positive correlation between external criteria of adjustment and respondent's own conception of how he is doing.

Another question on adjustment went as follows: "Some people feel that their lives have worked out just about the way that they wanted. Others feel that they've had bad breaks. How do you feel about the way that your life is working out?" Both Mexicans and Anglos were more responsive to this question than to the question on change. This is in part a consequence of the fact that it was answerable by those who had always resided in Racine and that this question came later in the interview after rapport had been well established by the interviewers. There was no statistically significant variation in satisfaction as related to size of community of orientation, with Mexicans and Anglos responding rather uniformly.

This study may in several respects have a population that reduces its likelihood of being generalizable to other urban areas. For one thing the ethnic variable makes some aspects of adjustment more difficult. In this case we can assume that ordinary, white, native-born rural-reared migrants will not have quite so many difficulties as their nonwhite counterparts. The data on community of orientation give us a relatively limited range with

²¹ Although data on community of orientation are available for the males in the entire sample, the perception of change data are available for respondents only, i.e., a female respondent was asked to answer a question about husband's community of orientation but was not asked how he felt about change. The female respondent was asked about her own perception of change.

²² Inspection of the differences between expected mentions and observed mentions shows that there is no consistent pattern of deviation of perceived changes from expected by size of community of orientation of respondents for either over-all change or economic change. Application of the test of significance to the difference between the theoretical distribution and the observed distribution indicates that there is no significant difference.

Table 11.10. Over-all Changes and Economic Changes As Perceived by Mexican Male Respondents Compared With Size of Community of Orientation*

	Over-all change ^a				Economic change ^b			
	Changes good		Changes half and half or not good		Changes good		Changes half and half or not good	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
Rural; open-country, farm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Up to 1,000	4	5	2	2	4	4	3	2
1,000 to 2,500	3	2	0	0	2	1	0	1
2,500 to 5,000	11	11	4	4	7	9	4	6
5,000 to 7,500	3	5	4	2	2	4	5	3
7,500 to 10,000	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
10,000 to 50,000	5	3	0	1	3	2	2	2
50,000 to 100,000	3	6	1	2	5	5	0	3
100,000 and over	19	17	5	5	14	13	12	9
Not ascertained	11		2		7		4	
	60		18		45		30	

*Only male respondents are included in this table since there is some variation in the distribution of town of orientation of males and females.

^aOver-all change-community size: χ^2 Not Significant. } Different values obtained depending on how categories

^bEconomic change-community size: χ^2 Not Significant. } were collapsed but no significant χ^2 obtained.

Residual category eliminated from over-all change and economic change and from size of community of orientation when testing for significance. Expected frequencies are rounded and uncollapsd for presentation in this table. In computing Chi Square they were not. Expected frequencies were obtained by multiplying total "changes good" responses and total "changes half and half or not good" responses by the proportion of respondents from each size community of orientation.

each extreme end of the continuum missing. It is for this reason that we cannot expect to find the extreme differences in variables believed to be related to community of orientation.

The positive finding from the table is that people with quite diverse backgrounds migrate to urban areas, and even though their way of life is looked at with concern by their middle-class urban peers, they define it as having changed for the good.

It might be objected that migrants who were relatively successful were the ones who remained in Racine to be interviewed while vast numbers who tried to make the adjustment with less success were not around for us to interview. Indeed, that was a matter for consideration; 89.7 percent of the Mexicans interviewed in 1959 and in the sample for reinterview for a second time in 1960 were in the community and interviewed. Only 8.6 percent had left the county. This attests to a lower rate of mobility than had been anticipated.

There was a rather large amount of movement within the city and the county and considerable ingenuity was required in tracing down such mobile respondents. Their frequent in-area moves may be a factor in creating the impression that the Mexican population is more mobile than it is. Mexican-Americans are difficult to find and particularly so when a specific member of the family has been designated for interview.

Occupational antecedents and perception of change. The contrasting antecedents of the Mexican and Anglo samples have been touched on previously as factors in their differential response to change in way of life upon settlement in Racine. Enlarging upon earlier statements, it might be expected that variation between Mexican and Anglo evaluation of change would largely disappear if their antecedents were held constant. Although this might appear to be moving from the topic of central concern, it is not, for a large proportion of each group has agricultural antecedents, in spite of their responses when asked about their community of orientation.

