

FACTORS AFFECTING THE ADJUSTMENT OF RURAL, MEXICAN AMERICAN
MIGRANTS TO THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT:
A CASE STUDY IN HOUSTON, TEXAS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Sociology
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Jo Ann Verdin Hunt
May 1972

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ABSTRACT

The migration process studied in this thesis is that of rural, Mexican American migrants to Houston, Texas. The research focuses on the background experience of these migrants and on their problems of adjustment upon entering the urban environment. Special emphasis is placed on those variables which prove to be predictors of adjustment to the city.

Twenty-two factors possibly associated with adjustment of rural, Mexican American migrants to urban life were isolated. These were regressed on three measures of adjustment and the following factors were found to be predictors of the General Condition of the Home: Residential Mobility, Residential Stability, Perceived Adequacy of the Home, Rent Subsidy, and Urban Experience. Job Stability predicted the migrants' reported Satisfaction with Houston. No factors predicted the Occupational Change of the migrants.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES

Issues and Objectives

The migration process studied in this thesis is that of rural, Mexican American migrants to Houston, Texas.

The research focuses on the background experience of these migrants and on their problems of adjustment upon entering the urban environment. Special emphasis is placed on those variables which prove to be predictors of adjustment to the city.

Sociologists have been studying urban growth and the movement of people into the city since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even the mass movements of Europeans to the United States can be looked upon as predominately "rural to urban moves from the overcrowded farms of Europe to the presumed opportunities in the cities of the New World."¹ According to Seymour Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, European immigration has been replaced by an internal migration pattern. The migrants entering the urban job market to fill the needs created by an industrial economy are for the most part Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and poor whites from the rural South. "Now, as before, there is a close relationship between low income and membership in segregated groups."²

As he "shifts via migration from one socio-culture to another, behavioral modes useful in the old setting may prove maladaptive in the new."³ Therefore, adjustment to a new environment may be at the expense of his previous beliefs and behavior patterns. Also, there is

general consensus that low status newcomers to an area suffer serious disadvantages compared to natives of similar status. They enter the lowest status jobs and have the highest degree of job insecurity ... [they] have the highest levels of unemployment and the lowest income. They earn more than they did before moving, however.⁴

Migrants may be better off than they were before moving (in terms of total income), but they are not as well off as their non-migrant contemporaries. Given similar talents and credentials, it seems that the fact that they are newcomers to an area works to their disadvantage.⁵

The migrants studied in this thesis have participated in a combination of internal and international migration. They are all of Mexican ancestry (native-born and foreign-born) and all are of rural background. Most of these migrants moved from the lower Rio Grande valley area of south Texas to Houston, Texas. The "Valley" is an economically depressed, mostly agricultural area on the border between the United States and Mexico. Movement back and forth across the border is common and many who live on

the United States side also have close relatives on the Mexican side. About 40 per cent of the heads-of-household examined in this study were United States born, while the remaining 60 per cent were Mexican born.⁶ About half of those in this study had at some point been agricultural seasonal workers. Mechanization has replaced many migrant workers with the result that this group has been forced out of the migrant stream into urban areas.

Thus, the migrants studied here have come to Houston in search of better economic opportunities. It is the focus of this analysis to look at the background of these migrants and at the problems they have encountered upon their arrival in the urban area in an attempt to predict their successful or unsuccessful adjustment to the urban milieu.

The objectives of the present study are twofold: (1) to isolate the principal factors associated with the adjustment of rural migrants of Mexican ancestry to the urban environment of Houston and (2) to predict successful adjustment from combinations of these factors. Specifically, the study deals with migrants primarily from the lower Rio Grande valley who have migrated to Houston, Texas between 1966 and 1970.

The variables related to the background and adjustment of these migrants are divided into four categories:

(1) Economic Adjustment Variables, (2) Variables concerned with the Urban-Physical Environment, (3) Social/Psychological Variables, and (4) Social Antecedents. These groups were selected on the basis of past research and initial analysis of the data.⁷

Rather than using each variable individually, factor analysis will be used to organize the data. This technique provides a set of independent "factors" for each group which combines the individual variables into a reduced number of factors. These factors can be viewed as the independent variables which may then be used to predict to adjustment in the city. Thus, the first objective of this study will be accomplished by reducing the variables describing the migrant's background and his perceptions of his problems in the city to a relatively small number of mutually-independent factors.

Three dependent variables are used as measures of adjustment to the urban environment. Adjustment has been measured by Lyle Shannon and Kathryn Lettau using both objective and subjective indices.⁸ Working from these criteria the objective or external measures utilized in this study include: (1) the general condition of the house as reported by interviewers and (2) the type of job change which has occurred upon moving to Houston. The

third measure, a subjective or internal one, includes the degree of satisfaction which the migrant feels concerning his new environment. Therefore, the adjustment measures used in this analysis include not only the perspective of the interviewer, but of the respondent as well.

The second objective of this study will be pursued by analyzing the relationship between the respondents' factor scores and the three dependent variables measuring adjustment.⁹

Theoretical Background

The concept of adjustment has been approached in many ways. It is encountered in the literature in studies of socialization, assimilation, acculturation, and adaptation of the individual into a new environment. In this analysis adjustment is seen as adaptation to a new environment--specifically, an urban environment. Following Eugene Brody, there are two components to be evaluated:

- (1) the initial attributes the migrant brings with him (both personal in nature) and (2) the type of situation and social structure he encounters upon arrival. This includes: (a) the proximity structure, (b) the institutional structure, and (c) the personal network structure.¹⁰

Adjustment is seen as a dynamic process which includes the history of the migrant before his arrival in the city, his initial encounters, and the changes, if any, which have occurred since he entered the urban milieu.

The concept of adjustment has been viewed from at least three theoretical perspectives. Theodore Graves notes that (1) the decision model, (2) the assimilation model, and (3) the economic adjustment model are components of adjustment. The decision model emphasizes the individual and his own psychological make-up. The assimilation model focuses on the individual's group membership and his patterns of interaction. The economic adjustment model looks at adjustment in terms of the individual's job preparation and the degree to which these skills transfer to the urban job market. These provide a framework around which theories of adjustment can be discussed.

The Decision Model

The decision model is based on the assumption that "the decision to migrate to a city in the first place, and to remain in the city once there, is a rational one which should conform to elementary principles of game theory."¹¹ The ability to delay gratification is assumed to be an important personality trait which leads to successful

adjustment. Thus,

the tendency to make behavioral choices involving delay of gratification (a highly generalized subjective expected utility for such choices) should be a function of the belief (a generalized expectation) that such behavior will be efficacious in achieving long-range goals, and of a personal need (a generalized value) for the rewards such long-term efforts may yield.¹²

Key variables in this model include delay of gratification, long-range goals and the achievement of personal rewards. Therefore, "personality variables such as expectations, values, beliefs, and personal efficacy are emphasized."¹³ Adjustment then, is viewed as an individual phenomena related to the migrant's decisions based on a rational process.

This rational process is the foundation on which Everett Lee builds his general theory of migration.¹⁴ The decision to migrate is based on the combination of factors associated with both the area of origin and the area of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors. Lee formulates hypotheses suggesting relationships between these variables and the volume of migration, the establishment of migration streams and counterstreams, and the characteristics of migrants. Future development of this theory involves assimilation of migrants as well as the effect migration has upon gaining and losing areas.

Lee's general framework may be applied to J. A. Beegle's discussion of the social components in the decision to migrate. Beegle views internal migration as

an on-going process of decision-making in which satisfaction with life in the community of residence is weighed against the social cost of leaving the community of residence. Decisive for the answer to this question is the level₁₅ of aspiration the migrant has.

The factors associated with the area of origin affect where the migrant judges his level of satisfaction to be as well as how he evaluates the social cost he would experience upon moving. The final decision to migrate is ultimately determined by the relation between the migrant's level of satisfaction and his perceived social cost of moving. Decisive in this decision is the migrant's personal level of aspiration. Whatever the decision, it will be made in a logical fashion, and the migrant who proceeds in this manner will have more success in his new environment.

To some extent, all migration is based on some type of decision. Schulman¹⁶ finds that the migrants in the present study decided to move to Houston, Texas primarily with the hope of improving their economic situation. They came from economically depressed, rural areas to a

city that was rumored to have many job opportunities, even for those without skills. The decision to move was made as a solution to a problem, lack of jobs, and the destination was chosen because of their belief in its economic opportunities.

Graves discusses delay of gratification, personal aspiration, and personal rewards as key variables in the decision model. Although these variables are important, our focus is on the background of the migrants and the problems they encountered upon their arrival in Houston which relate to their adjustment. Psychological concepts such as aspirations or rewards were eliminated because they were of little consequence in the evaluation of responses of members of our sample.

The Assimilation Model

The assimilation model looks at the migrant's shift from one membership group to another. "The degree to which this shift in reference group takes place is likely to be linked to all other aspects of the migrant's adjustment."¹⁷ Graves identifies three types of "assimilated" migrants: "(1) those who have shifted their identification to the urban-industrial society prior to migration, (2) those who make a shift subsequent to migration, and (3) those who never make such a shift."¹⁸ Each of these

groups will experience different patterns of adjustment to urban life. The assimilation model emphasizes the migrant's group membership and his patterns of interaction with members of these groups. The focus is on the group, not on the individual; on the role he plays in social interaction, not on his individual activity.

