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THE EFFECTS OF URBAN-RURAL LIFE HISTORIES OF THE AGED
ON URBAN ADAPTATION

by

MICHAEL R. DeSHANE

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
URBAN AFFAIRS

Portland State University
1977

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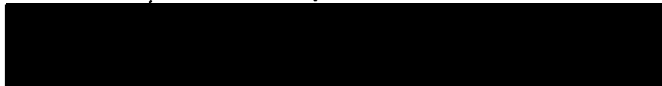
AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF Michael R. DeShane for the
Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Affairs presented May 20, 1977.

Title: The Effects of Urban-Rural Life Histories of the Aged
on Urban Adaptation.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE DISSERTATION COMMITTEE:


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Among the major interests of students of urbanism and urbanization in the United States have been the understanding and explication of differences between urban and rural segments of American society. Coupled with this has been an attempt to theoretically delineate the effects of these differences on the social psychological adjustment of urban and rural inhabitants. The culmination of this work in sociology is to be found in Wirth's (1938) essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life." Wirth identified three major differences between urban and rural lifestyles which have been the impetus for considerable research and controversy. The three major differences identified by Wirth are:

1. the weakening of primary relationships,
2. the development of a distinctly urban personality characterized by rationality, utility and adaptability, and
3. the development of a community based on interest rather than locality.

Research has, to date, been equivocal in its support or rejection of these differences. This dissertation represents another attempt to test what might be called the "Wirthian hypotheses" but with a major departure from other attempts. Rather than using current urban or rural residence as the major independent variables, urban or rural residences at age 16 are used. The research was conducted using data from two sample surveys, one a national sample (the General Social Survey conducted by NORC in the Spring of 1975), and one a sample of Portland, Oregon's 65 and over population (the Supplementary Security Income Survey conducted by the Institute on Aging in 1975). The research was limited to older persons 60 years of age and over.

This dissertation, then, is an attempt to gauge the effects of residential history on the three central hypotheses derived from the earlier formulations of Louis Wirth. The three research hypotheses are:

1. Lifelong urban residents are likely to exhibit less intense primary group/ties than are lifelong rural residents or urban migrants.
2. Lifelong urban residents are more likely to develop adaptable and individualistic personality structures than are lifelong rural residents or urban migrants.
3. Lifelong urban residents are less likely to maintain a community based upon proximity than are lifelong rural residents or urban migrants.

METHODOLOGY

Two independent variables are used, the respondents' current residence and respondents' residence at age 16. The independent variables are attitudinal and behavioral items from each of the two surveys which bear upon the hypotheses.

FINDINGS

Hypothesis 1

The data provide considerable support for hypothesis 1. It can be concluded that: (1) rural and rural raised respondents are more highly satisfied with their primary group relationships as a whole than are their urban counterparts, (2) this higher satisfaction may be due, in part, to the higher acceptance of the extended family as an important and valued source of friendship and succor, and (3) religious affiliations play an important role in the lives of rural and rural raised respondents.

Hypothesis 2

Analysis of data bearing upon hypothesis 2 provide only equivocal support. Problems of operationalization and the divergent results between attitudinal and behavioral items prohibit any firm support for hypothesis 2. While there are major differences between urban and rural upbringings there are no clearcut directional differences.

Hypothesis 3

The items used to test hypothesis 3 indicate that urban respondents are more likely to involve themselves in relationships which are not related to proximity than are rural respondents. As with the material presented in support of hypothesis 2, however, the position of the urban migrant respondents is less clear. Migration, it would seem, acts in a relatively unpredictable way; in some cases migration increases urban adaptations, while in others the migrants appear to keep the learned behaviors associated with rural backgrounds.

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INTRODUCTION

Among the major interests of students of urbanism and urbanization in the United States have been the understanding and explication of differences between urban and rural segments of American society. Much of this concern has stemmed, in part, from the rapid urban growth in the early part of the twentieth century, in part, from a strong anti-urban bias which has been implicit in almost all intellectual endeavors since the founding of the country, and, in part, from the primarily rural beginnings of the United States as embodied in Jeffersonian Democracy (White, 1962). Early interpreters of American society often pictured the growth of cities as an unnatural and degrading development in the history of humankind. Cities were the root of evil and the breeding grounds for deviants in the eyes of most observers. It wasn't until well into the present century that students of urbanization began to repudiate this diagnosis, although it is still by no means dead. Cities, initially seen as dense conglomerations with a motley assortment of deviants and ruthless individuals, were eventually understood as organizational systems different from past and more rural systems of organization. The city is much more than a larger, more dense settlement of people; it is functionally different. Variety is the key word for urban organizational systems--variety in architecture, in people and in human activities. It is precisely this variety which demands an organizational system which can coordinate these various elements so

that the needs of the city's inhabitants can be met. Interest in the cities as organizational systems is a comparatively recent development. As systems cities, even today, remain incompletely understood.

Coupled with this interest in the city as an organizational system has been an interest in the effects of urban living on its inhabitants, the people who are dependent upon the city for sustenance, for their well being and for their recreation. The growing cities in the United States have grown largely through a migration of rural inhabitants to the city; one of the fundamental problems of this migration has been the adaptation by, and absorption of these migrants to, the urban organizational system. Migrants must have housing, jobs, services and recreational outlets; the extent to which migrants have adapted to become part of as opposed to residing in the city remains problematic. Gans (1962), in his now famous study of the adaptation of Italian immigrants to Boston's West End, coined the term "urban village" to describe the incompleteness of urban adaptation. Urban villagers represented life which was found in the village or small town, one which was, presumably, much different from urban life. Similarly, Thomas and Znaniecki's (1958) epic study of adaptation problems of Polish immigrants to American urban life at the turn of the century offers grim testimony to the adaptive problems presented by the cities of that period. Throughout all of the writings on adaptation to urban life there runs an undercurrent of often unstated assumptions, the most notable of which has been that ethnic, rural and village lifestyles ill equip migrants for urban living.

This dissertation concerns itself with one population segment which inhabits the cities of the United States in ever increasing numbers, to wit, the aged. The aged are among the most powerless of the powerless groups which reside in the cities of America. Far too often the aged are forced to adapt to situations which they have little control over because they have so few resources with which to expand their life chances. Older people are prime targets of helping services like health care, transportation, welfare and housing because they are among the least healthy, the least mobile, the poorest and the least adequately housed groups in America. Add to this the problem of coping with a complex urban organizational system and there emerges a myriad of problems which would try the abilities and powers of even the most vigorous and healthy members of society. It is this adaptation of the aged to the complexity of the city which is the central concern of this dissertation. As shall be shown below, today's aged were not born and raised in an urban society but a predominantly rural one; it is logical to suspect that they may present some rather special problems for urban society.

This dissertation seeks to provide answers, albeit tentative ones, to the following questions:

1. to what extent do the current aged in American cities come from rural backgrounds?
2. what are the primary variables or factors which distinguish urban from rural lifestyles?
3. to what extent do these rural backgrounds and lifestyles effect the attitudes and behaviors of today's older people? and
4. what are the possible consequences of these differences on the present and future elderly in this country?

The answers to these questions will of necessity be tentative and may well pose new and more difficult questions for future research. This dissertation, then, represents a pilot study of sorts in that it cannot provide definitive answers to all of the above questions. Be that as it may, far too often the background history of respondents in studies concerned with urban behavior has been ignored. This may have been a serious mistake and it behooves us to remedy this mistake as soon as possible.

CHAPTER I

URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCES: THE THEORETICAL LITERATURE

THE EARLY THEORISTS

A common and useful device for describing phenomena in social science has been that of dichotomization. Nowhere has this device received so much attention and use as in the literature on urbanism and urbanization; indeed, McKinney and Loomis (1970) have chosen to call this method the "typological tradition." It is through polar or ideal types that a number of theorists have chosen to pursue an understanding of the essential characteristics of the urban place. The earlier works did not concern themselves so much with urban-rural dichotomies; rather they were more concerned with developing and delineating societal typologies and, as such, had a strong historical and developmental bias.¹ This historical and developmental bias was only later transformed into definitional criteria for cities as organizational systems. That this transformation far too often resulted in rather clumsy and difficult to measure criteria is all too true, but just as true is the fact that they have often provided the urban researcher with a

¹ This, of course, isn't totally true. Urban-rural differences were implicit in most of the arguments and were often used as examples and illustrations of societal differences.

conceptual scheme which has made sense from seemingly unexplainable and disconnected observations. These typologies have provided the student of urban structure and urban communities with an organizational model which has proved quite useful for the delineation of social characteristics found in urban places; that is, they have provided a framework wherein urban and rural differences can be classified. That the city is different from rural areas cannot be gainsaid. Urban places differ from rural places not only in size, density and complexity but in a number of qualitative factors which affect the style and quality of life of their inhabitants. It is these factors which are dealt with best by the polar typologies which have been common to the literature of urban sociology for the last one hundred years or so.

Ferdinand Toennies--Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

Toennies, in 1888, early delineated a typology of social organization with his contrast between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Toennies saw the historical development of societies as a trend from Gemeinschaft-like relationships--those based upon kinship, locality and friendship--toward Gesellschaft-like relationships--those based upon individuality, self-interest and complex role differentiation.

For Toennies Gemeinschaft-like relationships were ideally expressed in the husband-wife, mother-child, and brother-sister relationships. Gemeinschaft-like associations are comprised of intense, long lasting and natural bonds between members. Gemeinschaft-like relationships stemmed from what Toennies termed natural will (Wesenwille). Natural will was "inborn and inherited" (Toennies, 1957:105), and as

such consisted of feelings and attitudes uncontaminated with man-made organizational interventions. In Gemeinschaft-like societies relationships were formed around kinship, proximity and mutual fate. Modernization and the ascendancy of cities lead to the downfall of Gemeinschaft-like associations in societies.