In Table 11.11 expected mentions have been computed based on the total number of mentions and the proportion of each group with selected antecedents so that it is possible to see in which direction observed satisfaction differs from expected. The Mexican male respondents are compared with Anglo male respondents. Those with agricultural antecedents, whether they are Mexican or Anglo, have a disproportionate number of favorable over-all responses, while those in other occupational categories have disproportionately fewer favorable responses than expected.

That the Anglos whose fathers were in agricultural labor had more favorable view of change than did Mexicans is not surprising

Table 11.11. Over-all Change Perceived in Own Life of Male Respondent Compared With Occupation of Respondent's Father*

	Mexican ^a				Anglo ^b			
	Changes good		Changes half and half or not good		Changes good		Changes half and half or not good	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
Professional, technical, managerial, proprietor, clerical, sales	3 } 6	10	1 } 3	3	3 } 5	14	1 } 3	1 } 2
Craftsmen and foremen								
Operatives (semi-skilled), maintenance and service, industrial laborers	13	16	4	4	7	7	0	0
Agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, peasants	29	25	4	6	17	11	1	3
Not ascertained	$\frac{9}{60}$		$\frac{6}{18}$		$\frac{6}{38}$		$\frac{0}{5}$	

*What was your father's occupation? How did life change for you and your family when you came to Racine?

^aMexican, change-respondent's father: $\chi^2 = 1.9219$ 2 d.f. Not Significant.

^bAnglo, change-respondent's father: $\chi^2 = 6.3726$ 2 d.f. $P > .05$. Residual categories eliminated when testing for significance. Expected frequencies computed following procedure described in Table 11.10. Occupational categories collapsed as necessary for application of tests of significance.

considering the greater mobility of Anglos in comparison to Mexicans, their antecedents held constant. The Anglo variation in response, based on their antecedents, comes very close to an acceptable level of significance although the Mexican variation does not. What is important, however, is the uniformity in direction of the variation when antecedents are held constant.

The Mexican male respondents compare with Anglo male respondents in essentially the same way when economic change is considered. Just as in the case of over-all change, Anglos with agricultural antecedents observed more favorable changes in their own lives than did Mexicans with agricultural antecedents. That they did is not unexpected considering the difference in average income of Anglos and Mexicans with the same antecedents.

It could be argued that the Anglos with agricultural antecedents had somewhat better agricultural beginnings than did the Mexicans with backgrounds in agriculture, and that cannot be denied. This does assist in explaining a part of the differential mobility of Anglos and Mexicans with agricultural antecedents but this is not significant in respect to the central concern of this chapter.

Again it would appear that life in the city is not regarded as so grim if one has first experienced the country. Although it may be contended that this is a consequence of recent farm experience, that is to be doubted. The Anglo group had an earlier farm experience and their experience covered a sufficient span of years so as not to be based on a period of declining or rock-bottom farm prices.

None of the foregoing is meant to imply that rural life is unbearable. The smell of new-mown hay and the beauty of the pasture at sundown will linger with us forever, but that is far from saying that everyone can make the best possible living or other form of adjustment in a rural setting. The evidence indicates that people who have made the transition from rural to urban are not entirely sorry about it. That there is no comparison between life on one of Wisconsin's finest and most efficient dairy farms and Milwaukee's slums is not to be debated. The question, it seems, is entirely one of what kind of impact rural-reared persons make on the city and what kind of impact the city makes on them.

First job has also been compared with perception of over-all change, perception of economic change, and with responses to the question: "How do you feel about the way that your life is working out?" In each case there is no significant variation in response based on first job of respondent.

Size of community of orientation and occupational classification. In Table 11.13 the dependent variable becomes present job

Table 11.12. Economic Change Perceived in Own Life of Male Respondent Compared With Occupation of Respondent's Father.*

	Mexican ^a				Anglo ^b			
	Changes good		Changes half and half or not good		Changes good		Changes half and half or not good	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
Professional, technical, managerial, proprietor, clerical, sales	3	8	1	4	2	4	1	3
	4		6		5	8	2	
Craftsmen and foremen								
Operatives (semi-skilled), maintenance and service, industrial laborers	11	13	6	6	5	5	2	4
Agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, peasants	23	20	7	10	14	9	2	2
Not ascertained	4		10		5		0	
	45		30		31		7	

*What was your father's occupation? How did life change for you and your family when you came to Racine? Probe: Economic, level of living?

^aMexican, change-respondent's father: $\chi^2 = 4.4037$ 2 d.f. Not Significant.