Group membership can be related to adjustment in two ways. First, membership in a particular group may be interpreted as membership in a certain subculture which is associated with values unlike those held by members of the urban-industrial society. That is, persons identified with this subculture presumably express attitudes and values which make their shift to the urban society difficult. Second, adjustment cannot occur without the migrant's shift to identification with groups associated with the urban industrial society. Intervening variables may operate to hinder this shift in identification, thus affecting the adjustment of the migrant because they interrupt the process of integration into the urban milieu.

The Mexican American subculture is often cited as one which hinders its members adjustment to the city. Present day orientation, limited aspirations, "machismo," and fatalism are only a few of the attitudes attributed to persons of Mexican ancestry.¹⁹ These attributes are

assumed to be counter to the characteristics of the Anglo culture of the city, therefore making the process of adjustment difficult. One obvious question we may ask is whether or not a Mexican American subculture exists which can accurately be described by the characteristics previously mentioned. In other words, do Mexican Americans look only at the present, express limited aspirations, and have a fatalistic outlook?

An indirect approach to answering this question is to compare the occupational, economic, and residential characteristics of several racial-ethnic groups. Differences appearing only when race-ethnicity is controlled indicate separate structures operating within each group. Krass, Peterson, and Shannon compared Blacks, Mexican Americans, and Whites in Racine, Wisconsin. The inter-relations of occupational antecedents, educational background variables, and social participation with measures of economic absorption are different for each racial-ethnic group. From this analysis the authors conclude that

rather than there being a mechanism by which upward mobility within the economic order takes place regardless of race and ethnicity, mobility is clearly influenced by differences in the organization of racial, ethnic, or social-class subcultures (as defined by occupation, income, and residence), and the attitude and behavior of persons in the larger society toward the members of these specific subcultures.²⁰

Parenthetically, it would seem that their analysis is incorrect because of the analysis technique. Conclusions are drawn concerning a set of variables with relation to the difference among the three groups. The authors are only able to state that there appear to be separate patterns for each group. An analysis of variance design would have allowed them to test the hypothesis that there is a significant difference among Anglos, Blacks, and Mexican Americans with regard to their economic absorption and cultural integration. Using the evidence as presented, the conclusions drawn seem tenuous.

How these cultural differences affect the adjustment of the members of each subculture is another question of interest to researchers. Assuming that a Mexican American subculture does exist, do the characteristics attributed to this group hinder the process of adjustment? Also, if these characteristics are measured and Mexican Americans are found to express attitudes different from the attitudes associated with the Anglo culture--can adjustment be predicted?

Several researchers focus on these questions. Shannon, et. al., focus on the world view²¹ of the migrants studied in Racine, Wisconsin. The purpose of the project, conducted between 1959 and 1961, is "to investigate the process of

value assimilation and behavioral change among Mexican American and Negro immigrants in an urban, industrial community."²² Shannon hypothesizes that an "active" or "passive" world view is related to the sex, religion, and racial-ethnic identification of the migrant.²³ Further, it is suggested that the world view of the migrant is related to educational and occupational aspirations.²⁴ If successful adjustment is related to the level of aspiration of the migrant, as has been suggested in the decision model previously discussed, then racial-ethnic identification may be an important determinant of adaptation.

After analysis of the data, the hypothesis suggesting an inter-relationship between sex, religion, and racial-ethnic identity is rejected by Shannon.²⁵ In another article Shannon and Krass find a significant relationship between world view and educational and occupational aspirations.²⁶ We may draw a general conclusion that any migrant with an "active" world view will probably have high educational and occupational aspirations. However, this "active" world view is not necessarily related to the racial-ethnic group with which the migrant identifies.

Another study suggests further separation of the cultural identification of the Mexican American and his success in social situations. Juan Flores interviewed

100 Mexican American ninth grade students in Corpus Christi, Texas.²⁷ He developed indices measuring ethnic isolation, use of the Spanish language, family solidarity, "machismo," limited aspirations, present day orientation, and fatalism. Analysis of variance was used to test for any significant relationship between high, medium, or low sequence (level) in school for each of the indices measuring cultural characteristics. He found no significant relationships between sequence in school and the characteristics identified as indicative of the Mexican American culture.

From the research cited above, we must conclude that identification with the Mexican American culture is not enough to explain problems of adjustment. The focus must be shifted to answering the question--"Which other variables are associated with adjustment?" In general, economic, residential, and social/psychological variables have been employed by researchers studying correlates of adjustment to urban life.

Socio-economic rewards are found to be the only variables associated with the migrants perceived adjustment in Alejandro Portes' study of Cuban refugees in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.²⁸ Those persons successful economically felt they had successfully adjusted to their new environment. Also, Fernando Peñalosa²⁹ finds income to be positively

associated with social mobility (which he assumes is an indirect measure of adjustment) of Mexican Americans. Other variables associated with mobility are the educational level of the migrant and a higher level of status consciousness.

Robert Hanson and Ozzie Simmons interviewed Mexican American migrants who had arrived in Denver, Colorado between 1957 and 1964. They assume that "in a city a process of resocialization must occur if the migrant is to become an effective participant in urban life."³⁰ Time trend analysis is used to plot the changes in the relationship the migrant has to family and kinship networks, working relationships, neighborhood relations, and members of organizations. Unstable employment is found to be the primary experience factor affecting the adjustment outcomes of these migrants. This instability results in additional financial problems, residential instability, unstable friendship networks, and the ultimate failure of the migrant to adjust.

Many of these variables are found to be predictors of adjustment in the analysis of Hanson and Simmon's data done by Gabino Rendon.³¹ He develops criterion and predictor variables using factor analysis, then he uses multiple regression techniques to determine which independent

variables predict to successful or unsuccessful adjustment to the urban environment. From this analysis Rendon finds three types of migrants most likely to succeed: Knowers, Stayers, and Doers. The Knower has "greater knowledge about the ... urban setting ... more formal schooling, [higher] occupational skill, and greater employability."³² The Stayer "displays a great deal of residential stability and some upward social mobility ... he has increased his contact with the dominant cultural group, which gives him more knowledge about the urban area in which he lives."³³ Finally, the Doer "tends to engage in purposive activity in his leisure time. He belongs to more voluntary organizations ... [resulting] in access to information,... [as well as] the belief that he himself meets certain standards of success and achievement."³⁴ Thus, both the Stayer and Doer, by their activities in relation to the group, become Knowers.

Counter-types are also developed which Rendon labels the Ignorers, the Movers, and the Sitters. The Ignorers have little urban knowledge, lower education, lower occupational levels, and unstable employment. The Movers demonstrate unstable residential patterns and less social mobility than the Stayer, and the Sitter is less active in voluntary organizations than the Doer. Both the Mover and the Sitter are failing to gain the knowledge about

the urban environment to increase their chances for successful adjustment.

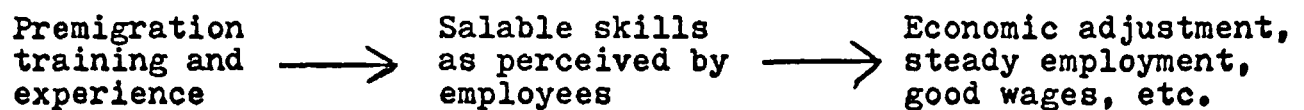
A careful look at these types reveals the Knower and Ignorer to be described by educational and economic descriptors, the Stayer and Mover to be associated with residential indicators, and the Doer and Sitter to be described by social/psychological measures. These general types of variables are used in the present analysis.

The assimilation model is utilized in the present study in the following manner. A shift in group membership is assumed to be necessary for successful adjustment. The migrants interviewed have made the shift to the urban environment in varying degrees. Differences in adjustment may be due to the background experience of the migrant, the economic and physical situation of the city, or to the psychosocial experience of the respondent.

We do not accept the position that the Mexican American subculture in itself causes failure in adjustment. We do, however, accept the Mexican American group as being distinct from Blacks or Whites. By focusing on this group we hope to isolate the major factors describing the Mexican American migrant's background experience and his problems upon arrival as well as those factors predicting to adjustment to the urban environment.

Economic Adjustment Model

Included in the assimilation model, but not emphasized, are the economic variables which may affect the migrant's adjustment to the city. The economic adjustment model can be diagrammed as follows:



Emphasis centers on premigration job training and experience, the degree to which this job transfers to urban jobs, and how well the migrant adjusts economically to his new environment. The successful adjustment to the city may be measured objectively, utilizing combinations of the migrant's income and job history.

The perspective of the economic adjustment model is expressed by Ronald Silvers in his formulation of a theory of acculturation.

For industrial societies (1) the higher the immigrants former occupational status, (2) the more transferable his skill, (3) the less positive value upon ethnic identity by members of the host society, and (4) the more equal the prestige of the occupational skill in the two societies, the greater the rate of acculturation.³⁵

Three other studies may be identified which measure adjustment by utilizing economic variables. These studies

extend their focus to include educational and sociological variables as well as economic measures, thus extending the focus of this model.

Shannon and Morgan, in still another article from the Racine, Wisconsin study, look at the relation between the social antecedents of the migrants and their economic absorption.³⁶ Specifically, they study relationships between prior geographical location, rural or urban context of the past home, first place of work, place of education, agricultural work experience, and age (independent variables) and the dependent variable as measured by present occupation and total family income. The authors indicate the job mobility of Mexican Americans is limited by social antecedents such as past migration, educational level, and job experience.