For Toennies it was the city which not only exemplified Gesellschaft, but led to the inevitable loss of Gemeinschaft.

. . . (T)he towns by their influence and importance achieve, in the nation, predominance over the rural organization. In consequence, country and village must use more of their own productive forces for the support and furtherance of the urban areas than they can spare for purposes of reproduction. Therefore, the rural organization is doomed to dissolution, which in consequence leads later on to the decay of its organs and functions. (Toennies, 1957:233)

Gesellschaft, then, can be seen as an historical development exhibiting what Toennies termed rational will (Kurwille). Rational will in contrast to natural will was the product of thinking--it was purposive, designing and adaptive and as such led to relationships which were based on principles not found in those deriving from natural will. Whereas kinship, proximity and mutual fate are the organizational basis of Gemeinschaft, efficiency, rationality and the division of labor were the basis of Gesellschaft. Gesellschaft represents a new order, an organization built upon human invention, characterized by complexity and aimed toward an efficient ordering of human affairs.

Toennies is important in that he was the first to publish a typology which attempted to distinguish between urban and rural systems of organization. Although Toennies tended to see these as societal typologies, there can be no doubt that Gemeinschaft was best represented by rural, agrarian locations while Gesellschaft was exemplified by cities.

But Toennies lacked the scientific bent of modern urban theorists and this perhaps was his major problem. Toennies was heavily influenced by the work of nineteenth century German philosophers; Community and Society comes off more as a philosophical tract than as social science. His notions of natural and rational will are tools of philosophy, not social science, and as such are exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to operationalize. In addition it is not conceptually clear from Toennies just how rational will was to achieve ascendancy over natural will except by reifying a dichotomy which he invented to explain historical change. It was to be Emile Durkheim, writing five years later in 1893, who was to provide sociology with a much more workable and understandable societal typology.

Emile Durkheim--Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

The basis for Durkheim's argument was what he saw as an increasingly complex division of labor. Durkheim was intrigued with specialization; he saw individuals as becoming increasingly specialized both as to how they earned a living and in how they associated with others on a day-to-day basis. This division of labor served the function of increasing solidarity in society and, furthermore, was fundamentally different from an earlier system of solidarity. This earlier system of solidarity Durkheim termed the mechanically solidary society. Mechanically solidary societies were not based upon a highly differentiated division of labor but were, instead, organized around likeness. Individuals formed bonds around homogeneous characteristics; communities were uniform and stable. All members of society understood, more or

less, the roles of all other members and this resulted in solidarity based upon mutual understanding and shared skills. Kinship and location of residence were important mechanisms for binding people together as a social group. With increased differentiation of the division of labor in modern societies mechanical solidarity began to lose its binding force. Specialization would inevitably lead to a breakdown of social order if another mechanism of solidarity did not replace the old. This new system which was to replace mechanical solidarity was the organically solidary society. With organic solidarity social order was maintained not through likeness but through difference; societies became functionally integrated. Individuals performed specialized roles which were needed by the group but which could not be performed by others. This resulted in solidarity based essentially upon exchange relationships. Under mechanical solidarity each individual's worth depended upon how well he could do a multitude of tasks required by society; under organic solidarity this became a hindrance.

The praiseworthy man of former times is only a dilettante to us, and we refuse to give dilettantism any moral value; we rather see perfection in the man seeking, not to be complete, but to produce; who has a restricted task, and devotes himself to it; who does his duty, accomplishes his work.
(Durkheim, 1933:42)

The change from mechanically to organically solidary societies led to a new basis for establishing an individual's worth or value to the social order. The ideal individual personality is altered. No longer were individuals to be rewarded for their ability to be like others in thought and action, rather they are to be reward for

differentiation, for whatever specialized beliefs and abilities they could contribute to the common good.

Durkheim documented the historical change from mechanical to organic solidarity through the examination of the legal order. The two types of solidarity can be related to changes in the laws of society. Mechanical solidarity was dominated by what Durkheim referred to as repressive law. Repressive law was based largely upon revenge and defined a very strict moral order. Individuals were punished severely for infractions of this legal order which represented the strong common conscience of the group. Repressive law is rooted in consensus among societal members; violation of repressive laws threatens the consensus of the societal members. Organic solidarity, in contrast, is characterized by an increasing predominance of "restitutive law." Restitutive law does not derive from the common conscience of society; rather it seeks to maintain order "between restricted special parties in society whom they bind" (Durkheim, 1933:115). Restitutive law is not expected to reinforce and maintain society-wide values as repressive law was, but to maintain order and rules of behavior in a functionally interdependent society. Modern contract law is an example of restitutive law.

Durkheim anticipated many of the more recent students of urban organization. He was not interested only in the description of an historical development but presented us with a causal sequence as well. Increases in the division of labor in society were due to three variables;

(1) population density,² (2) heterogeneity and (3) secularization.

Population density for Durkheim was a primary factor in creating a complex division of labor. The advance of societies was directly related to the tendency for societal members to increase frequency of interaction with other members (moral density); furthermore, this increase in moral density is a necessary precondition of a complex division of labor. In Durkheim's words:

We say, not that the growth and condensation of societies permit, but that they necessitate a greater division of labor. It is not an instrument by which the latter is realized; it is its determining cause. (Durkheim, 1933: 262. Emphasis in the original.)

Concomitant with increasing density is heterogeneity of the population and heterogeneity presupposes a complex division of labor. High density populations cannot exist without a heterogeneous population. It is here that Durkheim precedes the social ecologists by stressing the importance of environmental conditions on social life.

In the same city, different occupations can co-exist without being obliged mutually to destroy one another, for they pursue different objects. The soldier seeks military glory, the priest moral authority, the statesman power, the businessman riches, the scholar scientific renown. Each of them can attain his end without preventing the others from attaining theirs. It is the same even when the functions are less separated from one another. The oculist does not struggle with the psychiatrist, nor the shoemaker with the hatter, nor the mason with the cabinet maker, nor the physicist with the chemist, etc. (Durkheim, 1933:267)

2

Durkheim distinguished between moral and physical density. Moral density can be operationalized through interaction frequency while physical density is a ratio of numbers to space. This distinction is of some importance to modern formulations of urban systems.

Ultimately heterogeneity and a complex division of labor serve the same function for human groups that species differentiation serves for the nonhuman world in that they allow large numbers of organisms to survive using a small amount of space.

Finally, Durkheim recognized the weakening of religion and tradition as binding forces in human societies as a major factor in the development of organically solidary societies. In mechanically solidary societies religion and tradition serve as a strong binding force between individuals by providing a reason, a purpose, and legitimacy for and to the group's existence. It is in this common tradition and the primacy of religion that the cohesiveness of mechanically solidary societies can be seen. With increasing differentiation and increasing technological change the cohesiveness provided by religion and tradition become attenuated. But cohesiveness must be maintained, Durkheim argued, if not by religion and tradition then by a functional integration which is secular and highly adaptive. This secular emphasis is common to all advanced societies. As a secular and rational society grows, the sacred and traditional values once in operation lose their grasp on individuals and become ambiguous in their relationship to individual behavior. For Durkheim this could be shown in the widening sphere of rational understanding.

One begins by putting out rules of faith beyond discussion; then discussion extends to them. One wishes an explanation of them; one asks their reasons for existing, and, once they submit to this search, they lose a part of their force. For reflective ideas never have the same constraining force as instincts. It is thus that deliberated movements have not the spontaneity of involuntary movements. Because it becomes more rational the collective conscience becomes less imperative, and for this reason, it wields less restraint over the free development of individual societies. (Durkheim, 1933:282)

In summary, Durkheim offered a typology which has been highly influential on later works. Much more than a philosophical tract, The Division of Labor in Society provides the student of urbanism and urbanization with a set of operationalizable variables. Size, density and heterogeneity have become three of the major variables of urban research. While several people have tried to redefine these variables to fit modern American cities (Abu-Lughod, 1968; Greer, 1962), they remain of considerable import. But Durkheim did more than specify variables which determined the movement from mechanical to organic solidarity; he also pointed to the social psychological effects of this transition. The transition from a rural to an urban society affects individuals, their way of life, their beliefs, their aspirations and their dealings with others. We have seen above the effects on religious beliefs which Durkheim posited but it wasn't until Louis Wirth was to publish "Urbanism as a Way of Life" in 1938 that these effects were to be given a firmly operational basis. We will discuss Wirth in some detail below.

Since the publication of The Division of Labor in Society there have been a large number of typologies which have attempted to expand and specify Durkheim's work in terms better fitted to the methods of modern sociology. Among these people was Charles Horton Cooley, an American contemporary of Durkheim, who brought together "the group" and "the individual" in a typology which has been among the most influential in sociology.

Charles H. Cooley--The Primary Group

The primary and secondary group typology has been prominent in urban literature. Although Cooley himself did not use the term "secondary" group, it was implicit in the primary group typology. It should be noted that Cooley's development of the primary group typology was arrived at independently of the works of Toennies and Durkheim; nevertheless, the primary group typology is complementary to the theoretical developments of Toennies and Durkheim.

