

RURAL MIGRANTS IN AN URBAN COMMUNITY:
A STUDY OF MIGRANTS FROM THE INTERLAKE
REGION OF MANITOBA IN WINNIPEG AND BRANDON

A Thesis

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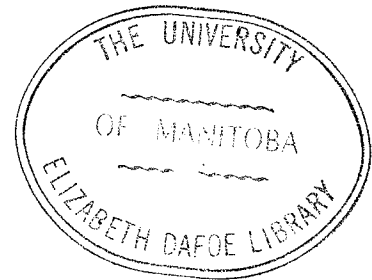
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ABSTRACT

In this study an attempt is made to investigate the problems, to measure the level of adjustment and to investigate the factors which contribute to high or low adjustment level of 82 "migrants" from the Interlake Region of Manitoba in Winnipeg and Brandon. All the respondents were at the time of the study taking educational training designed for increased job opportunities. Data were gathered by personal interviews and information on demographic characteristics was gathered from the application forms sent to the Department of Agriculture by the "students". Personal adjustment was measured by a six-question Guttman-type scale of satisfaction.

Our findings indicate that most of the "migrants" still have a strong attachment to the rural area. More important, nearly half of the respondents do not regard themselves as migrants. Our data also confirm the findings of previous researchers that rural migrants to the city have low participation and membership in social organizations. Our study also reveals that these "migrants" expect difficulties in finding jobs in the trades in which they are receiving training. Furthermore they feel that the related subjects (purely academic subjects) are of very little use to them. There is a general feeling that there is not

enough practical training and this is linked to the fact that the period of training is too short. Like other research findings our data support the view that rural migrants have difficulty in finding satisfactory housing.

Our findings also show that there is a statistically significant relationship between education and the extreme adjustment categories. We observe that a greater proportion of those who have grade 9 and less, than those with grade 10 or more fall in the high adjustment group. Our data also indicate there is a statistically significant relationship between duration of residence in the city and adjustment. The data also reveal that adjustment is likely to be high in the first few months of arrival in the urban centre. Though our data reveal no statistically significant relationships between adjustment and income, a close observation of the data shows that a greater proportion of those who earned \$3,000 and less prior to their movement, than those who earned \$3,001 and more are found in the high adjustment group.

No statistically significant relationship is found between age, marital status, participation in social organizations, residence pattern, distance of home from the city, frequency of visits to parents, and adjustment.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The movement of rural people to urban centres is a common phenomenon today both in the "developing" and the industrialized countries. As the development of technology has led to an increase in per capita production of farmers, in the industrialized countries, there has been a reduction in the number of people needed on the farms. Thus there is a large number of people unemployed or underemployed in the rural areas. At the same time the development in technology has led to an increase in job opportunities in the urban areas. It has thus been increasingly recognized that the movement of rural workers to urban centres to take up non-agricultural jobs is vital to the realization of higher economic prosperity. Many countries including Canada, therefore, are making efforts to motivate and help rural people to move to the urban centres.

Social scientists have paid some attention to the causes of this exodus from rural areas to urban centres (Beijer, 1965; Taft, 1955), but little has been done to find out what happens to the migrants in the urban communities, especially in Canada. It has generally been recognized that there is a difference between the attitudes and values of ruralites and those of the urban dwellers. (Haller and Wolff, 1962.) However this difference

is less marked in the industrialized societies. (Lipset, 1955.) Thus various attempts have been made to refine the indicators of this dichotomy such as the introduction of the concept "rurbanism" (Galpin, 1918) and the classification into "urban", and "rural-farm", and "rural-non-farm". We shall not concern ourselves here with the controversy about definitions of "rural" and "urban". It is essential to point out that for our purpose here, we perceive the difference between the rural and urban centres in terms of differences in values, norms and social institutions. This does not mean that we are ignoring the geographic distance, in fact all the factors are inter-related. While life in the rural area is made up of predominantly intimate personal acquaintanceship, less formal control and relatively stable and rigid social structures, life in the city tends to be in the opposite direction. The city is characterised predominantly by diversification and specialization of roles, distant social relations, formal social and complex organizations. (Wirth, 1938.)

Accepting the sociological proposition that human groups in different environments and different social institutions could differ in their values, aspirations and behaviour, we could expect that the migrant will face different values and expectations. It means therefore that the decision to migrate and the movement itself are only one side of the coin. What

happens after the migration is equally important to the migrants and the receiving group. It could however be said that migration from rural to urban areas has not only resulted in the concentration of people in the cities or metropolitan areas, but these centres have also expanded outward as a result of improved transportation thus forming a link with the rural areas. Secondly the development of communication has led to more contact between the urban and rural areas and the fact that there has been a migration of people from the urban centres to rural areas, though to a lesser degree, there is an infiltration of urban values and practices into rural areas. It can thus be argued that the exposure of the rural areas in the industrialized countries to the urban values and practices, added to the fact that rural and urban people have similar material facilities available to them, there are no significant differences between the rural and urban residents. It is essential however, to note that the urban areas are more densely populated and more industrialized than the rural areas. The above, in addition to the fact that there is more role differentiation and separation of family roles from work-related roles in the urban communities, partly explains the persistence of different types of interpersonal relations in the urban communities as opposed to those found in rural areas. (Haller and Wolff, 1962; Reiss,

1959.) Even after the rural migrants have learned to use complicated machines they do not necessarily acquire the values of urban society.

Objective of the Study:

The objective of this study was threefold. The first objective was to investigate the problems, if any, which rural migrants face in urban societies, second, to measure the adjustment level of the individual rural migrant and third, to investigate the factors which contribute to high or low adjustment.

Review of Studies:

Sociologists are becoming more and more concerned about the adjustment problems of rural migrants. As one author puts it, "For the adult migrant it is clear that no amount of reshaping, even under the most favourable conditions, will make him exactly like a typical member of his host group. Though he may become like his host in many ways, the new attitudes, beliefs and behaviours that he acquires will always be set within the context of a basically different personality structure. On the day that he arrives the typical immigrant shares none of the common stock of memories, social traditions and sensory experiences that bind together his contemporaries who were born in the host community. This fact alone must

always set him apart to some extent, if not for others, at least for himself." (Richardson, 1967, p. 4.) Indeed one of the great difficulties facing both industrialized and developing countries today is the organization of an agricultural population into an effective urban work force. The need for the individual migrant to adjust to the aspirations, values and institutions of the receiving group cannot be over-emphasized. If the migrants are able to integrate themselves, both they and members of their new society benefit. If they do not, a host of things including maladjustment and conflict could occur. (Bernard, 1967.)

Social Adjustment and Educational and Occupational Achievement:

It is almost a truism that the level of education of a population in a low income area will be lower than that of a comparatively prosperous area. Problems such as scattered pattern of settlement, absence of roads and a higher cost of living are some of the contributing factors. (Nelson, 1965.) However, as Nelson (1965) points out, the fundamental principle underlying the education problem is the values of the people themselves.

A review of studies conducted in this field shows that there is a lower level of educational aspiration among farm high school students than non-farm high school students. One

author attributes this to such factors as few visible occupational roles and relatively poor elementary and secondary schools. The above he claims limit the knowledge of the ruralites about non-agricultural occupations. (Lipset, 1955.) Another author suggests that "once formed, the plan regarding farming appears to have important consequences for the rest of the boy's career. Plans to farm greatly influence the process of seeking information about non-farm occupational aspirations and post high school educational plans." (Haller, 1960, p. 321.) Recently one author disagreed with the above suggestion. He notes that rather than the decision to farm, the family and peer group values affect the level of educational aspirations and expectations of farm boys. (Slocum, 1967.) We are not concerned here so much with reasons for low level educational aspirations of ruralites but rather to point out that this low level educational aspiration has been accompanied with low level educational achievement. Today, education has come to be widely recognized as a means to economic growth and occupational achievement. Thus if the rural migrants are to fit into the industrial age which they enter in the urban community, they have to be trained to develop skills. As one author puts it, an urban industrialized society, which wishes to make the fullest use of its excess rural population while at the same time giving the immigrants the greatest personal satisfaction, will be

well advised to help educate the immigrants to rearrange their normal occupational concepts. (Abramson, 1968.)

A number of studies have shown that farm-reared adults are much more likely to be less successful in urban occupations than those who are reared in urban communities. Freedman and Freedman, (1956), have observed that farm-reared workers in urban communities are more highly concentrated in manual jobs and are under-represented in professional and technical occupations compared to the urban-reared. This has been recently corroborated in a study of 100 former farm operators who were living in Saskatoon. (Abramson, 1968.) The author points out that there is little upward mobility among these rural migrants. "Although job shifting was common among the respondents, particularly during the first one or two years, the majority of these shifts were horizontal ones within the same level of occupation." (Abramson, 1968, p. 68.) The author also notes that the migrants do not see their employment in the city as a step towards upward mobility but rather as a lowering of their status as independent farm operators. She further notes that though most of the migrants admitted that city occupations provided them more security than farming, "many found their city jobs joyless, dull and lacking in opportunities for achievement. In the minds of these migrants Karl Marx

describes best the worker in the city, "The wage earner is alienated from his work and merely sells his services for a certain number of hours." (Abramson, 1968, p. 69.) However, we should be guided by the study of farm migrants, urban migrants and urban natives in Des Moines. (Bauder and Burchinal, 1965.) The authors observe that although farm migrants had lower achievement in occupational status, income and other measures of socio-economic status in the city than did urban migrants and urban natives, most of the differences were accounted for by lower educational levels among farm migrants.

Social Adjustment and Kinship Ties:

It is generally held that a migrant family suffers from internal weakening of integration and family disorganization. (Whyte, 1967.) In the first place, migration brings the family into a new society with different patterns of behaviour. Since all human beings are not the same, the rate of adjustment of the family members may differ from person to person and this could lead to conflict. Secondly, vertical mobility may accompany migration. Where this occurs the migrants find themselves in new roles and new norms governing their behaviour. This is likely to increase the degree of conflict among family members. However as observed in a report of the government of Saskatchewan (1965),

migration is only one factor among many which contribute to family disorganization.