^bAnglo, change-respondent's father: $\chi^2 = 4.5892$ 2 d.f. Not Significant. Residual categories eliminated when testing for significance. Expected frequencies computed following procedure described in Table 11.10. Occupational categories collapsed as necessary for application of tests of significance.

of respondent or respondent's husband, and the independent variable is community of orientation of respondent or respondent's husband.

Responses of Mexicans and Anglos are presented separately. The expected number of respondents in each occupational category from each size community of orientation is computed on a basis of the observed number of respondents from each size community of orientation and the observed number of respondents in each occupational category. This procedure, i.e., the presentation of Mexican and Anglo data in comparison with two separate expected frequencies, may be criticized because it does not point up the quite different occupational distributions of Mexicans and Anglos and the fact that Mexicans are more or less limited to the lower three broad occupational categories of the four that are left when the data have been collapsed for presentation. That this is correct cannot be denied; this paper is not concerned with differential experience based on ethnicity alone. Attention is not focused on what everyone knows or expects to find, i.e., the contrasting occupational distribution of Mexicans and Anglos, but on the influence of size of community of orientation on present job.

There is no statistically significant variation in occupational status based on size of community of orientation for either the Mexican or the Anglo sample. This is in contrast to the findings as interpreted in most other studies. It is possible that certain characteristics of Racine industry have presented better opportunities for rural-reared in-migrant labor than have some of the other settings in which research has been conducted. If this is a consequence of some peculiarity of the Racine industrial setting, then it is a finding quite pertinent to the problem at hand. What are the characteristics of industrial communities where opportunities for integration are at their maximum?

Since occupational classification and income were not closely related in the sample, the relationship of size of community of orientation to annual income was investigated. There is no significant variation in income among either Mexicans or Anglos based on size of community of orientation.

Occupational mobility among in-migrant laborers. Neither of the samples consisted exclusively of in-migrant laborers, and the Mexican sample differed from the Anglo sample not only in its ethnicity but also in the time that it had been present in the city and in the process of integration. Nevertheless, one might hypothesize that one of the sharpest differences will occur when Mexicans and Anglos are compared on the relative amount of mobility that they have evidenced between first and present jobs. Here we will have the influence of ethnicity, the influence of being

Table 11.13. Size of Community of Orientation and Present Job*

	Professional, technical, managerial, proprietor, clerical, sales		Craftsmen and foremen		Operatives (semi-skilled), maintenance and service, industrial laborers		Agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, peasants	
	Mexican ^a	Anglo ^b	Mexican ^a	Anglo ^b	Mexican ^a	Anglo ^b	Mexican ^a	Anglo ^b
Rural; open-country, farm, up to 1,000	0	3	2	9	11	12	0	1
1,000 to 7,500	1	1	3	3	53	6	1	0
7,500 to 50,000	0	6	2	9	5	5	0	0
50,000 to 100,000	0	20	3	19	11	22	1	0
100,000 and over	0	1	6	3	37	5	2	0
Not ascertained	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>
	2	40	19	53	155	73	8	1

*Data from question referred to in Table 11.2 and: What is your (your husband's) present job?

^a Mexican, community of orientation-occupation: $\chi^2 = 1.7207$ 6 d.f. Not Significant.

^b Anglo, community of orientation-occupation: $\chi^2 = 10.0773$ 6 d.f. Not Significant. Residual categories eliminated when testing for significance. Expected frequencies computed procedure described in Table 11.10. Occupational categories combined as necessary for tests of significance.

longer in the city, of educational differences, and of a broader range of first jobs. It is this variety of factors playing a part in determining relative social mobility that makes it so difficult to categorically state, as is sometimes done, that a particular group are disadvantaged because of their "rural" or "farm" background.

In Table 11.14 the number or proportion of respondents in each category of first job and the number or proportion of persons in each category of present job are used as a basis for determining the expected number of persons in each subcategory of present job. These expected frequencies are computed on the assumption of equal likelihood of rising or falling on the continuum within each category of first job in proportion to the over-all change that has taken place in the occupational status of the total Anglo group or in the total Mexican group. Statistically significant variation from this indicates that it is more propitious to have commenced work at one level rather than at another.

In the case of the Anglos there is a statistically significant difference between the distribution of present jobs and the model based on the assumption of equal probability of rising or falling, without regard to first job. Most of the difference takes place at the upper levels, indicating that the pattern of Anglo mobility is affected by first jobs at the higher levels but not so much at the lower levels. The disproportional mobility among Anglos takes place as they move up and out of every category and fail to move downward out of the higher job statuses in which they have started. Anglos and Mexicans have the same experience in one important respect. Respondents whose first job was in agriculture moved out of agriculture and into positions as craftsmen and foremen at the same rate as did persons whose first jobs were in the operative category.²³ In other words, Mexicans and Anglos have similar experiences as far as mobility at the lowest level is concerned but they are differentiated by the greater mobility of Anglos at other levels. All of the factors that we have been considering play a part in this very sharp difference in Mexican-Anglo mobility, and it should neither be assessed to ethnicity nor to rurality alone.