Cooley explicated five chief characteristics of the primary group. They are:

- (1) Face-to-face association.
- (2) The unspecialized character of that association.
- (3) Relative permanence.
- (4) The small number of persons involved.
- (5) The relative intimacy among the participants.
(Cooley, 1909:5)

Secondary groups represent the polar opposites of the above characteristics such that they provide a continuum upon which to classify groups. Cooley's primary group is indicative of Toennies' *Gemeinschaft* and Durkheim's mechanical solidarity but it is not equivalent. Since Cooley's typology is social psychological in nature rather than a societal typology it can only be used as an indicator of *Gemeinschaft* and mechanical solidarity. Where we find a high degree of mechanical solidarity we should find a preponderance of primary relationships and conversely where we find organic solidarity we should find a preponderance of secondary relationships. This is an important notion

as primary relationships have become central to describing and testing urban and rural differences, as will be seen below.

There have been, to be sure, several other typologies which have attempted to describe and explain societal attributes. Among the most contributory has been Redfield's (1947) "Folk-Urban Continuum." The primary characteristics of folk society are: (1) they are small, each member is known to each other member, (2) they are homogeneous, (3) they are technologically simple, (4) they have a simple division of labor, and (5) the kinship system is central to group functioning. Urban societies are simply composed of the opposites.

Howard Becker (1950) put forward his typology of sacred and secular societies which shares much in common with Redfield. Becker concentrated on the belief systems of different societies. He saw sacred societies--small, isolated and simple--as rooted in traditional and unchallengeable beliefs about the world. Individual behavior conforms to group expectations because it is expected. Secular societies, in contrast, are rooted in rational, logical and scientific beliefs about the nature of the world. Change is not feared but seen as an inevitable by-product of development. Becker's typology is important to the study of urbanism and urbanization in that it provides us, as does Cooley's primary group, with a mechanism for looking at the urban and rural personality. Becker's work is grounded in cultural belief systems and as such should be reflected in the beliefs of individuals concerning appropriate behaviors, morality, child rearing and a host of other beliefs around which people rationalize

their lives. Ultimately, we must be able to reduce the societal typology to a set of measurable characteristics; the typologies of Becker and Cooley provide some important guides for doing so.

Table I outlines the major characteristics of the typologies we have considered thus far. A number of similarities can be noted. Three characteristics are common to all rural societies as developed in the five typologies. These characteristics are (1) belonging based upon kinship, (2) homogeneity of members and (3) community based upon proximity. In addition, two other characteristics, while not being common to all of the typologies, are central to at least three--the division of labor and religiosity. There seems to be, then, a high degree of consensus among major typologists in their conceptions of rural vs. urban typologies. For the most part rural societies can be conceived of as consisting of five central characteristics. The most distinguishing characteristic is a simple division of labor. Rural societies have a limited number of occupational roles to which individuals belong. Urban societies, in contrast, are characterized by a complex division of labor with numerous occupational roles which are functionally related to each other. The basis for social interaction in rural societies is based upon kinship and proximity while social interaction in urban societies is based upon functional role relationships and interest. Normative expectations in rural societies are based upon religious and traditional notions of social behavior while urban societies are based upon secular and rational notions of behavior. Table II illustrates these basic differences. The most important single characteristic is probably the division of labor; the other characteristics

TABLE I
CENTRAL TENETS OF THE VARIOUS TYPOLOGIES AS
THEY RELATE TO URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCES

	Rural	Urban
Toennies	Gemeinschaft Social organization based upon: 1. kinship 2. proximity 3. mutual fate 4. natural will	Gesellschaft 1. convention 2. public opinion 3. efficacy 4. division of labor 5. rational will
Durkheim	Mechanically Solidary Societies 1. kinship 2. proximity 3. mutuality of skills and understanding 4. religiosity	Organically Solidary Societies 1. functional integration based on high division of labor 2. secular 3. rationality
Cooley	Primary Group 1. face to face interaction 2. unspecialized roles 3. permanent 4. small 5. intimate	Secondary Group* 1. specialized roles 2. goal oriented 3. large 4. short lived
Redfield	Folk Society 1. small 2. kinship based 3. physically close 4. sacred	Urban Society 1. large 2. high division of labor 3. exchange based 4. secular
Becker	Sacred Societies 1. physically, socially and mentally isolated 2. traditional basis of social structure 3. kinship 4. simple division of labor	Secular Societies 1. physically, socially and internally accesible 2. science and rationality social structure bases 3. nuclear family is primary kinship system 4. complex division of labor

*Secondary group was not a term used by Cooley but was developed later as the opposite of primary group.

TABLE II
CENTRAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL AND URBAN SOCIETIES
AS ADAPTED FROM THE MAJOR TYPOLOGISTS

	Rural	Urban
Major distinguishing characteristic	Simple division of labor	Complex division of labor
Central bases of associations	Kinship, proximity	Interest, exchange
Bases of normative expectations	Religiosity, tradition	Secular, rational

can be seen as consequences of the complexity of the division of labor within the group. A complex division of labor as Durkheim suggested leads to a number of alterations within the group so that solidarity can be maintained.

The value of the typologies discussed above has only limited use for the study of urban-rural differences within a given society. Before they can be applied in this way they must be translated into measurable indicators with which to look at intra-societal differences. To achieve this we must turn our attention to two additional areas of inquiry, human ecology and social psychology.

CHICAGO AND THE GROWTH OF AN URBAN SOCIOLOGY

During the 1920's and 1930's researchers at the University of Chicago were developing the groundwork for a new field of sociology. Although ecological research was not new--Durkheim made extensive use of ecological writings in his work on mechanical and organic solidarity--it was to be the Chicago researchers who were to ground ecological studies from biology and geography firmly in the

growing urban centers of the early twentieth century. The works of Park, Burgess and McKenzie (1925), McKenzie (1926) and Park (1936) were at the forefront of the developing school. The human ecologists at Chicago were primarily responsible for stressing the importance of the physical setting and the behaviors, structures and cultures of human groups. People do not act without regard to the physical environment; it impinges upon them by hindering or facilitating certain patterns of behavior. Burgess' (1925) essay on the growth of cities was the culmination of this early work. Burgess attempted to relate physical growth to cultural and structural variables of human groups. The essence of this emerging ecological theory was a view of social organization as a dependent variable with environmental conditions as the independent variable. Social organization was not simply the result of human relationships and interactions; rather it was dependent as well upon non-social variables. The city, because it represented a radical departure from older environmental conditions, was the perfect place to study these environmental effects. Since the city was fundamentally different from rural areas, this contrast would be expected to show itself in various social and cultural variables.

A number of techniques of urban analysis grew out of the early work of the human ecologists. Zorbaugh (1926) looked at "natural areas" of the city.

. . . (J)ust as there is a plant ecology whereby, in the struggle for existence, like geographical regions become associated with like "communities" of plants, mutually adapted, and adapted to the area, so there is a

human ecology whereby in the competition of the city and according to definable processes, the population of the city is segregated over natural areas into natural groups. And these natural areas and natural groups are the "atoms" of city growth, the units we try to control in administering and planning for the city. (Zorbaugh, 1926:196. Emphasis added.)

With Zorbaugh's development of the natural area we have the wedding of environmental and social behavior. People adapt to and develop within a given space; furthermore, by understanding the environmental variables we can better understand social organization. The technique of social area analysis has also been heavily influenced by the work of these early writers. (See, for example, Shewsky and Bell, 1953.)

Although the early human ecologists did not make any explicit attempts at delineating the interrelations between the physical environment and social variables, they were instrumental in providing a justification for the inclusion of physical environment in the study of social variables. Perhaps the most important contribution of the Chicago people has been the notion that urbanization has produced some rather fundamental alterations in the social system. While Durkheim proposed a general societal typology based upon development and growth, Park and his associates grounded this typology in the urban experience of twentieth century America. If the physical structure of the city engenders or contributes to a particular type of social organization might not rural areas engender or contribute to a different type of social organization. The societal typologies of Toennies, Durkheim and others could be made useful for the analysis of inter-societal systems.

While the Chicago people were attempting to explicate urban effects on social organization social psychologists at other universities were beginning to look at its effects on the personality and attitude systems of urban residents. One of these was, of course, Cooley; another was George Simmel. Simmel (1970) posited that the high number of personal contacts and quick pace of the city led to an "intensification of nervous stimulation" which, in turn, led to personality characteristics of high rationality, anonymity and practicality. Simmel termed this urban personality structure the "blase attitude."

The blase attitude results first from the rapidly changing and closely compressed contrasting stimulation of the nerves . . . In the same way, through the rapidity and contradictoriness of their changes, more harmless impressions force such violent responses, tearing the nerves so brutally hither and thither that their lost reserves of strength are spent, and if one remains in the same milieu they have no time to gather new strength. An incapacity thus emerges to react to new sensations with the appropriate energy. This constitutes that blase attitude which, in fact, every metropolitan child shows when compared with children of quieter and less changeable milieus. (Simmel, 1970:39)

Simmel provided an early, if somewhat comedic, conceptualization of the effects of urban life on people and this conceptualization was, as will be shown shortly, the basis for a whole school of sociology, notably the symbolic interactionists.

Human ecologists such as Park and Burgess were operating along a line of research which was considerably different from the work of the social psychologists such as Simmel and Cooley. While the ecologists were involved in the effects of urbanization on macrosociological variables, the social psychologists were interested in urban effects on personal relationships and personality. These two lines of

research were to come together in the work of one of Park's students, Louis Wirth, who in 1938 wrote an article entitled "Urbanism as a Way of Life," which was to become one of the most influential pieces to come out of the Chicago school.