The length of time rural migrants have spent in the urban environment may also be relevant. Fernando Peñalosa studies the discrepancy that "native-born Mexican Americans of native-born parents have a higher level of schooling than native-born of foreign parentage, but their income level is lower than the latter."³⁷ He finds that income is relatively more dependent on occupation than occupation is on education. Also, there is still a relatively higher association between later generation and education than

between either occupation or income. Thus, economic success, as measured by increasing income, is not found here to be related to the generation of native-born.

Peñalosa points out in another article that the "economic disadvantage of the Mexican American is one of class, not culture."³⁸ He notes that past studies

fail to differentiate clearly among a number of inter-related factors; the lower class, rural origins of the immigrants; the low average occupational status of Mexican Americans at the present time; and the ways in which their present day problems are shared by members of lower class groups, ethnic or otherwise.³⁹

It is those variables which are not culture-specific that are related to economic adjustment. For example, variables such as educational level, job training and experience, migration history, and time in the urban milieu found in the United States today. Indicators such as this are used in the present analysis as well as other residential, social, and psychological descriptors.

Summary

In developing the three measures of adjustment to be used in the present study we combined the three theoretical perspectives discussed above. The migrant's decision to move is viewed as a rational process, as is his decision

to stay in the new location. Thus, the opinion of the migrant concerning his satisfaction with Houston is one measure of adjustment. Affecting the migrant's decisions are the needs of his family and his economic status. The migrant's success in providing decent housing for his family indicates a relatively high level of adaptation. The final indicator of adjustment deals with a comparison of the job held prior to migration with the present job held. The migrant who has increased his occupational level has also raised his level of economic adjustment.

The literature also provides information concerning possible independent variables. Educational level, migration history, urban knowledge, residential patterns, and job stability are found to be related to adjustment to the urban environment by rural migrants. Using indicators from the literature as well as variables unique to the present study we will attempt to isolate those factors which are relevant.

From the preceeding review of the literature, a general set of relations are apparent. A combination of variables measuring economic adjustment, urban-physical environment, social psychological experience, and social antecedents are assumed to predict the adjustment of rural Mexican American migrants to urban life. In the present study we will attempt to develop more specific additional propositions.

CHAPTER I FOOTNOTES

¹Dennis H. Wrong, Population and Society (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 89.

²Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), p. 105.

³Eugene B. Brody, "Migration and Adaptation: the Nature of the Problem," in Behavior in New Environments, ed. Eugene B. Brody (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1969), p. 14.

⁴Marc Fried, "Deprivation and Migration: Dilemmas of Causal Interpretation," in Behavior, ed. Brody, p. 34.

⁵Ibid., p. 34.

⁶Sam Schulman, "Mexican American Migration to Houston: A Study of Ninety-one Families," unpublished research report prepared for the Institute for Urban Studies, University of Houston 1971, p. 4.

⁷Ibid., p. 28.

⁸Lyle Shannon and Kathryn Lettau, "Measuring Adjustment of In-Migrant Laborers," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 44 (September 1963), pp. 139-48.

⁹Those independent variables which are significant at least at the .05 level will be included in the final multiple regression equations. In this way only those factors which can be used as statistically significant predictors of adjustment will be isolated in a multivariate model.

¹⁰Brody, "Migration and Adaptation," p. 18.

¹¹Theodore D. Graves, "Alternative Models for the Study of Urban Migration," Human Behavior, 25 (Winter 1966), p. 296.

¹²Ibid., p. 297.

¹³Ibid., p. 298.

14Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," Demography, 3, No. 1 (1966), pp. 47-57.

15J. A. Beegle, "Social Components in the Decision to Migrate," paper, Congress of the International Sociological Association, Stresa, 1959, 12pp (mimeo) in Rural Migrants in Urban Settings, G. Beijer (The Hague: Martinus Nihoff, 1963), p. 316.

16Schulman, p. 24.

17Graves, p. 297.

18Ibid., p. 297.

19Juan Flores, "A Study of Mexican American Cultural Characteristics as Perceived by Members of 100 Impoverished Mexican American Families and Its Educational Implications," Diss. University of Houston 1972.

20Elain M. Krass, Claire Peterson, and Lyle W. Shannon, "Differential Association, Cultural Integration, and Economic Absorption Among Mexican Americans and Negroes in a Northern Industrial Community," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 47 (December 1966), p. 240.

21World view is defined as consisting of three facets: a person's perceptions of his own manipulative power versus the organization of the society, his time perspective as oriented toward the present versus the future, and his hierarchy of values involving individual achievement against the ties of the group. See Lyle W. Shannon, "The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers," in Behavior, ed. Brody, p. 185.

22Krass, Peterson, and Shannon, p. 239.

23Shannon, "The Economic Absorption," p. 171.

24Lyle W. Shannon and Elaine M. Krass, "The Urban Adjustment of Immigrants: The Relationship of Education to Occupation and Total Family Income," Pacific Sociological Review, 6 (1963), p. 41.

25Shannon, "The Economic Absorption," p. 184.

26Shannon and Krass, "The Urban Adjustment," p. 42.

27Flores.

28Alejandro Portes, "Dilemmas of a Golden Exile: Integration of Cuban Refugee Families in Milwaukee," American Sociological Review, 34 (August 1969), p. 516.

29Fernando Peñalosa and Edward C. McDonagh, "Social Mobility in a Mexican American Community," Social Forces, 44 (June 1966), p. 499.

30Robert C. Hanson and Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Role Path: A Concept and Procedure for Studying Migration to Urban Communities," Human Organization, 27 (Summer 1968), p. 152.

31Gabino Rendón, Jr., "Prediction of Adjustment Outcomes of Rural Migrants to the City," Diss. University of Colorado 1968.

32Ibid., pp. 177-78.

33Ibid., p. 179.

34Ibid., p. 180.

35Ronald J. Silvers, "Structure and Values in the Explanation of Acculturation Rates," British Journal of Sociology, 16 (March 1965), p. 79.

36Lyle W. Shannon and Patricia Morgan, "The Prediction of Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration Among Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in a Northern Industrial Community," Human Organization, 25 (1966), p. 154.

37Fernando Peñalosa, "Education-Income Discrepancies Between Second and Later Generation Mexican Americans in the Southwest," Sociology and Social Research, 53 (July 1969), p. 448.

38Fernando Peñalosa, "The Changing Mexican American in Southern California," Sociology and Social Research, 51 (July 1967), p. 409.

39Ibid., p. 409.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

This chapter contains an explanation of the data source and a review of characteristics describing the respondents. First the data base is presented, and second the descriptive findings divided into (1) general characteristics, (2) migration history, (3) factors promoting migration, and (4) adjustment problems as perceived by the migrants.

Data Base

Between July and October, 1970 a survey was made of 91 families who had arrived in Houston, Texas within the previous four years. This project had as its objectives: (1) to determine the dynamics of migration, (2) to determine the major factors prompting movement to Houston, and (3) to determine the principal problem areas of adjustment to metropolitan life of a sample of poor Mexican American families of rural origin.

Contact with sample families was established through in-neighborhood friends, community workers, and an adult retraining organization funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity especially oriented to serving recent Mexican American in-migrants.¹ The interviewers were all bilingual

and most of the interviews were conducted at least partially in Spanish.

Sample families were selected according to the following criteria: (1) their definite cultural identification as Mexican American, (2) family units with both parents and children in a common residence whenever possible, (3) migration to the Houston area within four years prior to the time of the interview, (4) living conditions indicative of defacto poverty, (5) a background of at least the head-of-household in rural or semi-rural life.²

Descriptive Findings

The average age of male heads-of-household was 34.3 years, while the average age of female heads-of-household was 37.2 years. The average family size was six persons. The families were relatively young and continuing to grow.

Over half (56 per cent) of the households were in dilapidated or deteriorating condition. Those described as being in good condition were primarily located in a recently developed housing project in which residents received a rent subsidy. The average monthly rental payment was \$60.00.

Of the 91 migrants interviewed, 84 had brought their families to Houston by the time of the interview. When the pattern of arrival is examined, it is found that

46 (54.8 per cent) arrived with the head-of-household, while the remaining 38 (45.2 per cent) followed the head-of-household. This result is congruent with the findings of Gabino Rendón³ in his analysis of Mexican American migrants to Denver, Colorado. He found 73 (60.3 per cent) of the 121 respondents for which there was information had arrived alone, while 48 (39.7 per cent) had arrived with their families.

Schulman cross-tabulated the place of birth of the head-of-household with the pattern of arrival (see Table 2.1).⁴ He found there was a significant difference between these variables. We conclude that, for this sample, significantly more families accompany the head-of-household in the United States-born group than in the Mexican-born group.

The migration patterns of the sample families were divided into direct and indirect paths. Twenty-seven (29.7 per cent) of the families followed a direct pattern migrating from their point-of-origin to Houston. The remainder of the families made an indirect move to Houston, averaging 3.5 moves from their point-of-origin. Usually this involved a move from rural areas to border cities and from these a move further north to Houston.

Table 2.2⁵ describes the distribution of the point-of-origin and prior residence. A significant difference is found between these distributions, pointing out the

TABLE 2.1
PATTERN OF ARRIVAL OF SAMPLE FAMILIES

	Total		United States- Born		Mexican- Born	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Family Arrives with Head-of-Household	46	54.8	25	73.5	21	42.0
Family Follows Head-of-Household	38	45.2	9	26.5	29	58.0
Total	84	100.0	34	100.0	50	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 6.942$$

$$\text{d.f.} = 1$$

$$p \quad .01$$

TABLE 2.2
POINT-OF-ORIGIN AND PRIOR RESIDENCE,
BY COUNTRY

<u>Geographical Location</u>	<u>Distribution by Point-of-Origin</u>	<u>Distribution by Prior Residence</u>
United States	36	65
Mexico	55	26
$\chi^2 = 17.44$	d.f. = 1	p .001

tendency for migrants to move from their point-of-origin in Mexico to the United States. From this or another United States residence they moved to Houston.