Some studies in this field have shown that while the migration of the whole family may lead to internal weakening or disintegration, the migration of an individual from the family tends to loosen the ties formerly binding the family together. They also show that the migration of one or more members of the family from the rest of the family contributes to a decline of intimate relationship within the family. (Locke, 1940; Schwarzweller, 1964.) Other studies on the other hand maintain that the immigrant acts as an informant to the rest of the kin-group in the region of out-migration, providing them with information about job opportunities, customs and language. Rather than disorganization occurring, a new "modified" extended family is born. Thus they claim the migration of a rural family to an urban community does not necessarily reduce kinship integration. To them the important factor in kinship recognition is the cultural values of the people. (Litwak, 1960; Garigue, 1964.) We should take note also of the findings of the Des Moines study. (Bauder and Burchinal, 1965.) The authors have observed that farm migrant families have higher median frequency of monthly visits of relatives living in Des Moines than urban migrants. They further point out that, "At the low and the middle occupa-

tional status levels, medians were highest among urban-migrant families and lowest among native families. At the high status level, however, the median for the farm-migrant families was considerably greater than the other two medians, and the urban-migrant families had the lowest median." (Bauder and Burchinal, 1965.) It is also equally important to recognize the importance of Abramson's (1968) observations. She points out that the social integration of the wife and/or children will help in the adjustment process of the male head. She further notes that, "There is also evidence to show that a stable supportive family structure facilitates good adjustment even when the male head is severely handicapped by low education, advanced age, lack of experience in urban occupations, no previous experience of cities, etc." (Abramson, 1968, p. 387.)

Social Adjustment and Membership and
Participation in Social Organizations:

It could be expected that the immigrant would find it difficult to adjust to the social activities which are entirely new or where farm life has not prepared him. Thus activities such as participation in those political and voluntary organizations, which we may consider to be essentially urban activities, could pose a difficulty to the migrant. The fact that the ruralite might not be exposed to political

activity and even the fact that he might regard himself as a stranger in his "new abode" make him feel inadequate to seek political power. Moreover since some voluntary organizations are considered as essentially urban phenomena, we could expect that the rural migrant's participation here will be low. On the other hand, since the church is traditional to the farm we could expect that it may serve as a forum where immigrants could exchange ideas and find help.

There is evidence to show that in the city, farm-reared migrants have a low level of activity in voluntary organizations and this may also be a function of their lower economic status. Secondly, the farm-reared people are less politically active than urban-reared, and the farm-reared also score consistently low on a scale of political efficacy. Finally, farm-reared Protestants attend church with slightly more regularity than other Protestants. This high attendance at church is found in the low income groups. (Freedman and Freedman, 1956.) Other studies also found similar evidence and also point to the fact that the level of education of the migrants is an essential variable in determining participation in social organizations. (Reiss, 1959; Zimmer, 1955.) In the Saskatoon study the author observed an increase in membership and attendance of church among the rural migrants while participation in other types of organized

social groups is low. She found out that church membership increased from 77 per cent in the country to 89 per cent in the city, and almost two out of every three migrants were regular church attenders. On the other hand she notes that 31 per cent of the respondents belonged to no organized social group and 25 per cent of those who had membership were non-participants. She further points out that previous participation or membership in a social organization in the rural community was not a good indicator of participation in organizations in the city. (Abramson, 1968.)

However, we should also bear in mind the warning that, "Clearly there was no support for the often expressed view that farm-migrant couples, in comparison with other couples, are less actively involved in formal social organizations." (Bauder and Burchinal, 1965, pp. 380-381.)

Social Adjustment and Housing:

If the social adjustment of the migrants is to proceed relatively satisfactorily, it is imperative that suitable accommodation be provided for them. (Beijer, 1965.) From this point of view it becomes important that urbanism is not considered as a conglomeration of people but as "a way of life." (Wirth, 1938.) The construction and design of houses then should not be the responsibility of architects alone, who are likely to be concerned largely with physical

construction. In short, in providing houses for migrants, the towns or communities should be planned as "social wholes". (Beijer, 1965.) The problem of housing for migrants is not only quantitative but also qualitative. It is sometimes argued that the migrants prefer individual detached houses. (Krier, 1961.) This could be true since this is the kind of housing they are used to in the rural area.

More important, however, is the question whether whole quarters should be created exclusively for the migrants or to create mixed quarters where people of different social and economic origins live together. (Beijer, 1965.) This brings into focus a number of reasonings. It could be argued that creating separate quarters for the migrants gives them some feeling of security since they are among their own kind and that therefore the adjustment process, though it could be slow, might be relatively more smooth. However, it could be said also that housing the migrants in separate quarters might lead to giving discriminatory names to certain areas, where the migrants live, and this could hamper the adjustment process. On the other hand, the mixing of both migrants and non-migrants together could lead to a more rapid adjustment since the migrants could be influenced by the values and practices of the non-migrant group. We have to note however that the value conflict which could occur

here might make the adjustment process difficult.

In a recent study, Abramson (1968) found that about a third of the respondents had some difficulty in finding suitable accommodation. The most important problem here was financial difficulty. She also points out that, "Those who settled in downtown neighbourhoods with a high proportion of working people, felt the city to be unfriendly and cold. Some who purchased homes in upper-income neighbourhoods felt handicapped by their farm backgrounds and ignorance of city forms of behaviour. Occasionally they were unable to keep up with the consumption patterns of their neighbours because the capital derived from the sale of their farms allowed them to buy property in neighbourhoods where average incomes were much higher than their own." (Abramson, 1968, p. 77.)

The Problem:

Sharp and Kristjanson in their, "The People of Manitoba," note that there is a massive migration from the rural areas of Manitoba to the urban centres. (Sharp and Kristjanson, 1964, p. 54.) They attribute this movement to decreasing manpower needs in agriculture and increasing labor demands in non-farm jobs. As they rightly point out there is no possibility of this movement coming to an end in the immediate future.

More important, they have observed that one of the costs

of this exodus is the "adjustment problems of the individual immigrant." (Sharp and Kristjanson, 1964, p. 64.) Recently with the implementation of the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act, in Manitoba, some ruralites are being encouraged and helped to move to the urban centres. From the review of studies above we found that rural migrants find it difficult to adjust to the urban environment. This means if such a programme is to succeed the migrants should be helped to adjust to the urban environment. In order to help the migrants to become part of the urban setting it is important to understand their difficulties so far as adjustment is concerned. As stated already this study is designed, in part, to investigate the difficulties faced by rural immigrants and to attempt to isolate the factors which affect adjustment.

Model for Adjustment:

There is little consensus among sociologists on the definition of social adjustment as applied to immigrants. Various meanings and concepts have been used to refer to social adjustment. In the past assimilation had been used to refer to the whole process of immigrant adjustment. Some of the scholars who use assimilation for the process of immigrant adjustment however admitted that the individual migrant contributes to the receiving culture in the process.

(Drachsler, 1920; Taft, 1955.) Others, though they stress the adjustment the immigrant must make in his new environment, admit that assimilation takes time and does not occur until later generations. (Davie, 1936; Duncan, 1933.) A few of these scholars were extremists. They saw the process as a one-way one, in which the immigrant surrenders his values and aspirations and takes on completely those of the receiving group. (Fairchild, 1926.)

Present day sociologists have come to realise the complexity of the term "adjustment". They see it not as a one-way happening but as a process based on the principle of reciprocity. That is, while the migrant takes on some of the values of the receiving culture, the culture of the migrant could also have an effect on the culture of the receiving group. They even maintain that a new sub-culture could grow out from a mixture of the immigrants' culture and that of the receiving group. Indeed some have considered social adjustment as a process at the end of which is a complete change of the migrants' frame of reference. (Bernard, 1967; Richardson, 1967.)

Recently William S. Bernard (1967) has advocated the use of the term "integration" instead of "assimilation" in the study of social adjustment. Dr. Bernard points out that the use of assimilation suggests that the immigrant has

surrendered his culture completely and ignores the fact that the ideas and practices of the immigrant has any influence on the receiving group. To him the fundamental premise upon which integration rests is, "the importance of cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity." (Bernard, 1967, p. 24.) He further points out that integration recognizes individual and group differences so long as these differences do not lead to domination or disunity. Another author in explaining what he considers to be the three stages of adjustment states, "The first of these aspects concerns what happens to him during the initial period of adjustment and resettlement. When successful this period concludes with the immigrant experiencing a general state of satisfaction with his new life. Given that he feels more satisfied than dissatisfied the foundation exists for the growth of a new sense of attachment or belonging to his adopted community. Where this new sense of attachment develops, if it does, the immigrant may be described as having reached the identification level of assimilation. To be identified with one's host group also implies a favourable "set" towards it, which may result in the more rapid adoption of a wider variety of its attitudes, beliefs and behaviour than might otherwise occur. When major changes in attitudes, beliefs and behaviour have actually occurred,

then the new group member may be described as having reached the acculturation level of assimilation." (Richardson, 1967, pp. 4-5.) Here also we see that adjustment is equated with assimilation.

The framework of the process of adjustment in this study is based on Beijer's (1965) work. In a report for the "Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1965)", he differentiates four stages in the process of adjustment.

Beijer calls the first stage the "choice" stage. At this point the migrant has to decide whether to "substitute the unknown for the usually known", that is, he has to decide whether to live in the urban area permanently or to return to the rural area. At this point it is essential that the decision be that of the family as a whole or all those that will be involved in the movement.

The second stage is that which Beijer calls the process of "absorption and/or integration". If the migrant decides to substitute the unknown for the known, that is, if he decides to settle in the urban area, he must try to absorb certain values and practices of the receiving group without which he cannot function well in the group. This means that the migrant should be able to discard some of his traditional beliefs and practices and overcome some of his traditional objections such as working in an industrial undertaking or

other non-agricultural work.