Louis Wirth--A Social Psychology of the City

Wirth (1938) provided students of the city with a number of hypotheses concerning the effects of urban living on a number of social psychological variables. Wirth defined the city along the lines suggested by Durkheim in the Division of Labor in Society, to wit:

For sociological purposes a city may be defined as a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals. (Wirth, 1938:49)

Wirth then made the transition from urban society to urban localities within society and began an interest in urban versus rural lifestyle which has lasted until present time. These three variables--size, density, and heterogeneity--account for much of a human group's social organization; modify them and changes occur. These changes affect not only the macro-organizational variables Park and others talked about but personal organization as well.

With increasing size, density, and heterogeneity:

The bonds of kinship, of neighborliness, and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a common folk tradition are likely to be absent or, at best, relatively weak in an aggregate the members of which have such diverse origins and backgrounds. Under such circumstances competition and formal control mechanisms furnish the substitutes for the bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to hold a folk society together. (Wirth, 1938:52)

The close comparison between Wirth and the typologists is clear. Wirth is clearly operating on the same set of assumptions.

But another variable expresses itself here. Migration seems to be a prerequisite to the growth of formal controls as a substitute for informal ones. It would seem that urban inhabitants must come from "diverse origins and backgrounds" before we can expect to see the loss of informal controls which Wirth hypothesized. We will deal with this notion in a future chapter as it will become quite important, not only for this study, but for the study of urban lifestyles in general.

Another effect of urban living is the "segmentalization of human relationships."

Characteristically, urbanites meet one another in highly segmental roles. They are, to be sure, dependent upon more people for the satisfactions of their life-needs than are rural people and thus are associated with a greater number of organized groups, but they are less dependent upon particular persons and their dependence upon others is confined to a highly fractionalized aspect of the other's round of activity. This is essentially what is meant by saying that the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts. The contacts of the city may indeed be face to face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental. The reserve, the indifference, and the blase outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others. (Wirth, 1938:53)

What Wirth is arguing is simply that urban living creates a bond of exchange or utility between urban individuals. People interact largely for the reason of goal achievement rather than any intrinsic personal satisfaction found within the relationship. This notion, too, is parallel to that of most of the typologists but it was also a foundation of the then emerging school of symbolic interaction which was based strongly on a notion of negotiation. This segmentalized

personality may lead to anomie or to a personality which is highly adaptable to the different kinds of others with which an individual must deal. Wirth (1938) again:

The juxtaposition of divergent personalities and modes of life tends to produce a relativistic perspective and a sense of toleration of differences which may be regarded as prerequisites for rationality and which lead toward the secularization of life. (p. 55)

The picture of the individual drawn by Wirth is one of a lack of grounding in traditional beliefs, a lack of community which ties him to an area and a lack of stable relationships. The individual thus becomes a manipulator of others and a seeker of stability which can be found only through his or her own initiative. This lack of grounding and stability results in a number of pathological problems such as mental breakdown, suicide, delinquency, etc.

Wirth also implicitly suggests that the neighborhood as a center of organization loses much of its efficacy for urban dwellers. With the disappearance of the territorial unit as a basis of social solidarity people switch to interest units (Wirth, 1938:62). It is interest and exchange, controlled formally, which bind people together rather than proximity, which is the binding force in rural communities.

We have from Wirth a number of testable hypotheses concerning urban-rural differences. These hypotheses can be put into three general categories. Urban living promotes the following changes in life style:

- (1) The loss of, or weakening of, primary relationships,
characterized by a weakening of the family, an increase
in secondary relationships, and a weakening of
religious ties;

- (2) The development of a distinctly urban personality,
characterized by rationality, utility, adaptability;
- (3) The development of a community based upon interest
rather than locality, characterized by a decline of
neighborliness and formation of friendship circles
outside the immediate neighborhood.

Although additional rural-urban contrasts have been advanced, my reasons for choosing the above three are that they (1) have been shared by a number of scholars discussing urban-rural differences, (2) they have a research background which enables analysis, (3) they are especially important for the study of urban aged (this will be made clear below), and (4) they are sufficiently general to include a number of more specific hypotheses.

It should also be clear that the three hypotheses provided by Wirth are more or less equivalent with the central differences outlined in the typologies mentioned above. We have with Wirth a set of operational hypotheses which have an extensive background in the literature. As a consequence much of urban sociology has involved itself in the testing and refinement of the hypotheses set down by Wirth. I shall now turn to a more complete specification of the hypotheses with an eye to bringing in the work of a number of other individuals who have helped to provide a rather extensive background for the study of rural-urban differences.

THE WEAKENING OF PRIMARY RELATIONSHIPS

Since Cooley's (1909) development of the primary group concept, primary groups and relationships have become a central tool in sociology. Primary relationships have been seen as functional necessities for the maintenance of society. Without primary relationships humans cannot develop. They are considered absolutely essential. Hodges (1971) writes:

The primary group is and must be present from the very beginning of human life. In the form of parents and child, it is the crucial incubator of human nature. Nor, of course, does its importance dissipate with the formative years. The child, the adolescent, the adult: each seeks and must find a succession of primary relationships, of intimate peers where he can be accepted and needed for himself, where he can test and sustain his identity. On another level, primary relationships link individual and society, mediating and translating culturally prescribed values and norms with an immediacy that is beyond the capacity of such secondary agencies of socialization as the school and the mass media of communications. (p. 109)

The family is the most important single primary group to which individuals belong and as such it has received a great share of attention in the primary group and urban literature. Parsons (1942, 1971) has argued that industrialization leads to functional specialization of the American family. He argues that with increasing specialization throughout society the family no longer provides the myriad economic and socialization functions to the same extent that they did in non-urban societies. The family comes to serve socio-emotional needs almost to the exclusion of any others. This is not to underrate the importance of the family in America. The family is highly important as a basis of solidarity and for feelings of security. Be that as it may, however,

the family, primarily the extended family, for urban dwellers has become more a port in a storm than an ongoing basis of solidarity.

There certainly are some structured preferences on kinship bases, and others on those of geographical propinquity, but still there is a strong tendency for kinship to shade into friendship in the sense of absence from the latter of ascriptive components of membership. Hence, the amount of visiting, of common activity, of telephone and written communication, etc., is highly variable within formal categories of relationship. This suggests that extended kin constitute a resource which may be selectively taken advantage of within considerable limits. (Parsons, 1971:54)

The family then has become important primarily as a supportive unit. Individuals call upon their families for support during times of illness, during times of economic difficulties and when other interpersonal relationships become problematic as during migration. The family is no longer a central mechanism for the meeting of all of one's primary needs; rather it seems to fill a rather specific function. Friends, work, and leisure associates have subsumed many of the functions which were once the prerogatives of the family system.

In addition to reliance upon the extended family system rural areas are strongly involved with church and religious affiliations. The church in rural areas serves as a binding force for the community. It provides opportunities for social gatherings, for the trading of information, and for the socialization of new community members. But the solidarity created by church affiliations often requires a considerable amount of homogeneity of member characteristics. That is, church members are often considerably alike in terms of social class, beliefs, attitudes and values. With the segmentalization of urban life as well as the emphasis on rationality and exchange the ability of the

church to maintain its role in the community is weakened. Then too, a number of other voluntary associations arise to perform some of the duties which the church has historically served. Welfare agencies, neighborhood associations, bridge clubs, etc. all result in a weakening of the role of church and religion as a basis of solidarity.

It would be a mistake to argue that the family and the church as the basis for primary relationships have been lost in the city, for indeed they haven't; what has happened though is that these two institutions have come to share their role with a number of other segments and in so sharing have tended to lose some of their traditional functions. They have, in other words, become functionally specific.

On the basis of these arguments we might expect urban individuals to relate to their families differently from rural individuals, though not necessarily less. We might expect urban individuals to rely on friends and acquaintances for social and leisure pursuits more than rural people who might well depend on the family for these supports. We might also expect urban people to attend church less frequently than rural people.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN URBAN PERSONALITY

In 1950 David Riesman presented a case for what he called the "changing American character." Riesman argued that societies, due primarily to characteristics of population growth and distribution, produce a social character which is highly functional for that society. Riesman identified three social characters--(1) tradition directed

character, (2) inner-directed character, and (3) other-directed character. (Riesman, 1950:15).

Tradition-directed character emerges within societies which are characterized by a rigid social structure, strong family and kinship obligations and high stability. In Riesman's terms:

. . . (T)he conformity of the individual tends to be dictated to a very large degree by power relations among various age and sex groups, the clans, castes, professions, and so forth--relations which have been endured for centuries and are modified but slightly, if at all, by successive generations. The culture controls behavior minutely, and, while the rules are not so complicated that the young cannot learn them during the period of intensive socialization, careful and rigid etiquette governs the fundamentally influential sphere of kin relationships. (p. 11)

With the expansion of population due to the rapid reduction in death rates in Europe between 1650-1900 a new kind of character began to emerge. The population growth and the industrial revolution began to break down those stable and rigid cultures and, as a result, the tradition-directed character. This new inner-directed character is found in societies

characterized by increased personal mobility, by rapid accumulation of capital (teamed with devastating technological shifts), and by an almost constant expansion in exploration, colonization, and imperialism. The greater choices this society gives--and the greater initiatives it demands in order to cope with its novel problems--are handled by character types who can manage to live socially without strict and self-evident tradition-direction. These are the inner-directed types. (p. 15)

With inner-direction an amount of adaptability is essential. Socialization imbeds within an individual a general goal to be reached but at the same time he must be capable of adapting to changing situations.