The second objective in this study was to determine the variables prompting migration to Houston. Both variables prompting out-migration from the prior residence and in-migration to Houston are components of the migration phenomenon.

In open-ended questions respondents were asked why they left their prior residence. From the responses nine variables were extracted. The number of persons mentioning a response was assumed to be an indicator of its relative importance. Table 2.3⁶ presents these factors in order of their importance.

The first two variables, lack of jobs and poorly paying jobs, were mentioned by 71.4 and 31.9 per cent of the respondents, respectively. The only non-economic variable with greater than 3.3 per cent responding was lack of friends or relatives (23.1 per cent). Thus, the most important variables pushing the respondents away from their prior residence were economic in nature.

Once the decision to migrate had been made, it was necessary for the potential migrant to decide where to go. Variables prompting in-migration to Houston are listed, in order of their importance, in Table 2.4.⁷

TABLE 2.3

VARIABLES PROMPTING OUT-MIGRATION FROM PRIOR PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Factor	Total Mentioned by	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>*Per cent</u>
(1) Lack of jobs	65	71.4
(2) Poorly paying jobs	29	31.9
(3) No friends/relatives or too far from them	21	23.1
(4) Disliked the town	3	3.3
(5) Family conflict	3	3.3
(6) Poor schools	3	3.3
(7) Asked to transfer by employer	3	3.3
(8) Disliked geographic location	2	2.2
(9) Finished training	1	1.1
Total	130	

* Note: Per cent columns do not add to 100.0 since multiple variables may be mentioned by respondents.

TABLE 2.4
VARIABLES PROMPTING IN-MIGRATION TO HOUSTON

Factor	Total Mentioned by	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>*Percent</u>
(1) Better economic opportunity	82	90.1
(2) Friends/relatives in Houston	32	35.2
(3) Better geographic location	5	5.3
(4) Transferred	4	4.4
(5) Wanted a new start in life	3	3.3
(6) Helped resolve family conflict	2	2.2
(7) Thought no discrimination in Houston	1	1.1
(8) Large city appealing	1	1.1
Total	130	

* Note: Per cent columns do not add to 100.0 since multiple variables may be mentioned by respondents.

Again the economic dimension is most important, with 82 (90.1 per cent) of the respondents indicating it as important in their decision to come to Houston. Having friends or relatives in Houston is mentioned by one-third of the migrants. All other reasons were mentioned by less than six per cent of the sample.

Finally, the migrants were asked what problems they encountered upon their arrival in Houston. Their concern centered around economic problems, difficulties with the urban-physical environment, and situations dealing with social and psychological areas of their experience. (See Table 2.5⁸ for details.)

The economic problems mentioned deal with the nature of the job market in Houston. Three-fourths of the respondents mentioned difficulty with the availability of jobs in Houston. Inadequate pay for life in the city was also important. The inability to advance in their jobs as well as the insecure nature of jobs received the attention of some of the migrants.

The poor in any urban area must contend not only with insecure jobs and low pay, but dilapidated housing and lack of public services as well. The respondents generally found their individual residences unsatisfactory as well as expressing concern for their neighborhood. The lack of adequate public transportation was problematic for many.

TABLE 2.5
VARIABLES ASSOCIATED WITH ADJUSTMENT

Variable	Total Mentioned by	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>*Per cent</u>
Economic:		
(1) Job availability	68	74.7
(2) Pay rate adequacy	29	31.9
(3) Job upgrading opportunity	10	11.0
(4) Job security	12	13.2
Urban-Physical Environment:		
(5) Housing	19	20.9
(6) Neighborhood	28	30.8
(7) Transportation	33	36.3
(8) Other urban conditions	22	25.3
Psycho-Social:		
(9) Homesickness	8	9.3
(10) Discrimination	18	19.8
(11) Language	24	26.4
Total	271	

* Note: Per cent columns do not add to 100.0 since multiple variables may be mentioned by respondents.

A category of a general nature was included for those who mentioned urban problems such as noise, pollution and traffic. Yet, the major concern remains economic in nature.

Social and psychological variables concerning the migrants included feelings such as homesickness indicating a lack of integration into the urban milieu. Some mentioned incidents of discrimination directed toward them either at work or in their neighborhoods. Still others expressed difficulty caused by their lack of ability to speak English. This inadequate knowledge of English severely limits the migrant in his job marketability as well as causing difficulties in his daily affairs.

After spending some time in Houston, the respondents were asked if their problems had diminished. Eighty per cent said they had not, while three per cent indicated their problems had worsened. Only fifteen per cent indicated their problems had diminished.

In summary, the migrants in this sample can be described as relatively young with large families. Many live in dilapidated residences, while those that do not are receiving rent subsidies in federal housing projects. About seventy per cent of the families came to Houston indirectly, and of those whose families lived in Houston, over half brought their wives and children with them. This

pattern is even more pronounced when native born heads-of-households are isolated. Economic variables pushed the respondents from their former residences and pulled them to Houston. The only other variable of any consequence in prompting migration is the lack or presence of friends and relatives. The major concern of the migrants was lack of jobs in Houston. Other economic, physical, and social/psychological problems of adjustment were mentioned.

CHAPTER II FOOTNOTES

¹Sam Schulman, "Mexican American Migration to Houston: A Study of Ninety-One Families," unpublished research report prepared for the Institute for Urban Studies, University of Houston 1971, pp. 1-2.

²Ibid., Footnote 3.

³Gabino Rendón, Jr., "Prediction of Adjustment Outcomes of Rural Migrants to the City," Diss. University of Colorado 1968, p. 59.

⁴Schulman, p. 26.

⁵Ibid., p. 11.

⁶Ibid., p. 18.

⁷Ibid., p. 22.

⁸Ibid., p. 31.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

In this chapter the dependent and independent variables used in the present analysis are described. The independent variables are broken down into four groups: (1) economic adjustment, (2) concerns with the urban-physical environment, (3) social/psychological indicators, and (4) social antecedents. Finally, the analysis techniques are discussed.

Dependent Variables

One of the criteria for choosing the respondents was the observation of living conditions indicative of defacto poverty. The general condition of the homes of the respondents did vary, however. Utilizing the opinion of the interviewer, we developed a measure of the condition of the home. Those houses judged to be new or well kept (good condition) comprised 15 per cent of the sample. Twenty-five per cent of the homes were in poor condition but with adequate utilities. The remaining 56 per cent of the homes were dilapidated or deteriorating. This variation in the condition of the home is indicative of the migrant's ability to maximize his usually limited economic resources and as a measure of the migrant's adjustment to Houston.

The economic adjustment model focuses on the pre-migration training and the salable skills of the migrant. To measure the economic adjustment of the respondents an index of job change was constructed. The job prior to moving to Houston was compared to the present job and a decrease, no change, or increase was recorded. Thus, whether or not the migrants move to the city resulted in job mobility was determined. The economic dimension is the second objective indicator of adjustment to Houston.

Alejandro Portes¹ and Harry Schwarzweller² measure adjustment by utilizing the subjective opinion of the migrant himself as to his satisfaction with urban life. Following Portes and Schwarzweller, we have used the respondent's expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction with Houston as a subjective indicator of his adjustment.

In all, three indicators of adjustment are used in the present analysis. The general condition of the migrant's home and the direction of his job change upon arrival in Houston are two objective measures of adjustment used here. The migrant's perception of his satisfaction with Houston is a subjective measure.

Independent Variables--Economic Adjustment

The fourteen variables used to describe economic adjustment can be divided into four categories: personal

job experience and qualifications, a description of the first job held in Houston, a description of the present job held in Houston, and general impressions of economic opportunities in Houston. All the variables in the economic adjustment category are indicative of the migrant's concern for securing a job which allows him to maintain his family adequately.

The type of job the migrant feels qualified for, the total number of jobs held in Houston, and the employment status of the migrant upon arrival are indicators of the job experience and qualifications of the migrant. A large number of jobs since his arrival implies the jobs offer little security for the migrant. Also, those arriving without jobs are in a more tenuous position than those arriving with jobs.

The first job secured by the migrant indicates the level at which he entered the job market. The type of job, what his actual pay was, how adequate this pay was perceived to be, and how secure the job was described by the migrant combine to describe his initial job experience.

A series of job changes often occurred after the arrival of the respondents. However, the degree to which the migrant has advanced is indicated by the present job he holds. Again the adequacy of the pay rate and the security the job offers are descriptors of the present job.

Also, the relation the migrant has with his co-workers is included.

The perception of the migrant regarding the actual economic opportunities in Houston may affect his attitude toward urban life and because of this affect his adjustment to life in the city. The respondents expressed their opinion of Houston's job opportunities in general, the adequacy of the pay rate, and the job security offered are included in this group.

Urban-Physical Environment

Another area of concern for the migrants in this sample was finding adequate housing for their families. Over half were living in dilapidated housing and many expressed concern for the quality of the neighborhood, schools, and other public facilities. Fifteen independent variables are classified as indicators of the urban-physical environment. The housing unit itself is described by seven variables, the residential patterns of the migrants by six variables, and two variables deal with the respondents' perceptions of the urban milieu.