Crucial at the third stage, "the acceptance stage," is the acceptance into the economic, social, cultural, religious, etc., patterns of the receiving community. (Beijer, 1965.) It is true that the migrant has to change his habits, attitudes and customs to a certain extent if he is to get on with members of the receiving group, but as already stated, social adjustment is not a "one-way traffic". Whether the migrant is able to make a good adjustment or not depends also on the attitudes of the receiving group and their willingness to accept the immigrant. At this juncture, then, the attitude of the receiving group becomes an important factor.

The fourth and the last stage in the adjustment process is what Beijer (1965) calls the "acculturation or assimilation" stage. As a final stage this implies complete adoption, absorption, integration, and acceptance of the immigrant into the receiving group and the disappearance of any distinctions between the migrants' customs, norms and values and those of the receiving group. If this happens and if the migrant is on equal economic terms with members of the receiving group then we could expect that the differences will have been bridged.

As Beijer (1965) rightly points out, complete adjustment, that is, assimilation, does not always occur. There could be

a limited type of adjustment. In this case the new-comer retains some of his former values, norms and customs while taking on the norms and values of the receiving group in other respects. To understand the process of social adjustment then, we must have a good knowledge of the socio-economic structure and the difference in values and norms between the population of the different regions of the society we are dealing with.

It must also be noted that the four stages outlined above are not independent in themselves. In fact these stages could be delineated only for analytical purposes. Before a migrant decides to reside permanently in the city he must have seen at least signs that he will be accepted by the community so also must he have realized that he will be able to adapt to the vital norms and customs of the new community without which his status in the community will still be that of a stranger.

It could be seen from the above that basic to the study of social adjustment is the difference in values and norms. The various stages outlined above only show the ways in which an attempt is made to bridge these differences between the ruralite and the urbanite.

From the above it is evident that one of the difficulties in discussing adjustment of migrants stems from the dif-

difficulty of defining "adjustment". It is the opinion of the present author that if a reliable and valid measure of adjustment can be devised, it will make a significant contribution to our knowledge of this phenomenon. We hope this will aid us to develop a more adequate definition of "adjustment". One part of this study is thus focused on developing an instrument for measuring adjustment. As used in this study, adjustment means the process by which a migrant adapts himself either alone or with the help of others to the values, customs, norms and practices of the receiving group.

Sampling and Methodology:

This study is concerned with the adjustment level and problems of rural migrants to Winnipeg and Brandon from the Interlake Region of Manitoba. By "The Interlake Region" we mean the area included in the rural development programme in Manitoba being financed by funds provided under the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act. (See Appendix I.) This area is characterised by a relatively low agricultural yield, little industrial development and low personal income; from the perspective of the rest of the province it could be called "a problem area".

It is hoped that the relatively common social and economic structure from which the migrants come, could make it easier to design an instrument for measuring their level of

adjustment. The difficulty we face is how to identify most of the immigrants, especially those who move directly into jobs in the urban centres without the assistance of government agencies. In order to minimize this difficulty the study is focused on all those people from the Interlake Region who are, at the time of the study, taking educational training designed to increase job opportunities as a result of encouragement (financial) from the Canada Manpower Department and other agencies. The age distribution of these "students" is not, however, very different from that of migrants from the Interlake Region as a whole. One author observes that the greater number of migrants from the Interlake Region comes from the ages 20 - 25. (Nelson, 1965.) In the present study 59.8 per cent of the respondents are found in the 20 - 30 age group.

At the beginning of the study the respondents were viewed as migrants, as they were so regarded by the officials of the Extension Service of Manitoba Department of Agriculture. However, during the process of the interviews the author found that most of the respondents did not regard themselves as "permanent migrants". This imposed an important limitation on the study since the framework of the study was designed to deal with "permanent migrants". We however proceeded with the study as designed because we

felt that our findings will be important in identifying a "new migrant group" which is making its appearance on the urban scene, especially in Canada, where an attempt is being made to help and motivate rural people to move to urban centres for job retraining. Secondly since there has been no research done on such a group, in terms of "adjustment", (at least to the knowledge of the present author) we felt it will be useful to investigate the difficulties faced by this "new migrant group" which will enable us to determine if these difficulties are different from those of "real" or "permanent migrants". We also felt the model for adjustment, already discussed, was still useful since it would enable us to determine if all the respondents were at the "decision-making stage".

The term "migrant" in this study, when used to apply to the present sample, thus means a "temporary migrant". By a "temporary migrant" we mean a ruralite who is residing in an urban centre but has not yet reached a decision as to whether to live permanently in the urban community or return to the rural area.

All the respondents in this study spend the working hours of the day in the urban centre. Secondly all of them either had or were in a job retraining course at the time of the study. In terms of residence, some of them live in the urban

centre throughout the week, some spend all their weekends in the rural area and others whose home-communities are closer to the urban centre commute daily.

Dependent Variable:

Our main dependent variable in this study is level of adjustment. By level of adjustment we mean the degree to which the individual migrant adapts himself either alone or with the help of others to the values, customs, norms and practices of the receiving group as measured by a Guttman-type scale of adjustment. As we shall see in the next chapter adjustment is measured here in a subjective way, that is, in terms of the individual's satisfaction with urban life as revealed in his responses to a number of questions.

Independent Variables:

The independent variables used in this study are:

Social Integration: The strength of the attachment of the migrant to the rural area as measured by the migrant's visits to, and seeking of advice from, family members in the rural area.

Membership and Participation in Social Organizations: By social organizations we mean organized groups such as the church, school, club and political parties.

Educational Level: The highest grade attained in school before migrating to the city.

Occupational Plan: An occupation which one will like to enter in relation to his present training.

Income: The annual earning of the migrant prior to his move into the city.

Hypotheses:

The guiding hypothesis of this study is that there is a significant relationship between a number of factors and the adjustment level of the migrant. The factors that are investigated here include family integration, membership and participation in social organizations, educational level, occupational plan, age, income.

The hypotheses tested here are:

- (1) The younger the migrant is the higher his level of adjustment will be.
- (2) The more educated the migrant is the higher his adjustment level will be.
- (3) The adjustment level of unmarried migrants will be higher than that of married migrants.
- (4) The higher the annual income of the migrant was prior to his movement the higher his adjustment level will be.
- (5) The more the migrant participates in social organizations in the urban community the higher his adjustment level will be.
- (6) The longer the migrant resides in an urban centre the

higher will be his adjustment level.

- (7) The adjustment level of migrants who stay in the city all week will be higher than those who go home at weekends or those who commute.
- (8) The nearer the home of the migrant is to the urban centre the higher his adjustment level will be.
- (9) The more frequent the migrant visits his parents in the rural area the lower will be his adjustment level.

The above hypotheses are basically derived from previous researches. In the section of the thesis devoted to review of literature we find that previous researchers have observed certain factors which make adjustment difficult for rural migrants. The above hypotheses, though not exhaustive in themselves, are designed to test what kind of influence, if any, these factors have on the migrants' level of adjustment.

Construction of Interview Schedule:

The initial interview schedule was designed in the early spring of 1968. The first step in developing the schedule was to review a number of studies of a similar nature. A draft schedule was drawn up and this was discussed with the officials of the Extension Service of the Manitoba Department of Agriculture. A second draft incorporating the useful and important suggestions made at the first meeting was discussed again with officials from the Extension Service and the sche-

dule was approved. The same preliminary form of the schedule was pre-tested on eight students at the Fort Osborne Training Centre, Winnipeg, with the addition of one question dealing with the respondent's present impression of the city.

In the construction of the interview schedule special questions were designed for the construction of a Guttman-type scale designed to measure the adjustment of the migrants. Particular care was taken to cover all the aspects of the important variables: social integration, membership and participation in social organizations, occupational plan, and housing. To ensure uniformity and consistent interpretation of the questions all the interviews were conducted by the investigator.

A second source of data used in the study is the application forms sent by the migrants to the Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Manpower Department. The information gathered from these forms are mostly demographic characteristics.

Originally, 110 students were to be interviewed, however during the process of interviewing it was learned that some of the students had either completed their courses or dropped out. In cooperation with the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture an attempt was made to locate those who were out of school. This attempt met with little success

especially in Winnipeg. In the end eighty-two people were interviewed, five of them drop-outs and one a "graduate". Seventy-four point four per cent of those interviewed were males and 25.6 per cent of them were females.

Processing of Data:

The data from the interview schedule and the application forms of the respondents sent to the Extension Service were transferred on to coding sheets. The codes were then punched on to IBM cards. By computer analysis percentages for each question were computed to facilitate the development of a Guttman-type scale. Another programme, in the development of which the author was involved at all stages, was set up for statistical calculations by the computer.

By means of contingency tables a selected number of variables in the study were related to level of adjustment of individual respondents. The chi square test was applied to determine the existence of a relationship between the variables. Since one or more of the expected frequencies in some of the contingency tables proved to be small, (less than 5) Yates' correction factor for continuity was applied to each computed chi square.

CHAPTER IIMEASURING PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT: GUTTMAN SCALE METHOD

As stated already one of the objectives of this study is to develop an instrument to measure the level of adjustment. One of the problems in the measurement of adjustment, as Abramson points out, is to determine from whose viewpoint the measurement should be made. Should it be from the point of view of the change agent, government, the social scientist or the "average man"? "Should it be measured relative to that of non-migrants in the rural areas left behind, to that of the indigenous urban residents or to that of migrants from other urban areas; or to some ideal of good adjustment relative to the goals of the society?" (Abramson, 1968, p. 61.) We have defined adjustment in this study as the process by which a migrant adapts himself either alone or with the help of others to the values, customs, norms and practices of the receiving group. As can be seen from this definition, adjustment is viewed here as a process of interaction between the individual and his new environment in terms of the changes that are necessary for a workable fit. It is our contention here that one of the ways in which migrants can be thought of as adjusted is in terms of their satisfaction with urban life and the degree to which they have adequately (at least in their own minds) dealt with

their problems. Thus, the present study has adopted as a working definition of personal adjustment the criterion of "satisfaction". In this study we shall mean by satisfaction a continuum of responses that reflect the presence or absence of satisfaction with urban life.