Inner-directed personalities are still rigid but they are highly individualized. (p. 15). Riesman terms the inner-directed character as a "transitional" personality which was to be supplanted, only recently, by the other-directed personality. Many of the same variables which Wirth discussed were influential in the downfall of the inner-directed personality, notably, increasing occupational specialization and increasing contact with other people in secondary relationships. The other directed personality is an urban personality. It is dependent upon others for its development and maintenance. The other-directed person is in Goffman's terms a "presenter of self" who directs that presentation to others and adapts it dependent upon the feedback he gets. There are few, if any, stable aspects of the personality. The total control of the tradition-directed and the personal striving of the inner-directed are gone; in place of them there develops an adaptable and changing personality which can be at home with a number of diverse audiences.

Riesman pointed out that the other-directed personality was not necessarily the model personality for the United States. He argued, however, that it was rapidly becoming the dominant one. With the spread of urbanization and the growth of the media, mass education and the dominance of the city the other-directed personality would become the most common. Riesman also provides a transition to the interactionist school of sociology for within the other-directed personality lies the basic notions or assumptions of people like Goffman (1959, 1967, 1971), Stone (1970) and Scott and Lyman (1970), to name only a few.

A basic notion of the interactionists is that human behavior is determined not so much by the internalization of a morality and a personality at an early age, but by its dependency upon negotiated interaction within situational contexts. Sociological theory has been dominated by the structural-functional or consensus school of sociology for most of the twentieth century. Structural-functional theorists have viewed society as though it were made up of individuals sharing a set of values, upon which behavior was based. Individuals, through the socialization process, internalize a normative system which then guides their behaviors. Non-normative and deviant behavior could be explained as simply a breakdown in this process of internalization. The interactionists reject this notion of social behavior; they see it in Dennis Wrong's (1961) terms as an "oversocialized conception of man." Interactionists argue that modern, urban industrial societies cannot be seen as a cohesive whole based upon consensus among members. There is no single normative order, but several; furthermore, these normative orders are not preset and stable, but are negotiated within situational contexts. That is, interaction between actors within situational boundaries creates a normative order that it, to an extent, restricted to the situation and others like it in which the order emerged. The interactionists see man very much like Riesman's other-directed personality while the structural functionalists are in line with the tradition- and inner-directed personality.

It goes almost without saying that sociological conceptions of human behavior are very much dependent upon the empirical conditions of

the time in which they are developed. In other words, sociology is not an ahistoric science and its theories have not been timeless; if the basis of social organization is altered, as Durkheim and others suggested it was, then we might expect individual behavior to adapt to this change. It is entirely conceivable that large, heterogeneous societies are not, indeed cannot, be based upon a shared normative system. The individual becomes not the follower of a preconceived and programmed order but a manipulator, a negotiator and a presenter of self. The interactionists have made a strong case for this but this case can only hold up in the context of a considerable amount of ambiguity within society, an ambiguity created by a lack of information concerning the other people with whom an individual interacts. This, of course, is the basis of Wirth's discussion of the city. The urbanite must find and negotiate a set of primary relationships; he is not assigned them; he must deal with a number of people about whom he knows little on a purely secondary, goal-oriented basis. He is anonymous and, being so, he can create an image of himself for others which cannot be effectively challenged by others. The importance of appearance in urban environments illustrates this quite well. Wirth pointed to the importance of uniforms as identity providers within an urban environment. The uniform of the policeman provides an immediate pointer to others of the identity of the wearer. But appearance goes beyond uniforms; clothes in general are basic identity providers in the city. Stone (1970) states:

As the self is dressed, it is simultaneously addressed, for whenever we clothe ourselves, we dress "toward" or address some audience whose validating responses are essential to the establishment of our self. (p. 404)

Here can be seen man the manipulator, the presenter and the negotiator and this can only take place when the individual is unknown, or relatively unknown, to those he is seeking to manipulate.

It would seem then that the interactionist school of sociology could only develop within a complex urban society. Furthermore, to the extent that the interactionists are correct in their analyses we can attribute a distinct personality to urban inhabitants. The urbanite's personality and his or her basis for identity formation are rooted in an adaptable personality and in individuality. In contrast, ruralites have an identity entrenched in group membership and a stable personality. Identity and personality can be seen as highly problematic in urban areas, something people make for themselves while ruralites are, to a greater extent, ascribed an identity and personality.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INTEREST BASED COMMUNITY

A considerable number of researchers have noted that urban communities exhibit some rather marked differences from rural communities in the way they are organized. Ericksen (1954) reflected the thoughts of many earlier writers in arguing a differential basis of association formation between urban and rural areas.

In the view of this writer, association in the country depends more upon-(1) kinship, -(2) propinquity, and (3) tradition while association in the city depends upon (1) personal interests, (2) cultural status as revealed through such indices as education and occupation, and (3) ideology. (Ericksen, 1954:464)

Warren (1969) argued for a shift from what he called a horizontal basis of organization to a vertical basis of organization.

Conventional community theory is set up to emphasize the horizontal axis, the factor of locality, the factor of common interests, common life, common associations, common institutions based on locality. And it is just this factor which is becoming progressively weaker as time goes on.

It can be readily seen that Warren is taking an historical view rather than a distinctly urban vs. rural notion but it would also be apparent that this historical view is consonant with the urban-rural differences posited by a number of other authors. Tomlinson (1969) provides us with a convenient connection between the historical development and the urban-rural differences view.

Rejection of proximity or propinquity as a prominent, if not the foremost, determinant of one's friendships, marital choice and kind of work is a major achievement of modern urban civilization--a power that rural dwellers rarely even had. (Tomlinson, 1969:69)

The notion of an interest based community is an extremely important one in that it provides an explanation for the seeming disappearance of the neighborhood as a factor in the maintenance of social cohesion.³ Urban communities can no longer be seen as being organized around a particular geographical area in that relationships tend to be formed between people who work together and/or between people who share the same formal or informal organizational ties. Neighbor has become a

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I say seeming disappearance because this is a highly debatable issue. It would appear that there are a number of factors which might well maintain a cohesive neighborhood within the city.

largely non-functional category at least in terms of social cohesion. Willis (1972), in an analysis of a considerable amount of evidence, argues the neighborhood has lost its significance as a social unit in the British New Towns. The physical design of the New Towns put heavy emphasis on the planning of specific neighborhood areas in which neighbors could form a socially cohesive whole. It turned out that few of the residents were inclined to follow the designers' dictates. Residents often saw the boundaries of the neighborhood, boundaries which often provided only limited access to other areas, as a hindrance to the maintenance of social relationships rather than as a facilitator of the same.

If the interest based community is the dominant form of social cohesion in the city we might appropriately inquire as to the consequences of this change from the rural community based upon geographical proximity. The major result, and one which is a major point of Wirth, is a loss of control by the members of a geographical area or the inhabitants of that area. This loss of control is due to the fact that the individual has been freed from the necessity of forming relationships solely because of residential location. Individuals need not rely on neighborhood organizations for group support. Janowitz (1952) aptly termed the urban community one of "limited liability."

The individual, responding to the general cultural norms, is likely to demand more from his community than he will invest. But more significantly, his relation to the community is such that when the community fails to serve his needs, he will withdraw. Withdrawal implies either departure from the local community or merely lack of involvement. (Janowitz, 1952:225)

It would seem then that a strong case has been made for the loss of proximity as an important factor of community organization in the city. It should also be clear that this loss of proximity coupled with alterations in types of primary relationships and personality alterations could lead to an urban life style which is considerably different from rural life styles.

I have, to some extent, discussed the effects of the above three hypotheses on personal adaptation to the city. I have argued that the structural characteristics of urban places engender a particular personal organization of its inhabitants which rural places do not. Milgram (1970) believes that much of the adaption individuals make to city life is due to "overload." Overload

refers to a system's inability to process inputs from the environment because there are too many inputs for the system to cope with, or because successive inputs come so fast that input A cannot be processed when input B is presented. When overload is present, adaptations occur. (Milgram, 1970:191)

Milgram's "adaptation to overload," Simmel's "blase attitude" and Wirth's increase in deviance all point to some of the presumed behavioral effects of urban living and it would behoove us to have some indication of the validity of these arguments.

There have been, to be sure, a number of detractors from the hypotheses discussed above. Research has, to date, been equivocal in its support or rejection of them. To here propose yet another test of what we might term the "Wirthian hypotheses," for want of a better term, might seem somewhat counterproductive, but there are valid and important reasons for so doing.

First, none of the research has been directed toward the urban aged. The aged occupy a unique position in the city. While the aged are currently disproportionately represented in the central cities, few of them were born and raised there. (This will be shown in Chapter II.) This means that a large proportion of the aged are migrants to the city. The issue of adaptation thus is an important one.

Second, urbanization is a relatively recent phenomenon. It has been less than sixty years since the United States has gone from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban society. This relatively short period of time could indicate that the society is still adjusting to the effects of this urban shift.

Third, the research to date concerning the Wirthian hypotheses has not been concerned with past residential histories of the subjects used. Since urbanization is relatively recent and since, therefore, a sizeable portion of current residents might have been rural raised, findings based upon current residences might well reflect attitudes and behaviors which were learned prior to coming to the city. In the case of older persons the similarities between rural and urban residents may be spurious.

For the above three reasons further analysis of rural-urban differences could be profitable. This dissertation represents an attempt, then, to gauge the effects of residential history on the three central hypotheses derived from the earlier formulations of Louis Wirth. The research will use the aged as a sample both because they, more than any other age group, represent rural upbringings and because they, more than any other age group, are at the mercy of the city and its institutions.