The manner of rent payment (weekly or monthly) is one descriptor of the housing unit. Also, the amount of rent paid per month and whether or not a rent subsidy is received are included. The type of dwelling (single- or

multiple-family) is important as is the number of rooms in the unit and the number of persons living there. The ratio of the number of rooms to the number of persons living in the house is also included as a descriptor.

Intra-city migration has been found to be an important variable in the eventual adjustment of rural migrants to the city. Gabino Rendon³ found residential stability to be one predictor of successful adjustment. Here movement within the city has been measured by the total number of places lived in Houston, the length of time in the first residence, and whether or not more than one unit has been occupied. The reasons for moving may also be used to describe the intra-city migration patterns. Those included are: to be closer to school, to improve the quality of the residence, and to be closer to relatives.

The migrant's general perceptions of his urban-physical environment was measured by his perceptions of the adequacy of the housing and awareness of "urban" problems.

Social/Psychological Variables

Three general areas are classified under social/psychological adjustment: prejudice and discrimination, social concerns and activities, and expressions of feelings related to future moves (indicating some lack of success) for himself or his friends.

Questions concerning the respondent's feelings toward Blacks as well as his perceptions of discrimination toward himself are measured by five variables. Three variables involve the in-migrants feelings toward Blacks in general, as co-workers, and as neighbors. Variables measuring discrimination toward the migrant, each involving different situations (in general, with his co-workers, and with his neighbors), were added together to form an index which is used as a single measure of discrimination. Another variable provides a measure of discrimination in broad situations.

Social concerns and activities include perceived difficulties with English, type of religion, and church attendance. (Very few of the respondents "belonged" to either civic or social clubs or organizations of any kind.)

Future migration is one alternative the migrant may choose should he fail to adjust in Houston. An intention to return either to his prior residence or to move to another area may indicate a failure to meet his needs satisfactorily. Another indicator of dissatisfaction is what advice and warning he would give to a friend contemplating a move to Houston. The pattern of migration to Houston (whether or not his family moved with him to Houston) as well as his own perceptions of a change in his economic or physical situation also describe his general view of Houston.

Social Antecedents

Shannon and Morgan⁴ propose that differences in adjustment can be explained in part by the social background of the migrant. Of the fifteen variables describing the social background of the migrant, seven describe his migration history, six are indicators of past experience as an agricultural migrant, and two relate to the variables prompting his move.

Gabino Rendon uses the degree of urban knowledge as one of his predictor variables.⁵ We recognize the importance past urban experience may have on adjustment, and include two measures dealing with this variable. The rural versus urban nature of the town prior to Houston is included as well as a five point scale indicating relative rural to urban experience.⁶ The distance of Houston from the area prior as well as from the migrant's hometown is important. Other indicators are the place of birth of the head-of-household, the length of time in the area prior to Houston, and the total number of moves from the respondent's hometown.

Past experience in agricultural seasonal work is a variable of special interest in this study. The Mexican American, one of the primary sources of seasonal labor in the migrant stream, is being forced out of work by the

mechanization of agriculture. The resulting influx of migrants into the city will be of major concern in the near future. The migrant's opinion of this work in general, of the pay rate, working conditions, job security, and ill-effect of the work on his children are important descriptors of this experience.

The lack of jobs in the place prior to Houston prompted the migrant to move. The hope of job opportunities in Houston influenced him to come to this city. These two variables were definitely the most important determinants of migration, and were therefore included in the present analysis. (The independent variables are summarized in Table 3.1.)

Modes of Analysis

The initial selection of variables for use in the analysis was made from previous literature. Many variables had been repeatedly used by researchers to measure adjustment or to describe rural migrants to the city. Those variables which had been shown to be significantly related to adjustment were included whenever possible.

The original data were recoded for factor analysis, and indices were constructed whenever possible. Those variables which were mentioned by a small number of respondents were eliminated. Also, variables which

TABLE 3.1
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

I. Economic Adjustment

- A. Personal job experience and qualifications
 - 1. Total number of jobs held in Houston
 - 2. The migrant's employment status upon arrival
 - 3. Type of job migrant feels qualified for
- B. First job in Houston
 - 1. Job type
 - 2. Actual pay rate
 - 3. Perceived adequacy of this pay rate
 - 4. Perceived job security
- C. Present job in Houston
 - 1. Adequacy of the pay
 - 2. Perceived security of the job
 - 3. Type of relation with his co-workers
- D. General impressions of economic opportunities in Houston
 - 1. Perceptions of Houston's job opportunities
 - 2. Adequacy of the pay rate in general
 - 3. Perceived job security offered in general

II. Urban-Physical Environment

- A. Description of the housing unit
 - 1. Weekly or monthly payment
 - 2. Amount of the monthly rent payments
 - 3. Receipt of a rent subsidy
 - 4. Single- or multiple-family unit
 - 5. Number of rooms
 - 6. Number of persons
 - 7. Ratio of rooms/person
- B. Residential Patterns in Houston
 - 1. Total number of places lived
 - 2. Length of time in the first residence
 - 3. Occupancy of more than one dwelling unit
 - 4. Moved closer to school
 - 5. Moved to a higher quality dwelling unit
 - 6. Moved to be closer to relatives

(continued)

TABLE 3.1
(cont.)

- C. General perceptions of the urban-physical environment
 - 1. Perceived adequacy of the housing in Houston
 - 2. The migrant's awareness of "urban" problems

III.. Social/Psychological Variables

- A. Prejudice and discrimination
 - 1. Feelings toward Blacks in general
 - 2. Feelings toward Blacks as co-workers
 - 3. Feelings toward Blacks as neighbors
 - 4. Discrimination scale
 - 5. Discrimination in broad terms
- B. Social concerns and activities
 - 1. Perceived difficulties with English
 - 2. Type of religion
 - 3. Church attendance
- C. Possible future moves
 - 1. Return to prior residence
 - 2. Move to another place
 - 3. Warnings to friend coming to Houston
 - 4. Pattern of migration to Houston
 - 5. Family together in city prior
 - 6. Change in his economic or physical situation

IV. Social Antecedents

- A. Migration History
 - 1. Rural vs. urban nature of the town prior
 - 2. Rural/urban scale
 - 3. Distance Houston from area prior
 - 4. Distance Houston from migrant's hometown
 - 5. Place of birth of head-of-household
 - 6. Length of time in area prior to Houston
 - 7. Total number moves from hometown
- B. Past experience as an agricultural migrant
 - 1. Experience in seasonal work
 - 2. Opinion of this work in general
 - 3. Opinion of the pay rate

(continued)

TABLE 3.1
(cont.)

4. Opinion of the working conditions
 5. Opinion of the job security
 6. Concern over ill-effect of the work on his children
- C. Variables prompting migration
1. Lack of jobs in place prior to Houston
 2. Perceived job opportunities in Houston

appeared to be indicators from the results of Schulman's analysis⁷ were included.

After the variables were selected factor analyses were run. Only those variables which loaded beyond .4 on any factor were included in the final factor analyses. The variables used are described in the previous sections.

The use of factor analysis allowed for the reduction of the intercorrelated raw variables. By using the principal components model and Kaiser's Varimax rotation⁸ we are able to determine independent dimensions of economic characteristics, urban-physical environment indicators, social psychological characteristics, and social antecedents. "Inspection of the content of these dimensions will give a clearer understanding of which groups of variables should be regarded as mutually interactive, as well as demonstrating which syndromes may be regarded as independent of their influence."⁹

Once the factors were isolated, factor scores¹⁰ were calculated for each case. These scores are independent and normally distributed for each group.

An initial multiple regression analysis was made using each group separately regressed on each of the dependent variables. The factor scores for each group were uncorrelated, therefore eliminating the problem of multicollinearity.

In order to determine which of the independent variables, when the four groups are taken together, predict each of the dependent variables, all twenty-two factors were regressed on the measure of adjustment. A correlation matrix revealed a minimum amount of inter-correlation among the factors. Only those variables meeting the F-test of significance at the .05 level are included in the final equation using stepwise regression.¹¹

CHAPTER III FOOTNOTES

¹Alejandro Portes, "Dilemmas of a Golden Exile: Integration of Cuban Refugee Families in Milwaukee," American Sociological Review, 34 (August 1969).

²Harry K. Schwarzweller and Martin J. Crow, "Adaptation of Appalachian Migrants to the Industrial Work Situation: A Case Study," in Behavior in New Environments, ed. Eugene B. Brody (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1969), pp. 117-144.

³Gabino Rendon, Jr., "Prediction of Adjustment Outcomes of Rural Migrants to the City," Diss. University of Colorado 1968, p. 170.

⁴Lyle W. Shannon and E. M. Krass, "The Economic Absorption of In-Migrant Laborers in a Northern Industrial Community," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 23 (January 1964).

⁵Rendon, p. 170.

⁶The categories in this scale are: towns in Mexico, towns in U. S., other states in the U. S., cities in Mexico, and cities in U. S.

⁷Sam Schulman, "Mexican American Migration to Houston: A Study of Ninety-One Families," unpublished research report prepared for the Institute for Urban Studies, University of Houston 1971.

⁸Principal components analysis is interested in the space defining their total variance. The data are taken as given, and the dimensions of the space defining these data are determined. In the original principal components analysis 1's were placed in the principal diagonal of the correlation matrix (making it a "common" factor analysis). A principal axes technique that orders the factors found in terms of the amount of variance they explain was then applied. Kaiser's Varimax criterion was used to rotate to a final solution. All principal components with associated eigenvalues greater than 1.0 were included in the rotated solution. The algorithm employed was that developed for the University of Wisconsin STATJOB series, program FACTOR1. See R. J. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), p. 112 and STATJOB Manual, Volume VI.