The scale of adjustment used in this study is based on the Guttman technique of scale construction. It is known that the Guttman scaling technique is basically an attitude measurement technique. It is, however, assumed in this study that a measurement of attitude reflecting a person's "satisfaction" also to a large extent measures the life adjustment level of an individual.

The objective of using a Guttman-type scale is to determine whether a person is higher or lower, more satisfied or less satisfied than other persons relative to a central attitude being measured. Thus using a Guttman-type scale enables the investigator to consolidate a number of responses, from which a single score can be derived, and to place the individuals on an attitude continuum.

As already stated, the present scale is based on Guttman's technique. As stated by Guttman himself, "For a given population of objects, the multivariate frequency of distribution of a universe of attributes will be called a scale if it is possible to derive from the distribution a quantitative

variable with which to characterise the objects such that each attribute is a single function of that quantitative variable." (Stouffer, 1950, p. 64.) The fundamental problem in constructing the Guttman type of attitude scale is to select questions or items such that all respondents who answer a given question affirmatively have higher ranks than those who answer it negatively. In other words the questions are viewed in terms of how "easy" or how "hard" they are to answer. As stated by Morrison and Kristjanson, "When the items are put in progressive order of difficulty persons able to answer a "hard" question should have been able also to answer "correctly" the preceding easy items." (Morrison and Kristjanson, 1958, p. 18.) An example might make this clear. If we have a seven-item scale and the questions are put in progressive order of difficulty we could predict that a respondent who has a score of four has answered the first four questions correctly and has missed the three remaining harder ones.

It should be noted, however, that the scalability of a group of items has nothing to do with the content of those items. Indeed the content of the scale cannot be empirically determined, but is subject only to logical determination. Moreover, one of the assumptions of scale analysis is that the content of the items has already been defined and vali-

dated, and the scalability only tests the unidimensionality of this content.

Equally important is the fact that in dealing with attitudes we cannot measure the "correctness" or "incorrectness" of a response against some yardstick of objective truth or fact. "The "correct" answers in an attitude scale are merely those which are logically judged to indicate greater morale and are given a plus score while "incorrect" responses are those which are judged to indicate less morale and are left unscored." (Morrison and Kristjanson, 1958, p. 19.) Also it is not possible to pre-arrange the items according to order of difficulty. Questions which are thought to be useful for the construction of the scale are incorporated into the questionnaire or the interview schedule. The scalability of the items or questions is then determined by arranging the questions in the order of greatest "correctly" scored to the least "correctly" scored responses. In the present study a number of questions judged to have bearing on satisfaction were included in the interview schedule for the purpose of constructing the scale. Out of these questions the following set of questions was found to meet the criteria set by Guttman for scalability. The questions are arranged here in progressive order of difficulty.

- 44 Do you find yourself happy about the way things have turned out for you in the city?

Often

- 40 Do you think people treat you differently in the city than in the country?

No

- 31 Do you personally find it easy or difficult to get acquainted with people here in the city?

Easy

- 45 Are you happy about your decision to move into the city?

A good deal

- 32 Who are the easiest to get acquainted with, city or rural people?

City

- 52 Now that you have lived in the city for a while, how do you like city life compared to life in the rural area?

Prefer city life

Criteria of Scalability:

Guttman states that items are arbitrarily designated as scalable if 90 per cent of all responses to an individual question is "correct" and if the error in the total responses of the set of questions does not exceed 10 per cent. He further points out that this deviation from the ideal scale pattern is measured by a coefficient of reproducibility. In other words the coefficient of reproducibility "is a measure

of the relative degree with which the obtained multivariate distribution corresponds to the expected multivariate distribution of a perfect scale." (Stouffer, 1950, p. 79.)

The coefficient of reproducibility is determined as follows:

$$\text{Coefficient of reproducibility} = 1 - \frac{E}{Q \times R}$$

E = number of errors

Q = number of questions

R = number of respondents

In the present study 48 errors were made by the 82 respondents on the six-question attitude scale, (see Table I), and the coefficient of reproducibility of .903 $\left(1 - \frac{48}{82 \times 6}\right)$ thus falls within the limits of acceptability.

The coefficient of reproducibility for each individual question is calculated as follows:

$$\text{Coefficient of reproducibility} = 1 - \frac{E}{R}$$

E = number of errors

R = number of respondents .

It is suggested by some researchers that a .85 coefficient of reproducibility for individual questions is acceptable if the reproducibility for the total scale is at least .90. (Riley, 1954, p. 117.) The reproducibility is .964 for Question 44 and .891 for the other questions (see Table I). Thus the .85 criterion is met.

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCALE

question number		number of responses	error responses	non-error responses	reproducibility
44	scored category	75	-	75	.964
	unscored category	7	3	4	
40	scored category	57	1	56	.891
	unscored category	25	8	17	
31	scored category	52	4	48	.891
	unscored category	30	5	25	
45	scored category	34	6	28	.891
	unscored category	48	3	45	
32	scored category	22	6	16	.891
	unscored category	60	3	57	
52	scored category	19	9	10	.891
	unscored category	63	-	63	
TOTALS		492	48	444	.903

Range of Marginal Distribution:

The second condition laid down by Guttman for the scalability of a set of items is that the reproducibility of any individual item can never be less than the percentages of respondents falling into a single answer category of that item regardless of whether or not a scale exists. For example if an item of two categories has 80 per cent of the people in one category and 20 per cent in the other that item cannot be less than 20 per cent reproducible.

To guard against reproducibility being high because of items with extreme kinds of dichotomization "the criterion of improvement" must be met. The criterion of improvement is met if both the scored and unscored categories of the individual questions contain less error than non-error. In the present study error is less than non-error in every category of each question. Thus the improvement criterion is met.

Pattern of Error:

Another criterion set by Guttman is that errors must be randomly distributed. The reasoning behind this is that the presence of non-scale types, (that is, when large numbers of respondents make the same kind of errors) indicates that the scale is not unidimensional. Errors are randomly distributed when the number of respondents who make the same kinds of errors is minimized. Guttman himself does not state to what extent

non-scale response patterns of a given type could occur in a set of items and the items still be accepted as scalable. Ford, for example, points out that there is no exact instrument of measurement yet developed for judging the randomness of a distribution but states that a scale is questionable if given non-scale type questions contain more than 5 per cent of the responses. (Riley, 1954, p. 294.)

Here again this criterion is satisfied since non-scale types with the same error patterns are never made up of more than four respondents in this study (4.8%).

Number of Items:

Guttman states that "the more items included in a scale the greater is the assurance that the entire universe of which these items are a sample is scalable." (Stouffer, 1950, p. 79.) He then points out that it is desirable that ten items be used but fewer items could be used if the marginal frequencies of several items are in the range of 30 per cent to 70 per cent. He warns that, "Just four or five items with marginal frequencies outside such a range, would not give much assurance as to how scalable the universe was, no matter how scalable the sample might be." (Stouffer, 1950, p. 79.) The present scale has six items, four of which (items 40, 31, 45, 32) fall within the 30 per cent to 70 per cent marginal frequency range laid down by Guttman. Thus the item criterion has also been satisfied in this study.

Number of Respondents:

The final criterion for the construction of a Guttman scale is the number of respondents. Guttman suggests that a scale should be based on at least 100 respondents. The present scale is based on the answers of 82 respondents, thus falling short of the number suggested by Guttman. However with the other criteria met we feel the present scale could be used as an instrument of measuring adjustment.

High, Medium and Low Adjustment:

The present scale enables us to put the respondents on a seven-point personal adjustment continuum according to how they score, from zero to six on the scale items. The number of respondents falling into each of the seven possible items is as follows:

<u>Scale Score</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
0	4
1	14
2	12
3	24
4	10
5	9
6	9
	82

For analytical purposes the respondents in the present study are divided into three groups, high, medium and low

adjustment. Those respondents receiving scale scores zero, one and two are placed in the low adjustment group, those with score of three in the medium adjustment group and those with scores of four, five and six in the high adjustment group. This grouping gives us the following trichotomous classification of adjustment.

Level of Adjustment	Number of Respondents
High	28
Medium	24
Low	30
	82

The above grouping is obviously viewed as an arbitrary division. Indeed the differences between the groups, (especially between the high and medium, and low and medium) are very slight. As pointed out by Morrison and Kristjanson (1958), respondents in one category should be thought of only as exhibiting a lower or higher degree of measured adjustment than those in other categories. It should be emphasized that the differences between the respondents, especially between those in the medium and the low and medium and high categories are very small.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Demographic Characteristics of the Migrants and the Decision to Migrate:

One of our objectives in this study is to discover which factors influence the level of adjustment. If this is to be done we must investigate the characteristics of the migrants. We also indicated in our description of the sample that during the course of interviewing it was discovered that some of the people studied did not consider themselves as migrants. This chapter of the thesis is thus devoted to our findings on the demographic characteristics of the migrants and the decision to migrate.

Home Community:

In the analysis of the data we use the distance from the home community to the city rather than the home communities per se. This is done for two reasons. First, it is felt that there will not be enough respondents from each community to serve as analytical categories. Secondly it could be sociologically assumed that the nearer the rural area to the city the more contact there will be between the rural area and the city. The value differences could also be less. Thus in terms of comparison of rural life to city life the distance of the town from the city becomes important.

Of our sample 36.6 per cent come from communities less than fifty miles from the city, 51.2 per cent of them have their home towns between fifty to one hundred miles from the city and 12.2 per cent of them are from communities more than one hundred miles away from the city.