Some understanding of the effects of rural life histories on urban adaptation could have important implications for policy makers and planners.

With the continuing urbanization we might also expect the future aged to more and more represent urban residential histories. An understanding of rural-urban differences might well provide some useful information as to the changes in attitudes and behavior which could be expected in future aged cohorts. The future aged will be an even more heterogeneous group than the presently old, used to exercising a wide range of individual choices and may not take readily to the limiting of these choices because of old age. There is strong evidence that the aged will be better educated, financially better off, more vocal, more numerous and more urban than those who are old today. The objectives, therefore, of this research are threefold:

- (1) to find measurable differences in behavioral and/or attitudinal indicators, as suggested by the three hypotheses above, between aged individuals with urban or rural life histories;
- (2) to understand how these differences, if any, effect the life styles of those elderly who have predominantly urban or rural life histories; and
- (3) to explain how these differences might effect planning and policy decisions for present and future aged.

CHAPTER II

URBANIZATION AND MIGRATION IN THE U.S.

This chapter deals with the rate of urbanization in the United States and the lifetime migration histories of the aged population. The chapter is intended to show support for a basic assertion of this dissertation: to wit, that the current aged are decidedly non-urban in origin. In addition, some attention will be paid to research which has been undertaken on the adjustment problems of migrants to the city. This chapter, then, is an attempt to provide an underpinning upon which subsequent analysis will be based.

URBANIZATION

The urbanization of the population is a very recent development. Davis (1971) made this point succinctly:

Neither the recency nor the speed of this evolutionary development (urbanization) is widely appreciated. Before 1850 no society could be described as predominantly urbanized, and by 1900 only one, Great Britain, could be so regarded. Today, only 65 years later, all industrial nations are highly urbanized, and in the world as a whole, the process of urbanization is accelerating rapidly. (David, 1971:267)

The major period of urban growth in the United States has occurred recently, with the highest rate of urbanization occurring between 1950 and 1970! Table III illustrates the growth of the urban population in the U.S. between 1880 and 1970. The census data, upon which Table III is

TABLE III
PERCENT URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS IN
THE UNITED STATES, 1880 - 1970*

	Urban	Rural
1880	28.2	71.8
1890	35.1	64.9
1900	39.6	60.4
1910	45.6	54.4
1920	51.2	48.8
1930	56.1	43.5
1940	56.5	43.5
1950	59.6	40.4
1960	63.0	37.0
1970	73.5	26.5

*From U.S. Bureau of the census, 1970
Census of the Population

based, may tend to overestimate the extent of urbanization somewhat by the inclusion of towns with populations between 2,500 and 25,000 as urban even when they are located outside of urbanized areas. With these smaller cities deleted, the proportion of the population in urban locations remains high. For example, since 1960 the U.S. Census Bureau has used the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as a means of measuring urban populations.⁴ Looking at SMSA's only, 66.7 percent of

⁴
SMSA's are areas which are predominated by large cities but include surrounding areas which are functionally related to the cities.

the population lived within SMSA's in 1960 while in 1970 that percentage was increased to 68.7 percent. Deducting the population living in cities between 2,500 and 25,000 outside of SMSA's it can be seen that only 4.8 percent of the U.S. population lives in these areas.

Historically, the growth of the urban population in the U.S. has come about through three general tendencies: the migration of people from rural to urban areas, the physical growth of cities to include formerly non-urban areas and through natural increase. Urban growth due to migration and natural increase were the strongest factors during the earlier stages of urban growth while very recent trends in urbanization have tended to be caused, at least as much, by physical growth. Davis (1971) summing up the importance of this trend, states:

Clearly the world as a whole is not fully urbanized, but it soon will be. This change in human life is so recent that even the most urbanized countries still exhibit the rural origins of their institutions. Its full implications for man's organic and social evolution can only be surmised.
(p. 267)

MIGRATION

Urban growth due to migration is especially important for the study of the aged in American society. The current aged were, for the most part, born into a non-urban society. They were to become the first large wave of migrants to the burgeoning urban centers in the late 1930's and early 1940's from rural areas. While data on lifetime migration are both complex and incomplete, some do exist which provide a clue to the rural backgrounds of today's aged. Table IV compares place of birth with place of current residence for different cohorts at selected ages. For the

TABLE IV
COMPARISON BETWEEN SIZE OF BIRTHPLACE AND SIZE
OF CURRENT PLACE, FOR COHORTS
AT SELECTED AGES*

Cohort: Age in 1958 and Yrs. of Birth	Age	Size of Place at Specified Age Compared to Size of Birthplace			Ratio of Larger to Smaller
		Same	Larger	Smaller	
55-64 (1893-1903)	18	79.2	14.8	6.0	2.5
	24	66.8	25.1	8.1	3.1
	34	56.0	33.1	10.9	3.0
	44	52.9	35.7	11.4	3.1
	55-64	44.4	40.2	15.4	2.6
65 and over (to 1893)	18	80.9	13.8	5.3	2.6
	24	70.0	22.7	7.3	3.1
	34	58.0	32.5	9.5	3.4
	44	57.3	33.0	9.7	3.4
	65 and over	41.5	44.2	14.3	3.1

*From Karl E. Taeuber, (1963) p. 456.

65 and over cohort the figures are quite revealing. The lifetime migration of this cohort indicates a decided urban trend with 44.2 percent of the cohort residing in a larger place than in which they were born. The movement from farm to non-farm locations is equally revealing. The Institute of Interdisciplinary Studies, commenting on residence histories of the 65+ cohort 10 years later, states:

Of this cohort, 38.7% were born to parents residing on farms. A full 33.8% of the cohort lived on farms at the age of 18. Only 14.5% of the cohort, however lived on farms at the age of 65 or older. These data indicate a substantial movement of people from farms to other locations during the course of their lives. Examination of the changes in the percentages living in metropolitan and other non-metropolitan areas shows corresponding increases.
(U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1974:240)

While it appears clear that the current aged were born and spent their early years in rural areas, the question as to when migration occurs remains unanswered. The data bearing on this problem are somewhat unclear but we do have some information. Table V provides broad data on the general direction of internal migration in the United States and clearly shows that the urbanward shift in the population far outweighs other migration patterns. Furthermore, Shryock and Larmon (1965:587) note that this urbanward shift was highest for women and had a tendency to increase with age. While the highest likelihood of changing residence occurs in young adulthood, there is some increase in migration after the age of 65 with the older migrants having a somewhat stronger urbanward pattern. This urbanward shift of the aged is especially important for our purposes here. Returning to Table IV, we find that while 41.5 percent of those 65 and over in 1958 were in the same size

TABLE V
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY BROAD TYPE OF MOBILITY HISTORY
OF THE CIVILIAN, NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION
OF THE UNITED STATES, MAY, 1968

MOBILITY HISTORY	PERCENT
Always same type of residence	56.9
Circular	7.1
Urbanward	29.2
Ruralward	6.8
Net Urbanward	22.4

From Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 25,
1968

place they were born in, 44.2 percent had moved to a larger place and 14.3 percent to a smaller place of residence. This represents an increase in migration from the time these people were 44 years of age of about 11.2 percent for urbanward migration and 4.6 percent for ruralward migration. Although Table IV does not clearly indicate that these urbanward shifts have occurred after the age of 65, there are other data which do provide some evidence of an urbanward trend for those over 65. Sclar (undated), in a study of aging and residential mobility in Boston between 1930 and 1970, found that the central city became disproportionately aged while the surrounding areas became younger; indeed, between 1930 and 1970 the areas with a high proportion of aged residents shifted from the outlying areas to the city center.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine how much of this change is due to migration of the younger cohorts. Cowgill (1970) has argued that while the high proportion of aged in the central city is primarily due to outmigration of the young, there remains a tendency toward increased urbanward movement of people between the ages of 65 and 70 which appears to be associated with retirement and widowhood.

It would appear then, that though the data on lifetime migration patterns are somewhat ambiguous, it can be said with relative certainty that the aged in American cities today come there from backgrounds which are decidedly rural in character. It is also possible to state that though much of this migration occurred when these people were young adults an additional, if smaller, influx occurs after the age of 65.

The question arises whether or not these rural backgrounds have any effect on the ability of the aged to adapt to urban life. Some gerontological literature has pointed to the predominantly rural backgrounds of the aged but little analytical importance has been placed on these backgrounds. Hochschild (1973), for example, found that the residents of an apartment house for the aged in a California city had developed what she termed an "unexpected community." The residents interacted frequently with each other, shared each others' joys and sorrows, aided each other in times of stress and gossiped incessantly. Hochschild did not overlook the predominantly rural origins of the residents.

Merrill Court is a strange mixture of old and new, of a vanishing Oakie culture and a new blue-collar life style, of rural ways in urban settings, of small town community in mass society, of people oriented toward the young in an age-separated subculture. These internal immigrants to the

working-class neighborhoods of West Coast cities and suburbs indeed perceived their new environment through small town eyes. (Hochschild, 1973:45-46)

Although Hochschild noted the rural character of the Merrill Court residents, she failed to take it into account in her subsequent analysis. Whether or not this same type of "unexpected community" would develop among aged who have been lifelong residents of urban environments is an issue which should be addressed.

ADJUSTMENT OF MIGRANTS TO THE CITY

The literature on the adaptation of migrants to urban life, while rather extensive in volume, is rather meager in findings.