⁹A. Lee Hunt, Jr. and Robert E. Pendley, "Community Gatekeepers: An Examination of Political Recruiters," Midwest Journal of Political Science, forthcoming (August, 1972).

¹⁰The factor scores are derived in the following way. Each variable is weighted proportionately to its involvement in a factor; the more involved a variable, the higher the weight. Variables not at all related to a factor would be weighted near zero. To determine the score for a case on a factor, then, the case's data on each variable is multiplied by the factor weight for that variable. The sum of these weight-times-data-products for all the variables yields the factor score. This weighted summation will give cases high (or low) scores if their values are high (or low) on the variables involved with a factor. See Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis, p. 150.

¹¹STATJOB Manual, program STEPREG1, University of Wisconsin.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The results of the factor analysis and the multiple regression analysis are discussed in this chapter. In all cases the factors could be logically interpreted.

Factor Analysis--Economic Adjustment

Six factors resulted from the analysis of the fourteen economic variables. The results are presented in Table 4.1.

Factor I, called Job Estrangement, includes variables indicating the inconvenience and insecurity of the respondent's present job. Also, Houston's job opportunities are perceived by the migrant as being unavailable. That is, not only is the present job situation unsatisfactory, but future chances for improvement seem slight to the migrant.

The second factor describes Job Immobility. A migrant's employment upon arrival led to what was initially perceived as adequate pay, as well as resulting in a salary which was higher than the salary of those migrants arriving unemployed. However, his present job pay is considered poor. Thus, even those who begin ahead on the pay scale relative to other migrants end-up with poor paying jobs in relation to the general labor force.

TABLE 4.1
ECONOMIC FACTORS

Variables	I	II	Rotated Factors				VI
			III	IV	V		
Inconvenient location-present job	.435	-.213	.184	-.171	-.394	-.112	
Present job insecure	.804	-.005	-.053	-.184	.022	-.055	
No perceived job opportunity	.828	-.021	.007	.266	.094	.116	
High pay-first job	-.198	.592	-.079	.010	.282	.079	
Inadequate-pay present job	.203	.492	.614	-.051	-.049	.192	
Employed on arrival	-.062	.783	-.064	.004	.196	.238	
Poor pay-first job (felt)	-.298	.416	-.605	.061	.019	-.158	
Insecurity felt-first job	-.196	.016	.747	.044	.036	-.062	
Occ. type-first job	.039	.161	-.181	.827	-.059	-.107	
Type job feel qualified for	-.053	-.166	.186	.775	.158	.115	
Total number jobs held	-.086	.030	.203	.157	.670	-.176	
Perceived pay rates	.181	-.047	-.106	-.079	.680	.076	
Dissatisfaction with co-workers	.385	-.118	-.079	.067	.254	.661	
Perceived job insecurity	-.189	-.031	.141	-.035	-.209	.795	
Per cent total variance	14.0	10.7	10.7	10.5	9.5	9.2/64.5	
Eigenvalues	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.0	

Lateral Job Change is described by the third factor.

Both the actual pay on the first job and low pay mentioned as a reason for leaving are shared with Factor II (Job Immobility). The job left was secure, however. The low pay rate and the migrant's continual effort to improve his salary overshadowed the problem of job insecurity. Also, job change, although made in an attempt to increase the pay rate, did not result in adequate pay in the new job. This points to a potential ceiling placed on the migrant's potential level of advancement which keeps him at a low socio-economic level.

Job Evaluation, Factor IV, includes two variables dealing with the type of job the migrant had first and the type of job he feels qualified for. In general, the migrant assesses his job qualifications at the same level as his first job.

Factor V describes Job Stability. The migrant's perceptions of the inadequacy of the pay rates in Houston as well as the total number of jobs held are included in this factor. Those with unstable patterns of employment also held positions with inadequate pay rates. This is indicative of the low skill levels and the accompanying insecure jobs held by the respondent. (Hanson and Simmons conclude job stability to be the most important variable

affecting the rural migrant.)¹

Both the respondent's relation with his co-workers and his perceptions of his job security in general are included in Factor VI, Perceived Job Conditions. These variables are of relatively less importance than concerns of pay rates which appear in some form in three factors. The major concern of the migrants is to earn enough to adequately support his family. Dissatisfaction with his co-workers as well as concern with his job security in general are relatively less important.

The economic factors, taken together, indicate the migrant's general dissatisfaction with his present occupation. The main concerns center around the low pay rate of the jobs and the lack of the possibility of advancement. Here we have strong indications of an occupational structure which neither adequately supports the migrant nor which provides opportunities for his retraining. The Mexican American migrant to Houston seems forced to stay at the bottom rungs of the occupational ladder.

Urban-Physical Environment

Five factors were isolated using the fifteen variables concerned with the urban-physical environment. These are presented in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2
URBAN-PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT FACTORS

Variables	Rotated Factors				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Only lived in present home	.884	-.016	-.017	-.057	.023
Months lived in first home	.494	.157	.044	.175	-.124
Moved to better unit	-.682	.054	.072	.031	-.080
Total number residences in Houston	.718	.067	-.008	.066	.035
Awareness of urban problems	-.409	.227	.193	.392	.108
Manner of payment	-.074	.743	.019	.208	-.183
Number of rooms in present home	.204	.785	-.106	-.011	.397
Moved closer to school	.197	-.449	-.008	.390	.354
Total number persons in pres. home	-.099	.632	.598	-.251	-.030
Perceived inadequacy of housing	.161	-.056	.748	.348	.100
Small: number rooms per person	.224	-.004	-.789	-.234	.242
Type of dwelling-apartment	-.078	-.371	-.115	.615	-.354
Rent subsidy received	-.331	-.195	.006	-.666	-.015
Amount rent per month	-.092	.098	-.041	.125	.675
Moved closer to relatives	-.106	.127	.051	.227	-.585
Percent of total variance	16.5	13.7	10.8	10.1	9.0/60.1
Eigenvalues	2.6	2.3	1.6	1.4	1.1

Factor I, Residential Mobility, relates to the migrant's patterns of intra-city migration. Those who had moved did so in order to improve the quality of their living unit. They also seemed more aware of urban problems. The total number of moves made while living in Houston and the time spent in the first home also loaded on this factor. The respondents moved primarily to improve their existing living conditions.

Residential Stability, Factor II, includes variables of intra-city migration which took place because of family needs such as moving closer to school. Rent was paid monthly and the number of rooms, as well as the total number of persons living there, was larger than for temporary situations. (Gabino Rendon found residential stability to be a predictor of successful adjustment.)² The variables in this factor indicate an association between stable residential patterns and meeting the needs of a family rather than of a single adult.

Factor III, describes the Perceived Adequacy of the Housing from the migrant's perspective. It combines the perception of inadequate housing and a low ratio of rooms per person. Also, the actual number of persons living in the home was large. Crowded conditions and inadequate housing were another of the concerns of the migrants.

Some of the respondents lived in multiple-family dwellings. These generally were located in housing projects and judged to be in good condition. Factor IV, Rent Subsidy includes residence in a multiple-family dwelling as well as the receipt of a rent subsidy. Those who are able to take advantage of programs available to them are also able to improve their living condition. This manipulation suggests a relation to "successful" (or at least "adequate") adjustment.

A move closer to relatives was combined with a higher rent paid per month. Preferred Location, Factor V, indicates an importance of the extended family. As Harry Schwarzweller found,³ it would seem that for newcomers, connections with friends and family ease the process of adjustment. Being closer to relatives is important enough to incur a higher rent payment.

The migrants' desire to improve the quality of their housing was apparent in these factors. However, only partial success was possible as indicated by the Perceived Adequacy of the Housing factor. One path to improvement was the migrant's receipt of rent subsidy. The migrants were definitely concerned with their quality of life, but low pay and occupational stagnation hindered this quest for an improved urban-physical environment.

Social/Psychological Characteristics

There were six factors resulting from the analysis of the social/psychological variables. This factor structure is presented in Table 4.3.

Fernando Peñalosa found status consciousness to be related to level of adjustment.⁴ One indicator of this consciousness is found in Factor I, Feelings toward Blacks, which includes three variables relating to the respondent's expressed feelings toward Blacks in different situations. The first was a general situation, the second related to Blacks as co-workers, and the third to Blacks as neighbors. All loaded in the same direction (dislike for Blacks) indicating that the feelings were consistent. Therefore, the situation in which Blacks were encountered did not affect the respondent's feelings toward them.