Farm Background:

Most of the respondents said they came from the rural area (92.7 per cent). On the other hand in terms of rural farm and rural non-farm only 23.2 per cent fall within the rural farm category while 76.8 per cent are in the rural non-farm category. It would have been useful to know whether this high percentage of non-farm respondents in the sample is due to displacement of people from agriculture, by technological development, lack of fertile soil or the wish of the individual respondent not to enter farming. We have no data on this in the present study but we feel this will be a fruitful area of investigation.

Previous Mobility:

For 36.6 per cent of the respondents who had never lived away from their home community this first movement might be a difficult one especially when it involves moving to an entirely different environment. The investigator observed that these respondents mostly complained of difficulty in "getting around" in the city and sometimes of loneliness.

Another 42.7 per cent of the respondents at one time or the other lived away from their home community but all of them lived in other towns in the rural area. This group might have an advantage over the first group in that they have at least passed through a process of movement and re-settlement.

Finally 20.7 per cent of the respondents have at one time or the other lived in a city. If knowledge goes with contact then we could safely assume that this group is aware of what goes on in the city and might find it less difficult to adjust to the city norms and standards. However our findings show that in terms of adjustment difficulties there is no significant difference between this group and the two groups above.

Age:

Twenty-two per cent of the respondents were more than 40 years old. From the interviews with these people and from the findings of Abramson, this "old age" will be a handicap in seeking employment since employers often prefer younger people. The complete age distribution of the respondents is shown in the table below.

TABLE II
PRESENT AGE OF MIGRANTS

Age	Respondents in Percentages
20 and under	11
21 - 30	48.8
31 - 40	18.2
41 - 50	8.5
51 and above	13.8
Total	100.0

N = 82

Family Composition:

More than half of the respondents were married at the time of the study. This means most of them were faced with the difficulties of moving their families to the city and finding suitable housing for them. Though we have no quantitative data to support our statement the investigator got the impression during the time of interviews that most of the wives or husbands and children of the respondents are still in the rural area (25.6 per cent and 74.4 per cent of the respondents were females and males respectively).

TABLE III
MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Number of Respondents In Percentages</u>
Single	39.0
Married	53.7
Divorced	1.2
Separated	4.9
Widowed	1.2
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>

N = 82

Only 4.9 per cent of the respondents have five or more children while 53.7 per cent of them have no children at all. When it comes to dependents (i.e., people other than spouse and children), 42.7 per cent of them have between one to four dependents while 48.8 per cent of them have no dependents.

Education:

The level of formal education of the respondents is low but this is not very different from the educational achievement of the Interlake population as a whole. Most of the respondents (except those who have graduated or dropped out) are either in an upgrading course or a trades training course. Thus most of them are improving their chances of occupational achievement in the urban centers. Only 4.9 per cent of the

respondents are high school graduates.

TABLE IV

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MIGRANTS PRIOR TO MOVEMENT

Educational Level	Number of Respondents In Percentages
Grade 7	12.2
Grade 8	31.7
Grade 9	28.0
Grade 10	12.2
Grade 11	11.0
Grade 12	4.9
Total	100.0

N = 82

Occupational Experience:

About one-fourth of the respondents were farmers while over half of them were employed as unskilled workers. It is thus likely that were these migrants to enter the labour force directly most of them would be in the lowest part of the occupational structure. This would then confirm previous findings. Only 3.7 per cent of them are skilled workers.

TABLE V

OCCUPATION OF MIGRANTS PRIOR TO MOVEMENT

Occupation	Number of Respondents In Percentages
Farming	24.4
Professional*	3.7
White collar - clerics	2.4
Blue collar - skilled	3.7
Unskilled workers	61.0
Not employed	4.8
Total	100.0

N = 82

*All people in the professional group were psychiatric nurses.

Income:

If we accept \$3,000 and below per annum as the poverty group then 64.7 per cent of the respondents are in the poverty group. It would have been useful if we had data on the income of the wives or husbands, as the case may be, of the migrants, for this would enable us to arrive at an annual family income for the individual families. However this data is not available to us at present since spouses of the migrants were not interviewed. Only 6.1 per cent of the migrants had an annual income of more than \$5,000.

TABLE VI

ANNUAL INCOME OF MIGRANTS PRIOR TO MOVEMENT

Income	Number of Respondents In Percentages
\$2,000 and below	42.7
\$2,001 - \$3,000	22.0
\$3,001 - \$4,000	11.0
\$4,001 - \$5,000	7.3
No income	6.0
Total	100.0

N = 82

Decision to Migrate:

Almost half of the respondents (43.9 per cent) are still at Beijer's "choice" stage. That is, they have not yet decided whether to move to the city or not. Indeed the investigator observed that most of the respondents do not consider themselves as "real" migrants. In most cases they look upon themselves as "students" who may or may not go back to the rural area after their graduation. This point is important because it affects the attitudes of the respondents greatly. They take no interest in what is going on in the city and they knew little about city life before they came. Were they interested in city life they would have made some effort to gather some information about city life prior to their movement. When asked, "What were

some of the things you expected in city life before you moved in?", 46.3 per cent of them said they expected nothing.

CHAPTER IV

ATTACHMENT TO THE RURAL AREA AND DIFFICULTIES FACED IN THE URBAN CENTRE

One of the objectives of this study as already stated is to investigate the difficulties which rural migrants face in the urban communities. In this chapter we shall present the findings of this study in relation to the attachment of the migrants to the rural area and also the difficulties which they face in the city. It is the opinion of the investigator that the strength of attachment of the migrant to the rural area could increase or decrease the difficulties faced by the migrants in the urban community, since the strength of the attachment to the rural area could influence the migrant's attitudes toward city life. However the present study is not directed towards exploring this possibility. We feel this is a fruitful area of further investigation.

Social Integration:

The present study reveals that the respondents are still strongly attached to the rural area. This is clearly revealed in Tables VII and VIII.

TABLE VII

VISITS OF MIGRANTS TO PARENTS

Frequency of Visits	Number of Respondents In Percentages
Once a week or more	48.6
Once every two weeks	9.4
Once a month	18.9
Other	16.2
Never	6.9
	100.0

N = 74*

*The parents of 8 per cent of the respondents are not living.

In the above table we observe that 48.6 per cent of the respondents visit their parents at least once a week and only 6.9 per cent of them never visit their parents. An examination of Table VIII leads us to the same conclusion. It is evident from the table that only 28.0 per cent of the respondents stay in the city all week while 48.8 per cent go home every weekend.

TABLE VIII

RESIDENCE PATTERN OF MIGRANTS

Residence Pattern	Number of Respondents In Percentages
Stay in city all week	28
Go home weekends	48.8
Commute daily	23.2
Total	100.0

N = 82

We are aware that some factor other than attachment to the rural scene might be responsible for the frequent contact with the rural area. However, if we take into consideration the fact that 76.8 per cent of the respondents said they prefer rural life to city life we could say that this attachment to the rural area exists.

On the other hand, as already pointed out, these "migrants" are still at the stage of the adjustment process which Beijer calls the "choice" stage. (Beijer, 1965.) That is, most of the migrants have not yet decided whether to live in the city permanently or go back to the rural area. In other words these migrants have not yet substituted the unknown for the known. This cannot be ruled out since 43.9 per cent of the respondents said they have not yet decided to move to the city.

One difficulty of these migrants seems to be their preference for Gemeinschaft-like norms emphasizing close personal relationships. The impersonality found in the city is foreign to their pattern of life. Thus such statements as "the city is too closed"; "city people are not friendly", were often made by the respondents. Our data also show that 58.8 per cent of the respondents prefer to discuss their problems with close friends and relatives, an indication of Gemeinschaft-life norms.

Participation in Social Organizations:

Our findings corroborate previous observations that membership and participation in social organizations of rural migrants in the urban centre is low. Since we have no data on the membership and participation in social organizations of the urbanites we are not in a position to test the finding of Burchinal and Bauder that, "Clearly there was no support for the often expressed view that farm migrant couples in comparison with other couples are less actively involved in formal organizations." (Bauder and Burchinal, 1965, pp. 380 - 381.)

A close look at Table IX shows that there is a sharp drop in membership in social organizations as the transition from the rural area to the urban centre takes place.

TABLE IX

MEMBERSHIP IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE
HOME COMMUNITY AND AT THE URBAN CENTRE

Social Organization	<u>No. of Respondents in Percentages</u>	
	Home Community	City
Church	81.7	14.6
Social Club or Political Party	25.6	1.2
<u>Other Organization</u>	<u>35.4</u>	<u>12.2</u>

N = 82

*The total percentage cannot be 100 since one respondent could be a member of more than one organization.

While 81.7 per cent of the respondents belonged to the church in the rural area only 14.6 per cent of them are members in the city and while 25.6 per cent belonged to social clubs and political parties in the rural area only 1.2 per cent of them are members in the city. These findings might lead us to disagree with Abramson's finding that membership in the church increases among rural migrants in the city. (Abramson, 1968, p. 83.) However we should note that 74 per cent of the respondents in the present study either go home every weekend or commute daily. It is thus highly possible that they might still be members of the rural churches. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that membership in the church is still the highest among the social organizations in the city. More investigation is thus needed before the generalisability of Abramson's statement could be tested.

It is evident from the table below that just as there is a sharp decrease in membership in social organizations in the city so also is there a sharp drop in participation in social organizations at the urban centre.

TABLE X

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN HOME
COMMUNITY AND CITY ACCORDING TO INDEX RATING

Participation in Index Rating*	<u>No. of Respondents in Percentages</u>	
	Home Community	City
1 - 9	82.8	35.4
10 - 18	2.4	2.4
<u>No Participation</u>	<u>14.6</u>	<u>62.2</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

N = 82

*The lowest and the highest total index scores are 1 and 18.

It can be seen from the table above that while only 14.6 per cent of the respondents do not participate in any organization in the rural area as high as 62.2 per cent of them are non-participants in the city.

Occupational Plan and Education:

Since most of the respondents in this study are still in school we are unable to investigate how difficult it is for rural migrants to find jobs in the city or to measure where these migrants fit into the occupational structure in the city. However we have information on their educational plan or aspirations and their views on finding a job.