Sanua (1970), for example, in a review of the extensive research on migration and its effects on mental illness rates, states:

A general conclusion which we can draw from this review is that some migrations are related to greater risks in mental health and some migrations are related to favorable mental health. (Sanua, 1970:338-339)

It would seem then that not much can be said by way of explaining the effects of migration on migrants. Numerous studies have attempted to correlate migration with mental illness, with family and kinship associations, with participation in formal and informal groups, and a host of other variables. While any kind of firm generalization concerning the problem is premature considering the state of the research, a few tentative generalizations will be attempted.

Most of the work to date points to the conclusion that migrants differ from non-migrants on participation and attitudes measures but that these differences are minimized with the passage of time. In

other words, migrants tend to adapt to their surroundings. This rather unexciting conclusion is not without a certain amount of interest though. Zimmer (1955), for instance, found that in terms of participation in formal organizations and officership in formal organization, migrants generally tended to approximate participation rates of the natives with time. The length of time this takes was largely dependent upon age, social class and educational level. Young, middle-class migrants generally adapted rather rapidly while farm and older migrants never reach the participation rates of natives. Similarly, Gulick, Bowerman and Back (1962) found differences between migrants and natives in frequency of social visits with parents, number of friends in neighborhood and community satisfaction. While these differences generally tended to narrow with length of residence period, they too, were effected by social class variables, with the lower classes having a much slower rate of adaptation. It would seem then that a number of variables tend to exacerbate the problems of adaptation of migrants to the city. Women are more likely than men to suffer mental problems from migration (Butler, McAllister and Kaiser, 1973); farm migrants have lower rates of participation than urban migrants and exhibit differential attitudes (Zimmer, 1955; Fuller, 1970); members of the lower social classes have considerable difficulty with adaptation (Fuller, 1970; Zimmer, 1955; Gulick, Bowerman and Back, 1962); and finally, age of the migrant tends to be inversely related to participation rates (Beijer, 1963; Zimmer, 1955).

The conclusions which can be gleaned from the extant literature on migration provide some interesting and important material for the purposes of this dissertation. It is precisely those individuals who are most at risk of incomplete adjustment to urban life--the farm raised, the women, the poorly educated, and the old--with which this dissertation is concerned. The present elderly residents of the United States represent a cohort which ranks low on all of the variables which have been associated with adequate adjustment to urban life save one, length of residence. The extent to which length of residence mediates the difficulties of adaptation posed by the other variables is as yet unknown.

We are left, then, with the need to examine the extent to which the rural and farm raised aged have adapted to the conditions of urban life. There is good reason to suspect that a number of behavioral and attitudinal differences will exist. The social organizational differences between urban and rural areas, the recency of urbanization, the growth of urban areas through immigration and the rural backgrounds of the current aged all lead to the tentative conclusion that the city and its forms of social organization are especially problematic for the aged. We might also infer that much of our current psychological and sociological knowledge and theories concerning the aged are, in part, affected by an inability to adapt to an urban life style which is rapidly becoming the American life style. Most notable in this regard is disengagement theory. Disengagement theory was conceived by Cumming and Henry (1961) to explain the observed lack of participation of the elderly in societal life. Although considerable controversy has

developed around disengagement theory, it is not the intent of this research to enter into this controversy. Nevertheless it would not seem unreasonable to suspect that the likelihood of older people to disengage from social life might be due, in part, to rural backgrounds which lead to attitudes and behaviors ill fitted to a modern urban society. This being the case, we could expect in the future more urban old people to remain engaged for a much longer period of time.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

THE HYPOTHESES

As stated in Chapter I, the central purpose of this dissertation is to test three major hypotheses which have been developed by a number of urban theorists. We can, at this time, specify these hypotheses in a more specific manner which will enable their testing:

Hypothesis 1 - Lifelong urban residents are likely to exhibit less extensive primary group ties than are lifelong rural residents or urban migrants.

Although lifelong urban residents are likely to maintain more primary relationships by number alone it is to be expected that these relationships will be functionally specific. In other words, lifelong urban residents will maintain primary relationships for specific purposes, e.g., the family for emergency assistance and friends for socializing. Rural raised and urban migrants, in contrast, can be expected to maintain fewer primary relationships but these will be generalized and serve a wide range of supportive functions.

Hypothesis 2 - Lifelong urban residents are more likely to develop adaptable and individualistic personality structures than are lifelong rural residents or urban migrants.

Hypothesis two refers to the development of a distinctly urban personality. Lifelong rural residents are expected to maintain and value rather rigid, non-changing and conforming personality attributes.

Lifelong urban residents, unlike their rural counterparts, would be expected to maintain and value rather fluid, adaptive and individualistic personality attributes.

Hypothesis 3 - Lifelong urban residents are less likely to maintain a community based upon proximity than are lifelong rural residents or urban migrants.

Lifelong urban residents are expected to develop and maintain community involvements based upon interest rather than proximity. Urban residents should have more non-neighbor friendships than do rural residents. In addition, urbanites are expected to maintain a higher level of involvement in formal organizations, with the exception of religious organizations, than do ruralites.

While there are undoubtedly other hypotheses which could be derived from the literature, the data to be used for this dissertation limit the testing to the three explicated above.

DATA SOURCES

The data for this research come from two sources: (1) the 1975 General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center and (2) the Supplemental Security Income Survey conducted by the Institute on Aging at Portland State University in 1975.

The General Social Survey has been conducted yearly since 1972 by the National Opinion Research Center. It is an interview administered to a national sample using a standardized questionnaire. The 1975 survey was conducted on a sample of 1,490 persons 18 years of age and over during March and April of that year (National Opinion Research Center,

1975). The General Social Survey was designed to serve as a social indicator program and as such it offers data on a wide variety of attitude and behavioral indicators which bear on the hypotheses stated above. For this dissertation a subset of the General Social Survey sample was used consisting of all respondents (344) over the age of sixty. Sixty, rather than 65, was used because the General Social Survey reports respondents' ages in ten year intervals.

The Supplemental Security Income (SSI) Survey represents a sample of 400 older adults in the Portland, Oregon, metropolitan area. The survey was directed at low income aged who would be eligible for the Supplemental Security Income program administered by the Social Security Administration. The SSI Survey comprised an interview questionnaire administered to individuals aged 65 and over.

Like the General Social Survey the SSI Survey provides information on a number of attitudinal and behavioral indicators germane to the hypotheses upon which this dissertation are based. In addition, both the General Social Survey and the SSI Survey provide limited data on urban and rural background characteristics of the respondents.

THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The two major independent variables are operationalized as to where the respondent was living at age sixteen and where the respondent currently lives. Both the General Social Survey and the SSI Survey contain an item as to residence at age sixteen. The item is worded as follows:

Which of the categories (below) comes closest to the type of place you were living in when you were 16 years old.

1. In open country but not on a farm.
2. On a farm.
3. In a small city or town (under 50,000).
4. In a medium-sized city (50,000 - 250,000).
5. In a suburb near a large city.
6. In a large city (over 250,000).

All respondents who were either "on a farm" or "in open country but not on a farm" will be classified as rural at age sixteen (rural/then). All respondents who were "in a small city or town (under 50,000)" will be classified as a medium-sized town at age sixteen (medium/then). All respondents who were "in a medium-sized city (50,000 - 250,000)," "in a suburb near a large city" or "in a large city (over 250,000)" will be classified as urban at age sixteen (urban/then).

In addition to residence at age sixteen, the General Social Survey has data on size of current place of residence. These have been classified in the following terms: anyone living in an area with a population under 2,500 is classified as rural (rural/now) and anyone living within a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) is classified as urban (urban/now). No middle range was chosen for current residence. The reasons for this will become apparent shortly. The SSI Survey is comprised of respondents within the Portland Metropolitan area and as such all of the respondents are classified as urban/now.

There are, to be sure, problems inherent in the breakdowns used. First, the indicators of residence at sixteen and current place of residence are not exactly equivalent. This lack of equivalency forces

us to look at the variables as dichotomies and limits the kinds of analysis which can be used. For this reason much of the analysis will be based upon polar opposites ignoring the middle-sized areas which are quite ambiguous.

Secondly, there is no information on migration between age sixteen and now. Conceivably, a respondent could be classified as rural/then and rural/now even though the majority of his or her life was spent in urban areas. This should not be a major problem, however. Looking at Table IV on page 42, this circular migration pattern represents only a small proportion of the total migration picture. In addition, there are some data on migration available from the General Social Survey which lend support to the notion that this is a rather unlikely occurrence.

Finally, there is the possibility that some of the rural/then - urban/now respondents are non-migrants, that is, the place in which they were living at 16 grew or was encompassed by an urban place. It turns out that 12.4% of the 344 respondents over 60 years of age in the General Social Survey fit into that category. This will not necessarily confound the problems of analysis as there exists research which suggests that the effects of urbanization on the hypotheses with which I am here concerned also occur, to a lesser extent, from growth of the place of residence. Defining these respondents out of the sample would likely strengthen the differences found. For these reasons whether a respondent moved at some time to an urban place from a rural place, or whether the place where he has always lived grew from a rural place, or whether the is not considered an important or a frequent enough occurrence to damage the central questions of this research.

THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

A number of attitudinal and behavioral items within the General Social Survey and the SSI Survey will be used as dependent variables.

All items from each survey which bear upon the hypotheses were used.