²³ See Clopper Almon, Jr., "Origins and relation to agriculture of industrial workers in Kingsport, Tennessee," *Jour. Farm Econ.*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 1956, pp. 828-36. Almon's research indicated little difference in the work records of those with farm and nonfarm backgrounds in two major manufacturing plants in a predominantly agricultural area. It did not make any difference whether workers were reared in farm or town, had industrial or only farm experience, they had essentially the same employment records. More than half of the workers were from farm backgrounds. Promotion to the semiskilled level went to those with previous experience in skilled trades or truck driving rather than to men direct from the farm. General manufacturing experience, however, did not appear to give any advantage over one fresh from the farm.

Table 11.14. First Job and Present Job of Respondents or Husbands of Respondents*

Present Job - Mexican	Professional, technical, managerial, proprietor, clerical, sales		Craftsmen and foremen		Operatives (semi-skilled), maintenance and service, industrial laborers		Agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, peasants		Not ascertained	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected		
	<u>First Job - Mexican^a</u>									
Professional, technical, managerial, proprietor, clerical, sales	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
Craftsmen and foremen	0	0	1	0	6	7	8	8	4	
Operatives (semi-skilled), maintenance and service, industrial laborers	3	3	3	4	43	41	47	48	59	
Agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, peasants	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	5	
Not ascertained	2	0	0	0	2	14	7			
	5	4	4	4	52	52	72	72	7	

First Job - Anglo^b

Present Job - Anglo

Professional, technical, managerial, proprietor, clerical, sales	14	5	3	4	9	13	3	7	11
Craftsmen and foremen	1	6	9	5	15	15	9	8	19
Operatives (semi-skilled), maintenance and service, industrial laborers	4	8	6	7	24	21	13	11	26
Agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, peasants	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Not ascertained	0		$\frac{2}{20}$		$\frac{4}{52}$		$\frac{2}{27}$		$\frac{14}{71}$
	19								

* Data from questions on occupational history.

^a Mexicans: First job-present job: $\chi^2 = .4405$ 4 d.f. Not significant.

^b Anglo: First job-present job: $\chi^2 = 27.97$ 6 d.f. $p > .01$. Expected frequencies computed based on proportion of persons in each category of first job and number of persons in each category of present job. Residual category excluded. Categories combined as necessary for tests of significance.

SUMMARY

Studies of the adjustment of rural-reared migrants
in urban areas

When the rural-reared urban migrant is compared with urban-reared city dwellers the rural-reared migrant is found in lower status positions no matter which measures of status are selected. But research also shows that status differences based on size of community of origin disappear over a period of time. The rural-reared migrant becomes more and more like his urban-reared counterpart.

Comparisons of this type are in a sense misleading. The question would be better put if we asked, "How much did the urban migrant have of whatever he valued before he came to the city and how much does he now have of whatever he still values or has come to value as a consequence of urban life?" This formulation is applicable to either measures of level of living or to expressions of satisfaction. Research is scarce, but what we have indicates that status is improved through migration to urban areas and integration into the urban-industrial society.

The adjustment of migrant workers

A sample of in-migrant Mexican-American workers had a favorable perception of the changes that occurred for Mexicans in general and for themselves. Anglos perceived the changes that occur as predominantly favorable and in the case of economic change had more favorable perceptions of their own changes than did Mexicans.

Anglos who moved to Racine for work-oriented reasons perceived over-all changes for themselves more favorably than did Mexicans. Both groups perceived over-all change more favorably than economic change.

Size of community of orientation and perception of favorable change did not have a significant deviation from a distribution based on the assumption of no relationship. The same was true for size of community of orientation and present job.

Occupation of respondents' fathers, as a measure of their antecedents, was compared with perception of change. Anglos with agricultural antecedents had more favorable perceptions of change than did others.

When first job and present job were compared for Anglos and Mexicans, there was a significant difference between the model of

equal movement out of one occupational category and into another and the observed situation for Anglos, but not for Mexicans. This was based in part on the position of the Mexicans in the occupational structure.

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