The data in the present study indicate that most of

the respondents want to work in the trade in which they are receiving training now. When asked, "What is the most difficult problem facing you now?", "finding a job" ranks as the highest item on the list (35.4 per cent).

TABLE XI

THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEMS FACED IN THE CITY

Difficulties	Number of Respondents In Percentages
Finding a job	35.4
Financial	29.3
Schooling	13.3
Other	6.1
None	15.9
Total	100.0

N = 82

Difficulty in finding a job is expressed in terms of finding a job in the trade in which one is receiving training. The researcher assumes that this feeling of difficulty in finding jobs exists partly because of lack of knowledge about what goes on in the city. When asked to express their views on what one would expect to find in city life, 46.3 per cent of the respondents had no comments to make. Secondly, the older people (over 40 years) expressed the fear that they might not be employed since employers pre-

fer younger people. It could also be that most of them want to go back to the rural area after graduating and thus see very limited opportunities for getting into their trade of choice. Indeed, most of those who have completed the training or dropped out were contacted in the rural area. (We know, however, that it will be easier to locate those in the rural area than those in the city.)

In the field of education, on the whole, the respondents seem to be satisfied with the training they are receiving. When asked, "Do you feel the school is doing a good job so far as your course is concerned?", 89 per cent of the respondents answered in the affirmative. Most of the difficulties mentioned about schooling have something to do with catching up in a subject or passing an examination. When asked to evaluate the up-grading or vocational training course as a whole many views were expressed. We shall only touch upon the more general opinions here. The view was often expressed that the related subjects (purely academic subjects) are of very little use. There was the general feeling also that there is not enough practical training and this was often linked to the fact that the period for training is too short. The majority of them, especially the older ones, however, feel this is a great opportunity for them to improve their occupational

mobility chances.

Housing:

Our data here support other findings that rural migrants have difficulty in finding housing. Out of 40.2 per cent of the respondents who reported facing one difficulty or the other in the city 29.3 per cent of them mentioned housing or housing and one other difficulty. Taking into consideration the fact that 23.3 per cent of the respondents commute daily we could say that more than a third of those who live in the city have housing problems. The most often mentioned difficulties are that the rent is expensive and often there is no space for the children to play. Thus the statement, "There is no place for the kids to run around," was often made by the respondents.

TABLE XII

DIFFICULTIES FACED IN THE CITY

Difficulties	Number of Respondents In Percentages
Food	1.2
Clothing	1.2
Housing	22.0
Transport	7.3
Housing and Transport	6.1
Housing and Food	1.2
Housing and Clothing	1.2
None	58.5

N = 82

Though we have no quantitative data in the present study to support our statement the researcher observed that most of the respondents still have their families in the rural area. It is thus suggested that the housing problem could be an acute one if the whole family is involved in the migration.

It is also important to note that 58.5 per cent of the respondents said they have no difficulty in the urban centre. This strengthens our point that these respondents do not care much about what is going on in the city. It could also be that they view whatever problem they might face in the urban centre as a price a "student" has to pay for his education.

CHAPTER V

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADJUSTMENT LEVEL OF MIGRANTS AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Two of our objectives in this study as stated already are to measure the adjustment level of the individual migrant and to find which factors contribute to high or low adjustment. In Chapter II of the thesis we explained how the adjustment level of the migrant was measured. We also pointed out that for analytical purposes the respondents in this study were divided into three groups, high, medium and low adjustment groups.

In this section of the thesis we shall present the findings of the present investigation on the relationships between such factors as marital status, level of education, age, occupation, income, distance of home from the city, frequency of visits to the rural area and the personal adjustment of the respondents. It is our opinion that in doing this we will be able to find out which factors contribute to high or low adjustment. Each hypothesis will be presented in the null form.

Age and Adjustment:

The null hypothesis tested was: There is no significant relationship between chronological age and personal adjustment. Table XII shows the relationship of chrono-

logical age and adjustment.

TABLE XIII

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO CHRONOLOGICAL AGE

Personal Adjustment	Chronological Age		Total
	40 and Below	41 and Above	
High	21	7	28
Medium	19	5	24
Low	24	6	30
Total	64	18	82

$$x^2 = 0.04 \quad \text{D.F.} = 2 \quad P > .05$$

Our data as shown above do not indicate any relationship between age and adjustment in the urban centre. Like Abramson's own findings our data have not supported her suggestion that, "Younger men may have more personality difficulties related to the acceptance of their relatively low status in the city, and their greater dependence on the family than middle-aged men who are oriented to the conjugal family and the improved prospects they can provide in the city for their children." (Abramson, 1968, p. 100.)

Education and Adjustment:

Formal education not only prepares a person for a better occupation but also exposes the individual to knowledge and events outside his own community. Our assumption here

is that the more educated the migrant is the "better" or "easier" will be his process of adjustment.

The null hypothesis tested was: There is no significant relationship between level of education and personal adjustment.

TABLE XIV

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Personal Adjustment	<u>Educational Level in Grades</u>		Total
	7 - 9	10 - 12	
High	24	4	28
Medium	18	6	24
Low	17	13	30
Total	59	23	82

$$x^2 = 4.76$$

$$D.F. = 2$$

An observation of the table above reveals that there is no relationship between level of education and personal adjustment. However when we look at the extremes of the adjustment categories the picture changes.

TABLE XV

EXTREME ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO EDUCATION

Personal Adjustment	<u>Educational Level in Grades</u>		Total
	7 - 9	10 - 12	
High	24	4	28
Low	17	13	30
Total	41	17	58

$$x^2 = 5.87$$

$$P < .05$$

$$D.F. = 1$$

The above findings indicate that there is a significant relationship between educational level and adjustment. We therefore hesitate to accept the hypothesis that there is no relationship between adjustment and educational achievement. The table also shows that less than one third of the respondents who have grade 10 or more education fall in the high adjustment group while more than half of those who have grade 9 and less education are found in the high adjustment group. It could be that the better educated have higher expectations of city life than the less educated and the unfulfillment of these high expectations has resulted in low adjustment.

Marital Status and Adjustment:

The hypothesis tested here was: There is no significant relationship between marital status and personal adjustment.

Our present findings as revealed in the table below show that the difference between the married and unmarried in terms of adjustment is negligible. When the chi square test with Yates' correction for continuity was applied there was no statistically significant difference between adjustment level and marital status. Here again the hypothesis of no relationship cannot be rejected in the present study.

TABLE XVI

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Personal Adjustment	Marital Status		Total
	Married	Unmarried	
High	16	12	28
Medium	13	11	24
Low	15	15	30
Total	44	38	82

$\chi^2 = 0.10$ $P > .05$ D.F. = 2

Annual Income and Adjustment:

It is a common view that one of the most important things which makes life comfortable is money. We also know that the cost of living in a given country is likely to be higher in the city than in the rural area.

The hypothesis tested here was: There is no significant relationship between previous annual income and personal adjustment.

TABLE XVII

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO PREVIOUS ANNUAL INCOME

Personal Adjustment	\$3,000 & Below	\$3,001 & Above	Total
High	22	6	28
Medium	16	8	24
Low	20	10	30
Total	58	24	82

$\chi^2 = 0.62$ $P > .05$ D.F. = 2

From the table above it is evident that there is no statistically significant relationship between income and adjustment. We therefore accept the hypothesis.

However, a close look at the table above shows that while 37.9 per cent of those who earned less than \$3,000 per annum fall into the high adjustment group only 25 per cent of those who earned more than \$3,001 fall within the same category. Furthermore 34.4 per cent of those who earned \$3,000 and less are found in the low adjustment group while 41.6 per cent of those who earned \$3,001 and more are in the low adjustment group. This could indicate that the satisfaction of the migrants in the higher income group is affected by a drop in income since almost all the respondents now receive allowances from the Government for going to school.

Participation in Social Organizations in the City and Adjustment:

As stated in the first chapter of the thesis some social organizations, such as social clubs and political parties, are regarded as essentially urban phenomena. Assuming then that a person participates in the organizations which are found in the rural area, participation in urban social organizations could be used as a variable to indicate adjustment to the urban centre. The null hypothesis tested here was: There is no significant relationship between partici-

pation in social organizations in the city and personal adjustment.

TABLE XVIII

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CITY

Personal Adjustment	Participation in Index Rating						Total
	1 - 9		10 - 18		No participation		
High	12	0.35	1	0.08	15	0.13	28
Medium	5	1.11	1	0.14	18	0.38	24
Low	12	0.05	0	0.05	18	0.01	30
Total	29		2		51		82

$$\chi^2 = 2.30$$

$$P > .05$$

$$D.F. = 4$$

The table above indicates no statistically significant relationship between adjustment and participation in social organizations in the city. The hypothesis is therefore accepted.

Duration of Residence in Urban Centre and Adjustment:

The null hypothesis tested was: There is no significant relationship between duration of residence in the urban centre and personal adjustment.

TABLE XIX

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO DURATION OF RESIDENCE
IN URBAN CENTRE

Personal Adjustment	Duration of Residence in City			Total
	Less Than 6 Months	6 Months To 1 Year	More Than 1 Year	
High	10	13	5	28
Medium	3	18	3	24
Low	8	20	2	30
Total	21	51	10	82

$x^2 = 4.04$ $P > .05$ D.F. = 4

Our data here indicate no statistically significant relationship between adjustment and duration of residence in the city. On account of this we could accept the hypothesis above but a look at the extreme adjustment categories tells us a different story. When a chi square test of significance was applied to the extreme categories a significant relationship between duration of residence in the city and adjustment was observed.