Factor II, Perceived Adaptation, describes the migrant's own feelings with regard to difficulties with English as well as of himself as an object of discrimination. Two variables related to perceived discrimination: one an index which combines variables describing incidents in general, at work, and in the neighborhood and the other a direct questions as to the migrant's perception of discrimination. Both variables showed little discrimination toward the respondent had been perceived, or at least reported. We know discrimination toward Mexican Americans exists, and it is

TABLE 4.3
SOCIAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

Variables	Rotated Factors					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Unfavorable feelings twd. Blacks--general	.730	-.057	-.034	..076	.307	-.069
Unfavorable feelings twd. Blacks--co-workers	.837	-.110	.016	-.097	-.161	-.010
Unfavorable feelings twd. Blacks--neighbors	.882	.085	-.091	.056	-.027	-.055
Perceived difficulty with English	.078	.574	-.267	-.011	-.351	.278
Discrimination scale	-.143	.863	.170	.075	.113	-.075
Discrimination felt	.017	.870	.070	.046	-.021	-.109
Not return to area prior	-.027	.128	.933	-.012	-.030	-.040
Not go to another town	-.067	-.006	.941	-.029	-.060	-.021
Family not together prior	-.090	.075	-.059	.870	.119	.158
Family not moved with him	.119	.028	.021	.913	-.001	.005
Type of religion-protestant-	.037	.044	-.189	.257	.666	.018
Church not attended	.139	.181	-.126	.013	.674	.366
Advise friends not to come	-.005	-.259	.198	-.125	.693	-.167
No change of feelings about Houston	.080	-.095	-.009	-.200	-.028	-.636
Few warnings to friends	-.043	-.203	-.055	-.055	.015	.780
Per cent of total variance	14.0	13.5	13.1	11.6	11.0	8.7/72.0
Eigenvalues	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.3	1.1

interesting that it was not mentioned. Perhaps this is a function of the sample, or the interviewing situation may have been such as to suppress a response indicating discrimination had been experienced. It is also possible that the residence in Mexican American neighborhoods shields persons such as those in our sample from such experiences. In general, then, the respondents perceived themselves as having little trouble with the English language and as being objects of little discrimination.

Future Migration, Factor III, indicates that those who elect not to return to their hometown also elect not to move to any other town. Thus, for those who have broken with their former area of residence, the move appears to be relatively permanent. This indicates a stable situation rather than continuing migration.

Factor IV, Family Mobility, indicates that if the family was not with the respondent prior to the move to Houston, then they did not move at the same time he did. The head-of-household had left his family before he finally migrated to Houston.

Factor V, Social Participation, indicates that those who do not belong to the Catholic Church (the predominate church among Mexican Americans) and/or who do not attend any church, advise their friends not to come to Houston. Whether this indicates a possible connection between

religious participation and adjustment to urban life is questionable but this combination is interesting.

Static Adjustment Level, Factor VI, includes variables dealing with the respondent's change of feelings since coming to Houston and the number of warnings given to friends who might come. There were no changes of feelings and few warnings, implying that the respondent's initial level of adjustment had probably remained static. If the migrant began with a low level job and was living in inadequate housing, then probably he still faces these problems. On the other hand, the migrant does not warn his friends contemplating migration against coming to Houston.

Unfavorable feelings toward Blacks in various situations were expressed by the migrants. At the same time, the migrants perceived little discrimination directed toward them.. The factors also indicate stability in the future migration patterns of the respondents, as well as a high degree of family mobility. The migrant's family came with him if they had been in the area prior to Houston. Finally the static nature of the migrant's problems since his arrival in Houston point to the magnitude of the difficulties he must overcome. These problems are also described by the factors in the economic and urban-physical environment categories.

Social Antecedents

Six factors were isolated which are presented in Table 4.4.

Factor I, Agricultural Experience, indicates that those who had not had agricultural experience expressed favorable opinions of this type of work. On the other hand, those who had experience in agricultural seasonal work expressed unfavorable opinions concerning this occupation as well as citing problems of inadequate pay, poor working conditions, and the insecure nature of the work. Thus, the background of agricultural experience appears to be one factor which may greatly affect the migrant's future adjustment.

Urban Experience, Factor II, contains two variables measuring the respondent's previous experience in the city. One reports the nature of the area lived in prior to coming to Houston. The other combines the two variables of rural/urban nature of the area and the country of origin. The resulting scale (from one to five) includes towns in Mexico, towns in the U. S., states in the U. S., cities in Mexico, and cities in the U. S. Thus, a measure of the relative degree of urban experience can be established. Also included is the lack of jobs in the area prior to migration which pushed the migrant from his former residence.

TABLE 4.4
SOCIAL ANTECEDENTS

Variables	Rotated Factors					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Agricultural seasonal worker	.680	.297	.037	-.184	-.105	-.011
Bad opinion of agri. work	-.725	-.096	-.012	-.004	.055	-.252
Agri. work-poor pay	.829	-.014	.050	.154	.111	-.224
Agri. work-poor working conditions	.648	.029	-.001	-.096	.144	.130
Agri. work-insecure	.415	.099	.246	-.026	.131	.576
Urban nature of area prior	.196	.798	.124	-.304	-.306	-.023
Rural/urban scale	.193	.828	-.177	.031	.109	.094
Long residence in area prior	-.019	.023	.857	-.012	-.032	.038
Number moves from hometown	-.110	.058	-.848	.026	-.087	.100
Distance Houston from area prior	-.016	-.312	-.143	.699	.401	-.038
Distance Houston from hometown	.044	-.139	-.071	.820	-.132	.037
Nativity-foreign born	-.229	.345	.235	.558	-.017	-.045
Pull factor-eco. opportunity	.091	-.087	.037	.021	.820	-.002
Push factor-lack of jobs	.023	.550	.069	-.050	.585	.065
Agri. work-bad on children	-.017	.019	-.173	.013	-.039	.898
Per cent total variance	16.1	13.2	11.2	10.9	9.2	8.7/69.3
Eigenvalues	3.1	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.2	1.1

The more urban the area, the less this was mentioned.

Past Residential Stability, Factor III, describes two variables indicating a stable migration history as opposed to a seasonal worker's migration history. A long residence in the area where the respondent lived prior to his move to Houston and few prior moves made are included.

The Migration History of the respondent is described by Factor IV. The distance from the respondent's hometown and from the area in which he lived prior to moving to Houston were included with the place of birth. If a migrant was foreign-born he came from a distant town both originally and prior to his move to Houston. Likewise, if he was "native-born" his hometown and point of prior residence were closer to Houston.

Factor V, Economic Determinant, pairs equivalent push-pull factors of migration. These were the ones most often mentioned, lack of economic opportunities in the areas of origin and hope of more economic opportunities in the Houston area.

Quality of Agricultural Work, Factor VI, includes the insecure nature of the job and concern for the effect agricultural work has on children. Both these variables reflect the concern the migrant has for his family's future.

The importance of past agricultural experience is indicated by the two factors dealing with this dimension.

The migrant's experience in seasonal agricultural work prepares him for few jobs in the urban areas. Also important to the future adjustment of the migrant was his past experience in the city.

The striking importance of economic variables is brought out again in the Economic Determinant factor. Here we can relate the lack of jobs pushing the migrant away from his prior residence to hoped for job opportunities in Houston. The low level of pay and lack of advancement opportunity bring into question the quality of the job market in the Houston area. Also, the low quality of the homes of the migrants leads us to believe that Houston may not be the land of opportunities hoped for. We now will test to see which of the factors isolated predict to each of the dependent variables.

Regression Analysis

Once the factors have been isolated with respect to each group the factor scores for each case are used in a multiple regression analysis as independent variables.

The results of this analysis are presented below.

The first dependent variable, occupational change, was not substantially predictable by any of the factors. The fact that no social antecedent or economic adjustment factors predict to occupational change is particularly

interesting. We can interpret this as an indication that all the migrants, regardless of past experience, enter the Houston job market at approximately the same level. This "equality" may be due to this group of migrants overall lack of preparation, or perhaps it can be explained by a closer analysis of the occupational structure as found in Houston. Also, an increase in occupational level may be due to the change in the location and not to the experience or ability of the individual migrant.

The general condition of the home is predicted to by five factors. Together they explain 40 per cent of the variance. The results are presented in Table 4.5.

Urban Experience is an important predictor to the condition of the home. The migrant who has lived in the city prior to coming to Houston has the advantage of his past experience. This gives him an advantage over others who do not have this background.

The Perceived Adequacy of the Home as reported by the migrant is another predictor. This tends toward the opposite end of the scale, indicating a greater perception of adequacy of the home is in fact a predictor to a better condition of the home as seen by the interviewer.

Two other factors concerned with residential patterns, Residential Mobility and Residential Stability are also predictors of the general condition of the home. Migrants

TABLE 4.5
REGRESSION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
ON GENERAL CONDITION OF THE HOME

Dependent Variable	Constant	Regression Coefficient	(R ²) Coefficient of Determination	Change in Coefficient of Determination	Independent Variable
General Condition of the Home	= +2.39				
		-.21	.11	.11	Urban Experience
		+.26	.23	.12	Perceived Adequacy of the Home
		-.20	.30	.07	Residential Mobility
		-.17	.35	.05	Rent Subsidy
		-.16	.40	.05	Residential Stability
R = .63					
R ² = .40					
F-ratio = 11.15 with 5 and 85 degrees of freedom; significant at the .001 level					

who move to a better unit seem to improve their housing conditions. Stable patterns of residence was found to be important in Gabino Rendon's analysis⁵ as well. Persons who are not constantly on the move are able to develop relationships within the community which lead to greater participation and thereby increase their urban knowledge and their chance for successful adjustment.⁶

Finally, Rent Subsidy predicts a home in good condition. This supports Sam Schulman's findings⁷ reported in Chapter II of this thesis. This also is an indication that persons of low socio-economic status can improve the quality of their home by participating in housing programs.

Table 4.6 describes the only other regression equation resulting from this analysis. One factor, Job Stability, predicts the migrant's satisfaction with Houston. This supports Robert Hanson and Ozzie Simmons' finding that occupational stability was an important variable associated with adjustment.⁸ Only 6 per cent of the variance was explained, however.