TABLE XX

EXTREME ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO DURATION
OF RESIDENCE IN THE URBAN CENTRE

Personal Adjustment	Duration of Residence in City			Total
	Less Than 6 Months	6 Months To 1 Year	More Than 1 Year	
High	10	13	5	28
Low	8	20	2	30
Total	18	33	7	58

$x^2 = 6.973$ $P < .05$ D.F. = 2

The data above indicate that adjustment is likely to be high in the first few months of arrival in the city. As Alan Richardson notes, for the great majority of migrants the first few days or weeks in the new community are usually pleasant ones. Richardson further observes that, "Even when progress towards resettlement goal is being made some lowering of satisfaction level is fairly typical after six or seven months of residence." (Richardson, 1967.)

Residence Pattern and Adjustment:

The null hypothesis tested here was: There is no significant relationship between residence pattern and adjustment.

The findings of the present study reveal no statistically significant relationship between the residence pattern of the migrants and adjustment. We therefore accept the hypothesis.

TABLE XXI

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE PATTERN

Personal Adjustment	Residence Pattern			Total
	Stays In City All Week	Go Home Weekend	Commute	
High	8	16	4	28
Medium	8	13	3	24
Low	7	11	12	30
Total	23	40	19	82
$x^2 = 5.53$	$P > .05$		$D.F. = 4$	

The table above, however, reveals that while the number of the respondents who stay in the city all week and those who go home at the weekend, falling into the high adjustment category, is higher than those falling into the low adjustment group, a higher number of those who commute are found in the low adjustment group. Indeed more than half of the "commuters" are in the low adjustment group, a sign that residence pattern could influence adjustment.

Distance of Home From City and Adjustment:

The null hypothesis tested was: There is no significant relationship between distance of home from the city and adjustment.

TABLE XXII

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO DISTANCE
OF HOME FROM THE CITY

Personal Adjustment	<u>Distance of Home From City</u>			Total
	Below 50 Miles	50-100 Miles	Above 100 Miles	
High	13	12	3	28
Medium	6	14	4	24
Low	11	16	3	30
Total	30	42	10	82

$$x^2 = 1.59$$

$$P > .05$$

$$D.F. = 4$$

The findings above show no statistically significant

relationship. We therefore accept the hypothesis.

Frequency of Visits to Parents and Adjustment:

The null hypothesis tested here was: There is no significant relationship between frequency of visits to parents and adjustment.

TABLE XXIII

ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY
OF VISITS TO PARENTS

Personal Adjustment	<u>Frequency of Visits to Parents</u>					Total
	Weekly	Fort- nightly	Monthly	Other	Never	
High	13	1	11	0	3	28
Medium	10	2	6	2	4	24
Low	13	4	9	3	1	30
Total	36	7	26	5	8	82

$\chi^2 = 3.63$ $P > .05$ D.F. = 8

The above findings do not show any statistically significant relationship between frequency of visits to parents and adjustment. Neither do they have any consistent direction. Here also the hypothesis is accepted.

CHAPTER VISUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The movement of rural people to urban centres has brought about an interest in the adjustment problems of the migrants.

The present study has attempted to contribute to the understanding of the problems of adjustment of rural migrants in the urban centres and what factors contribute to low or high adjustment. Our sample was made up of 82 migrants from the Interlake Region of Manitoba in Winnipeg and Brandon who were at the time of the study taking educational training, designed for increased job opportunities as a result of encouragement (financial) from Canada Manpower Department and other agencies. Data were gathered by personal interviews. Information on demographic characteristics was also gathered from the application forms sent to the Department of Agriculture by the migrants.

Personal adjustment is conceived, in the present study, as the process by which a migrant adapts himself either alone or with the help of others to the values, customs, norms and practices of the receiving group and is measured by a six-question Guttman-type scale of satisfaction.

Social Integration:

Most of the migrants still have a strong attachment to

the rural area. As indicated earlier 43.9 per cent of the respondents visit their parents at least once a week and only 28.0 per cent of them stay in the city all week. More important, nearly half of the respondents do not regard themselves as migrants. This brings us to the question as to what extent this indecision has affected the adjustment of the migrants. This is not dealt with in the present study. We therefore suggest that a further research be conducted in this area.

Participation in Social Organizations:

Findings of this study confirm the findings of previous researchers that rural migrants to the city have low participation and membership in those social organizations which are essentially urban activities. Rural migrants apparently come to the city with different knowledge about kinds of social organizations or they find their participation in social organizations not satisfying. The former could be the case since almost half of the respondents had no idea of the city before they moved in. It could also be that involvement in organizations in the smaller rural community includes an element of psychological identification that rural migrants are less successful in achieving in the city.

Occupational Plan and Education:

Our findings show that these migrants expect to find

difficulty in finding jobs in the trades in which they are receiving training. The older people (over 40 years) expressed the fear that they might not be employed since employers prefer younger people. It is suggested here that this feeling of difficulty in finding jobs exists partly because of lack of knowledge about what goes on in the city. Moreover it could be that these migrants want to go back to the rural area after graduating and thus see very limited opportunities for getting into their trade of choice.

On the whole the migrants are satisfied with the training they are receiving. However they feel that the related subjects (purely academic subjects) are of very little use to them. There is the general feeling also that there is not enough practical training and this is linked to the fact that the period of training is too short.

Housing:

Our data here support other findings that rural migrants have difficulty in finding satisfactory housing. More than a third of the migrants who live in the city have accommodation problems. Assuming that all migrants bring their family to the city the housing problem could be an acute one. We have no data in this study on how many migrants have brought their families into the city but we suggest that this be considered in future research.

Factors Which Contribute To High or Low Adjustment:

In order to determine what factors contribute to high or low adjustment a selected number of variables in the study were related to level of adjustment of individual respondents. The chi square test was applied to determine the existence of a relationship between the variables. The relationship between the majority of the variables turned out to be statistically non-significant. However a statistically significant relationship was found between the following variables.

Education and Adjustment:

Our findings show that there is a relationship between education and the extreme adjustment categories. We also observe that a greater proportion of those who have grade 9 and less than those with grade 10 or more fall in the high adjustment group. It is suggested here that the higher educated have higher expectations of city life than the less educated and the unfulfillment of these high expectations has resulted in low adjustment.

Duration of Residence in Urban Centre and Adjustment:

Our data here indicate that there is a statistical relationship between duration of residence in the city and ad-

justment. The data also reveal that adjustment is likely to be high in the first few months of arrival in the city. As Alan Richardson (1967) notes, for the great majority of migrants, the first few days or weeks in the community are usually pleasant ones. He further points out that even when progress towards resettlement goal is being made some lowering of satisfaction level is fairly typical after six or seven months of residence.

Annual Income and Adjustment:

Though our data reveal no statistical relationships between income and adjustment a close observation of the data shows that a greater proportion of those who earned \$3,000 and less, prior to their movement, than those who earned \$3,001 and more are found in the high adjustment group.

Weaknesses and Implications of the Study:

As already stated the most important limitation of this study is that at the beginning of the study the respondents were viewed as "permanent migrants" whereas they were in fact only "temporary migrants". However as already pointed out this does not necessarily invalidate the findings of this study. Our data show that "temporary migrants" have similar problems to those experienced by "permanent migrants", though variables like participation in social or-

ganizations should be treated with caution since the data here could be a function of the temporary nature of the migrants. Secondly it is important to note that this wrong impression about the sample was created by the government officials who were in charge of the programme of job retraining. Our findings thus indicate that the results of development programmes may not be the same as those anticipated or even those perceived by change agents. A constant review and assessment of the results of development programmes are thus highly necessary. It is thus suggested here that since programmes have been initiated (especially in Canada) to retrain rural people for non-farm jobs, research on the problems, composition, aspirations and adjustment of this "new migrant group" should form an integral part of the development programme.

Another limitation of this study is that there is no comparable urban sample which could serve as a control group. This makes it impossible for us to make statements like, "A rural migrant's participation in social organizations in the urban centre is lower than that of an urbanite." It could thus be argued that the difficulties which these "migrants" experience in the urban centres are not typical to rural-migrants but could be experienced by urban-migrants or urban natives. The lack of a control group in this study

is due to unavailability of time and money. Desirable as a control group may be, we have to note that comparative analysis of adjustment has a serious limitation. Migrants have two environments from which to draw evaluations of their own performance, the urban centre and the rural area. By urban standards, rural migrants may compare unfavourably with an urban-reared group but by standards of their rural reference groups they may have been quite "successful".

Thirdly, we feel that the lack of statistically significant relationship between the independent variables and adjustment could be the result of the fact that quite a high proportion of the respondents do not regard themselves as migrants. They are thus likely to be indifferent to city life and its activities. It could also be that a different kind of instrument of measurement is needed.

Finally it is our opinion that more investigation is needed to discover the adjustment problems of this "new migrant group" and to investigate how these are different from the adjustment problems of "real" or "permanent migrants", if policies designed to motivate and help ruralites move to the urban centres are to prove successful.

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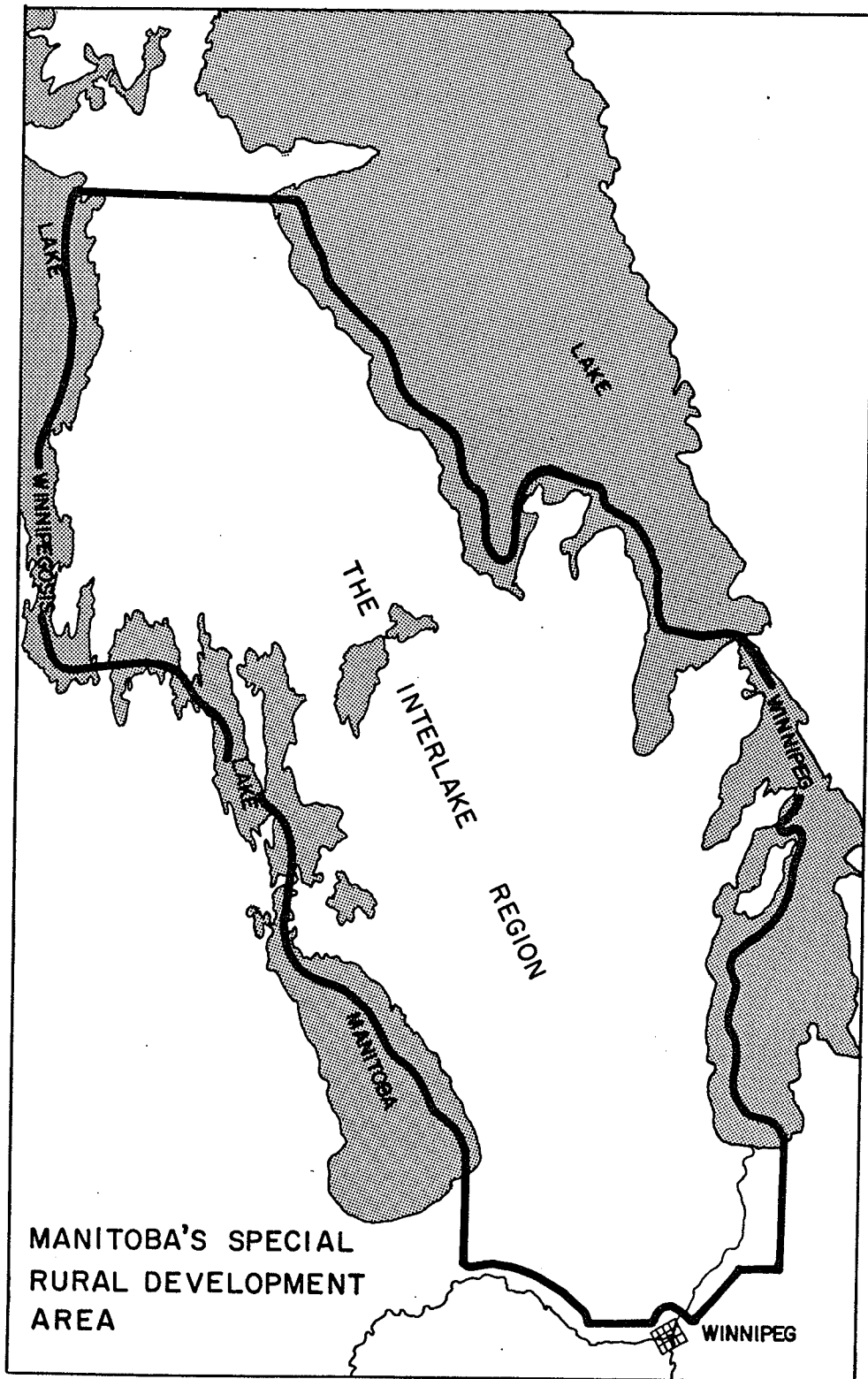
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APPENDIX IIINTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Schedule No. _____ Date: _____

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

1. What do you consider to be your home-community? _____

2. Do you live in this city? (Winnipeg or Brandon)

- All week
 Go home at weekends
 Commute daily
 Not at all

3. Where else have you lived?

Place _____ Period of time _____

4. How long have you been resident in this city?

- Less than six months
 Six months - one year
 More than one year
 Non resident

5. Do you have any of your parents living in your home-community?

- Yes
 No

6. If no, where are they living? _____

7. a) How often do you go to visit them?

b) How often do they come to visit you?

	a)	b)
	Respondent's Visit	Parent's Visit
Once a week	_____	_____
Once every two weeks	_____	_____
Once a month	_____	_____
Other - specify	_____	_____

13. How often do they come to visit you?

	Name of Sibling	Every Once a Week	Every Two Weeks	Once a Month	Other
1	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

14. With whom were you living before coming into this city?

15-18 TO BE ANSWERED BY MARRIED PERSONS

15. Was your wife (husband) employed prior to your moving into this city?

_____ Yes
_____ No

16. If yes, state the occupation. _____
If no, why? _____

17. Is your wife employed now?

_____ Yes
_____ No

18. If yes, state the occupation. _____
If no, why? _____

19. Do you think it is good for wives to work outside the home?

_____ Yes Why? _____
_____ No Why? _____
_____ Depends Explain _____

20. I am going to read a list of clubs or organizations you may belong to. Could you please tell me which ones you belong to (A) while in Winnipeg or Brandon, (B) while in your home-town or district.

	(A)	(B)	
	Winnipeg	Home-Town	
	Brandon		
1. church	_____	_____	1
2. community service group	_____	_____	2
3. social club	_____	_____	3
4. lodges	_____	_____	4
5. veteran's organization	_____	_____	5
6. ethnic association	_____	_____	6
7. other charitable or welfare organization	_____	_____	7
8. political party	_____	_____	8
9. other - specify	_____	_____	9

21. Could you please tell me how often you participated in these organizations while in your home community?

	Occasionally	Regularly	Never	
1. church	_____	_____	_____	1
2. community service group	_____	_____	_____	2
3. social clubs	_____	_____	_____	3
4. lodges	_____	_____	_____	4
5. veteran's organization	_____	_____	_____	5
6. ethnic association	_____	_____	_____	6
7. other charitable or welfare organization	_____	_____	_____	7
8. political party	_____	_____	_____	8
9. other - specify	_____	_____	_____	9

22. Now, could you please tell me how often you participate in these organizations while living in this city?

	Occasionally	Regularly	Never
1. church	_____	_____	1
2. community service group	_____	_____	2
3. social club	_____	_____	3
4. lodges	_____	_____	4
5. veteran's organization	_____	_____	5
6. ethnic association	_____	_____	6
7. other charitable or welfare organization	_____	_____	7
8. political party	_____	_____	8
9. other - specify	_____	_____	9

23. About how many meetings or gatherings of these groups do you attend each month? _____

24. If you had a choice of joining a social club made up of people mostly of your own ethnic group, mostly or your your work mates or your school mates, which one would you join?

- _____ Own ethnic group
 _____ Fellow workers
 _____ School mates
 _____ Mixed group
 _____ Wouldn't join any

25. I am going to read off a list of activities you may engage in for social life and relaxation. Could you please tell me if you engage in a particular activity and how often.

1. Bingo
2. Go to movies
3. Attend clubs or other meetings
4. Entertain friends or relatives
5. Go to bar, pool hall
6. Just sit and think
7. Work on a hobby, specify
8. Visiting friends
9. Dances
10. Other - specify

Winnipeg - Brandon	Home-Community
Often Occasionally Never	Often Occasionally Never
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____
6. _____	_____
7. _____	_____
8. _____	_____
9. _____	_____
10. _____	_____

26. Now, I'd like you to think back to when you were in your home-community and tell me what activities you were participating in and how often. _____

27. Do you agree with the statement that most rural people who move to the city do not participate in city community life?

_____ Yes Why? _____

_____ No Why not? _____

_____ Depends Explain _____

28. I would like to read off a list of things that usually cost money and I wonder if you would tell me for each item I mention whether you now spend more or less or about the same on that item than you did before moving into the city?

	More now Less now Same Can't tell
1. food	_____
2. clothing	_____
3. housing	_____
4. transportation	_____
5. medical	_____
6. furniture, home appliances	_____
7. recreation	_____
8. organizations, clubs	_____

29. Do you find any difficulty in handling any of the things I have read to you? (Read the list again.)

_____ Yes

_____ No

30. If yes, what are some of the difficulties?

31. Do you personally find it easy or difficult to get acquainted with people here in the city?

- Easy
 Difficult
 Depends
 Don't know

32. Who are the easiest to get acquainted with, city or rural people?

- City
 Rural
 No difference
 Don't know

33. Have you made any new friends since you came to the city?

- Yes
 No

34. If yes, where did you meet him (her) first?

- School
 Clubs
 Bar or pool hall
 Dance or party
 Apartment block
 At work
 Other - specify

35. Do you associate with certain close friends who often visit each other? _____

Probe: relation to respondent
 occupation
 sex

36. If yes, do you confide in your close friend and go to him with most of your personal problems?

- Yes
 No

37. Do you talk to him about general topics and not personal problems?

_____ Yes
 _____ No

38. Does your friend confide in you and come to you with his personal problems?

_____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Can't tell

39. With whom else will you discuss your problems? _____

40. Do you think people treat you differently in the city than in the country?

_____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Don't know

41. If yes, in what ways do you think they treat you differently? _____

42. Do you find any unhappiness in the city so far as the following spheres of your life is concerned?

	None	Some	A Great Deal
Family	_____	_____	_____
School	_____	_____	_____
Social life	_____	_____	_____
Work	_____	_____	_____

43. Would you like any of your parents, brothers or sisters to move into the city?

_____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Can't tell

44. Do you find yourself happy about the way things have turned out for you in the city?

_____ Often
 _____ Sometimes
 _____ Hardly ever

45. Are you happy about your decision to move into the city?

- Not at all
 Somewhat
 A good deal
 Not decided to move to city

46. Would you agree or disagree with this statement: Things keep getting better for me as I continue to live in the city.

- Agree
 Disagree
 Can't tell

47. What were some of the things you expected to find in city life before you moved in? _____

48. Where did you get this information? (Rank in order of importance.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> Community development officer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Extension officers | <input type="checkbox"/> Community education officer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers | <input type="checkbox"/> Counsellor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Migrants | <input type="checkbox"/> Radio and television |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other - specify | <input type="checkbox"/> Previous experience |

(b) What is your impression now? _____

49. What were some of the problems which you encountered when you first moved into the city? _____

50. What is the most difficult problem facing you now? _____

51. Do you think life in the city would have been easier for you if you were staying with or near your parents in the city?

- Yes
 No
 Can't tell

52. Now that you have lived in the city for a while, how do you like city life compared to life in the rural area?

53. What course are you taking now? _____

54. Do you feel the school is doing a good job so far as your course is concerned?

_____ Yes

_____ No

55. What do you plan to do after the completion of your course? _____

56. Do you think your standard of living will be improved after the completion of your course?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Depends

57. What is your general impression of the upgrading, job preparation or vocational training course? _____