TABLE 4.6
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
ON SUBJECTIVE OPINION OF ADJUSTMENT

Dependent Variable	Constant	Regression Coefficient	Independent Variable
Subjective Opinion of Adjustment	= 1.52		
		.18	Job Stability
R = .26			
R ² = .06			
F-ratio = 6.27 with 1 and 89 degrees of freedom; significant at the .01 level			

CHAPTER IV FOOTNOTES

¹Robert C. Hanson and Ozzie G. Simmons, "Differential Experience Paths of Rural Migrants to the City," in Behavior in New Environments, ed. Eugene B. Brody (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1969).

²Gabino Rendón, Jr., "Prediction of Adjustment Outcomes of Rural Migrants to the City," Diss. University of Colorado 1968, p. 170.

³Harry K. Schwarzweller and Martin J. Crowe, "Adaptation of Appalachian Migrants to the Industrial Work Situation: A Case Study," in Behavior, ed. Brody.

⁴Fernando Peñalosa, "The Changing Mexican American in Southern California," Sociology and Social Research, 51 (July 1967).

⁵Rendón, p. 170.

⁶Ibid., p. 170.

⁷Sam Schulman, "Mexican American Migration to Houston: A Study of Ninety-One Families," unpublished research report prepared for the Institute for Urban Studies, University of Houston 1971.

⁸Hanson and Simmons.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

In the present analysis we have isolated twenty-two factors (independent variables) possibly associated with adjustment of rural, Mexican American migrants to urban life as it is in Houston. These were regressed on three measures of adjustment (dependent variables) and the following factors were found to be predictors of the General Condition of the Home: Residential Mobility, Residential Stability, Perceived Adequacy of the Home, Rent Subsidy, and Urban Experience. Job Stability predicted the migrants' reported satisfaction with Houston. No factors predicted the occupational change of the migrants. We will now review the important aspects of these findings.

Summary

The economic adjustment factors indicate that the migrants studied in the present analysis are concerned with their future occupational advancement. Job Immobility and Lateral Job Change point to the obstacles rural Mexican American migrants face in trying to improve their occupational level. The migrant's lack of education and occupational skills hamper their progress in the urban job market. The desire to advance, however, negates the notion that Mexican

Americans are fatalistic and are kept in low level jobs by their own limited aspirations.

Desire to improve the quality of their homes is another area important to these migrants. Residential Mobility describes movement within Houston as being for the purpose of raising the quality of the living unit. Living in multi-family dwelling units where rent subsidy is available is another way in which these families improved the quality of their housing.

Another group of factors deals with the stability which is observed in all aspects of the migrant's life. A background of past residential stability and a migration history with relatively few moves has given the migrant a chance to develop family and friendship ties and perhaps the opportunity to develop some skill. Also, the family which moves with the migrant has continual ties within itself. When feasible, movement as a family unit may mean greater stability. Upon his arrival, the migrant's Job Stability results in more security for his family. This could mean a chance to take advantage of the few benefits which are offered for those holding low level jobs. Residential Stability may result in the establishment of new ties to the city and in the development of new friendship networks.. This residential stability then allows for increased opportunities to improve the quality of the dwelling unit

itself. Stability is therefore a very important aspect in the migrant's adjustment to Houston.

The quality of life is a general concept relating to the adequacy of jobs, residences, and the present situation of the migrants. Four economic adjustment factors emphasize the migrant's concern for inadequate pay and poor working conditions (Job Estrangement, Lateral Job Change, Job Evaluation, and Perceived Job Conditions). The migrants in this study want to work at jobs which will allow them to adequately support their families. However, lack of skills and education keep these migrants at the bottom of the occupational ladder. Although he reports he has not been the object of discrimination, a closer analysis of the occupational structure would probably reveal discriminatory hiring and advancement practices.

The residences of these migrants were mostly in dilapidated and deteriorating condition. Large families, coupled with few resources, result in overcrowded, inadequate housing. Furthermore, most of the migrants feel the problems which they encountered upon arrival have not been solved. In other words, their situation with regard to the problems of life in Houston is static.

The importance of the rural/urban nature of the area lived in prior to Houston is indicated by three factors. Urban Experience implies that the migrant comes to the city

with some degree of urban knowledge. An agricultural background cannot provide the experience necessary for successfully coping with life in urban areas. Occupational skills learned for life in rural areas do not readily transfer to the city.

In summary, occupational advancement and residential improvement are important concerns of the migrant. Stability is another important determinant of economic and residential success. Also, the general quality of life is a category important to the migrant. Finally Urban Experience may result in fewer problems in adjusting to the urban environment.

The regression analysis indicates that the migrant with a stable job and stable residential patterns will have a better chance for successful adjustment. Residential Mobility and the Perceived Adequacy of the Home are predictors of adjustment, as well as receipt of Rent Subsidy and the Urban Experience of the migrant.

By combining the results of the factor analysis and the multiple regression analysis, a series of propositions are developed. These are:

- I. The greater the occupational and residential stability of the rural, Mexican American migrant, the greater the chance for his successful adjustment to urban life.

- II. The migrant with past urban experience has a greater chance for successful adjustment than the migrant with a totally rural background.
- III. An improvement in the quality of housing can be achieved by the receipt of rent subsidy or other assistance.
- IV. The Mexican American subculture does not hinder this group's adjustment to urban life. Low levels of education and lack of occupational skills result in low paying, static jobs.

These propositions indicate the relative importance of economic and residential variables. Cultural variables do not seem to be predictors of adjustment to urban life.

Relationship to Previous Studies

These data bring into question the conclusions of Shannon that the Mexican American subculture is responsible for this group's adjustment difficulties.¹ A group such as the one studied, whose major concern is getting a job which will provide for their families cannot be said to have limited aspirations and present day orientation. Their concerns are economic, environmental, and social in nature. There does not appear to be a culture keeping them back, but if anything, lack of urban skills and educational background.

Gabino Rendón describes the ideal typical Mexican American migrant who achieves a successful adjustment as having many of these characteristics. Rendón found job stability, residential stability, residential mobility and urban experience were all predictors of successful adjustment.² Rent subsidy and residential quality were not included in his analysis.

Several of the studies discussed in Chapter I utilize variables which correspond to the factors isolated in the present analysis. Harry Schwarzweller³ focuses on the family network. Both factors concerning preferred location and family mobility emphasize the migrant's relationship with his family.

The migrants studied here would generally fit into the Strugglers category developed in Hanson and Simmons' study of Mexican American migrants to Denver.⁴ The respondents in the present study came to Houston with few resources, but did not require welfare help after two years in the city. Hanson and Simmons found the primary experience factor to be unstable employment. This agrees with our findings.

Shannon and Morgan⁵ find that the job mobility of the Mexican American is limited by past migration, education, and job experience. Although we did not find these to be

important predictors, the migration history of the migrant was isolated as a factor.

By utilizing the results of previous research we are able to directly compare the indicators found to be important. In general, we question the notion that the Mexican American culture accounts for the adjustment problems of members of this group. Residential and economic variables did prove to be important predictors of successful adjustment; however.

Future Research

The results of the present study may be extended to future research in many ways. The analysis techniques used here may be applied to other data. This would allow direct comparisons to be made with regards to the adjustment of several groups. Also, the results of the present study may be used to develop instruments used in future research. The factors isolated indicate twenty-two areas which might be related to adjustment to the city. These factors might be operationalized to allow for easy measurement of these related areas. That is, by carefully constructing survey instruments, the analysis technique could be applied to allow for a more complete description of the process of adjustment to urban life than was possible here.

The scope of this type of study can be broadened to include one group in several cities or several racial-ethnic groups in a few cities. This would allow comparisons on a cross-cultural basis as well as a geographic basis.

Future research could also be directed toward specific areas of interest. For example, studies focusing on the economic side of adjustment may include not only the present job situation of the migrant, but also a careful analysis of his past experience and how it relates to his present occupation. On a more general level, the job market in the receiving areas can be compared to the skills which the migrant has upon his arrival. Information gained from studies such as this can be used in the development of job training and vocational education programs.

The degree of urban knowledge has been important in at least two studies. A more careful analysis of this concept would indicate specifically what is needed for successful adjustment to the city. Separating those background experiences which greatly influence the migrant's success from those experiences which are of little importance might be accomplished in such a study. Policies related to the education and training of migrants can then be formulated with knowledge of these important indicators.

Another area of importance is the urban-physical environment with which the rural migrant to the city must contend. Focusing on the housing of the migrants could reveal which utilities are lacking in the present residences. Existing housing which might afford a higher quality of life to the migrant needs to be looked at. Development of new housing projects must proceed with knowledge of the special needs of future occupants. Finally, ways to inform the migrants of opportunities to improve their environment must be expanded greatly.

In summary, this study may be used as a basis on which to develop future modes of prediction of adjustment. Also, areas of particular interest to those involved in accelerating the adjustment process of rural migrants to the city may be studied using the results of this analysis as a foundation.

CHAPTER V FOOTNOTES

¹Lyle W. Shannon, "The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers," in Behavior in New Environments, ed. Eugene B. Brody (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1969).

²Gabino Rendón, Jr., "Prediction of Adjustment Outcomes of Rural Migrants to the City," Diss. University of Colorado 1968.

³Harry K. Schwarzweller and Martin J. Crowe, "Adaptation of Appalachian Migrants to the Industrial Work Situation: A Case Study," in Behavior, ed. Brody.

⁴Robert C. Hanson and Ozzie G. Simmons, "Differential Experience Paths of Rural Migrants to the City," in Behavior in New Environments, ed. Brody, p. 148.

⁵Lyle W. Shannon and Patricia Morgan, "The Prediction of Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration Among Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in a Northern Industrial Community," Human Organization, 25 (1966), p. 154.

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