The attitude items to be used will be of three general types:

(1) the respondents' satisfaction with various aspects of their lives, (2) the respondents' beliefs about appropriate behavior in selected people and situations and (3) the respondents' interpretations of how other people do or should behave. Behavioral items, in contrast, are generally concerned with reported frequency with which certain actions are undertaken, e.g., frequency of church attendance. Using both attitudinal and behavioral indicators may allow the research to make some statements as to which of these indicators shows the strongest relationship to residential history. It might well be possible that rural raised urban migrants maintain rural attitudes while adapting behaviorally to urban lifestyles. This would be an interesting finding for it might indicate that, while urban organizational systems can induce behavioral adaptation attitudes, values and beliefs remain relatively unchanged. This finding would be of considerable value in and of itself.

RURAL-URBAN AS CONTEXT VARIABLES

For the purpose of this research, current residence and past residence should be considered ecological or context variables. In other words, the variables themselves do not necessarily cause variation

in behavior and attitudes. Rather, they represent particular mixtures of a number of other indicators--occupation, education, and migration to name three--all of which may have an independent effect on the dependent variables. Urban and rural as used in this research, then, are made up of a number of factors, which could themselves be used to explain variation in the dependent variables. But using these factors as independent variables or as control variables would seriously weaken our ability to discriminate in the contexts of urban and rural. Each of the factors which makes up the urban and rural context variables might well have a small amount of explanatory power but it is the effect of all of them that we are interested in. An example is warranted; Schmid (1960), in a study of crime areas, used social cohesion as an ecological variable with the following measures making up the level of social cohesion: percent families in the labor force, fertility ratio, percent married, percent housing units built prior to 1920 and percent population sixty years old and over. Social cohesion is not a simple cause, in and of itself; rather, it is defined by the variables which show high factor loadings on the social cohesion factor. In the same way, percent labor force in agricultural occupations would load high on rural as a context or ecological variable. Were we to control for occupation in this study, we would undoubtedly weaken the meaning of "rural." While it would be wise to construct a factorial model of the rural and urban variables as an aid to understanding the operational components of these constructs, that must be left for another time as the data available do not allow us this ability. It

isn't, at any rate, crucial to this study, as we are looking at the effects of rural-urban differences controlling for residence backgrounds. It is, then, the effects of rural or urban background residence that interest us here, not the make up or definitional criteria of urban and rural.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTIC OF THE SAMPLES

The sample has been a geographically mobile one with a strong urbanward trend as predicted in Chapter II. Table VI illustrates the geographic mobility of the General Social Survey sample of 344 respondents over the age of 60.

TABLE VI
SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE AT AGE 16 COMPARED
WITH GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY
SINCE AGE 16

Geographic Mobility Since Age 16			
Size of place at age 16		Living in same place now as at age 16	Living in different place now than at age 16
Urban Medium Rural	Urban	44.0	56.0
	Medium	29.2	70.8
	Rural	38.6	61.4
		37.5	62.5
			100

The geographical mobility of the sample seems clear, with 62.6 percent of all respondents living in a different place from that in which they were living at age 16. Comparing Table VI with Table IV it can be seen

that the General Social Survey sample conforms quite closely to the mobility data presented in Table IV (p. 42) for the nation as a whole. In Table VI, 37.5 percent of the sample still resides in the same city and state they were in at 16 while Table IV shows that 41.5 percent of those 65 and over live in the same size place that they lived in at age 18. Although the indicators used to measure mobility are quite different in Tables IV and VI, they both reflect a similar amount of non-migrants whether measured by place of residence or size. Sclar (undated) presented data on Boston residents which was also similar and Cowgill (1970) reported a similar percentage of non-migrants. Table VI also indicates that the rural/then respondents were slightly more likely to migrate (61.4 percent) than were the urban/then respondents (55.9). This may well be accounted for, in part, by the high rate of urbanward migration of the sample, as is shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS 60 AND OVER CURRENTLY LIVING IN
PLACES OF DIFFERING SIZES BY SIZE
OF RESIDENCE AT AGE 16

		Size of Current Place of Residence			
		Within SMSA	10,000- 49,999	2,500- 9,999	Under 2,500
Residence at Age 16	Urban	75	4	1	9
	Medium	55*	10	8	20
	Rural	71*	16*	15*	60
		201	30	24	89
					344

*Currently living in a larger place than at age 16.

The urbanward shift of the sample is quite clear. While 47.1 percent of the respondents were rural at age 16, only 25.9 percent remain rural (in places under 2,500) after age 60. The difference in the data between residence at 16 and current residence, due to the difference in question form, prohibits a precise statement concerning the percent of the respondents who are in a larger place. We can conservatively estimate it at 45.6 percent. Looking at Table IV again, we find that the General Social Survey data for 1975 are very close to the census data of 1958 with a lower ruralward trend.

The SSI Survey presents a somewhat more complicated picture. Since the entire sample is currently urban we can not measure any movements except urbanward. Of the SSI Survey respondents, 37.1 percent were rural at 16 and 37.1 percent were residing in medium size places at 16; however, all of those who were medium or even rural could conceivably have been living in the Portland area at the age of 16. Data on length of residence in the state of Oregon indicate that 83.1 percent of the respondents have been in the state for over twenty years but only 9.7 percent have lived there for their entire lives. The best indications point to the conclusion that while most of the SSI Survey respondents are urban migrants, that migration occurred a long time ago.

In sum, the General Social Survey and the SSI Survey samples strongly support the national migration data presented in Chapter II and the central contention of this research is that while the aged are currently disproportionately residents of urban areas they were disproportionately rural at age 16. The aged of these samples exhibited

a strong urbanward migration pattern with very little ruralward movement. We might well ask what other differences in background characteristics exist between the rural and urban raised aged for the purpose of roughly establishing the contextual makeup of the rural and urban variables.

The relationship between size of place of residence at 16 with number of children shows some interesting, if expected, differences. Table VIII, based upon General Social Survey data, illustrates the tendency for rural/then respondents to have more children than either medium/then or urban/then respondents.

TABLE VIII
PERCENT RESPONDENTS WITH SELECTED NUMBERS
OF CHILDREN BY SIZE OF PLACE AT 16

		0-2 Children	3-4 Children	More Than 4
Residence at 16	Urban	66.3	24.7	9.0
	Medium	68.5	22.8	8.7
	Rural	52.1	29.8	18.0

The most notable difference in Table VIII is the number of respondents with more than four children with rural/then respondents being twice as likely to have large families than either of the other two groups. This is, of course, to be expected given the substantial literature which suggests that rural and, especially, farm families tend toward larger families, due in part to the economic help which extra children provide. The data in Table VIII might also indicate a somewhat stronger family orientation of rural raised respondents. This issue will be dealt with in Chapter IV.

Urban-rural background and educational attainment also show a strong relationship. It has often been stated in the gerontological literature that the aged, as a group, are considerably less educated than younger cohorts. The General Social Survey reflects this difference, but it also suggests that some of this difference may be due to the predominantly rural backgrounds of the current aged. From the General Social Survey we find that 71.6 percent of the rural/then, 47.3 percent of the medium/then and 59.5 percent of the urban/then respondents have less than a high school education. The SSI Survey data, while arranged differently, show a similar distribution with 33.8 percent of the SSI rural/then respondents having graduated from high school, while 44.4 percent of the urban/then respondents had so done.

Urban/then respondents exhibit a somewhat higher yearly income than do rural/then respondents. The differences in income are small and are most probably due to the retirement status of the sample.

In sum the background characteristics of the respondents reveal contrasts important for our study. It can be stated that rural/then respondents are, in general, less educated, make slightly less money and have more children than their urban/then counterparts. These characteristics, with the possible exception of number of children put the rural/then people in a more hazardous position than the urban/then people as they entered old age. If we hold the belief that a lack of education and income blocks full participation of the aged in society, then we might expect the rural raised aged to manifest these blockages more so than the urban raised aged. Aside from this, the background

characteristics presented above indicate the complex nature of the urban and rural variables. "Urbanness" or "ruralness" of background means much more than simply the size of the place in which people were raised; rather, it represents a total life style, if you will, which transcends place of residence. The background characteristics of the respondents presented above illustrate the contextual or ecological nature of the variables in question, but they do more as well. They lend some initial and tentative credence to many of the typologies discussed above in Chapter I. It remains to see what other credence can be lent them.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In this chapter, each of the hypotheses will be presented separately along with a discussion of the observed relationships. Since the tables to be presented come from two data sources, each table will be identified as either GSS for the General Social Survey or SSI for the Supplementary Security Income Survey. It should again be noted that the SSI Survey does not represent any kind of representative sample in that it was designed and intended to provide data for a particular sub-population of the elderly who are poorer and less healthy than the general population of the aged. We would therefore expect a sample which is quite biased toward the lower end of the socioeconomic status continuum and to exhibit more homogeneity than will the General Social Survey sample.

The data from the General Social Survey will be presented in two ways. First, some of the data will be based on the entire sample of 344 respondents 60 years of age and over. Tables constructed from this sample will disregard current residence and investigate differences on selected indicators by place of residence at age 16. The second and most frequently used data presentation will be fourfold life history tables. In the fourfold life history tables place of residence at age 16 will be compared with current place of residence on selected indicators. Respondents who were in medium sized places at age 16 and/or

currently reside in medium sized places will be left out of the fourfold life history tables leaving a sample of 215 respondents. Table IX indicates the distribution of respondents in each of the four categories.

TABLE IX
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY
SAMPLE BY LIFE HISTORY

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	75	9	84
Rural at 16	71	60	131
	146	69	215

Respondents of medium sized places were removed from the analysis because (1) the definitions of medium at the two different times is unclear and not equivalent and (2) the investigation of extremes or polar opposites is more likely to furnish information in which urban and rural clearly differentiate on ecological or environmental characteristics. In other words, medium sized places are likely to be made up of both urban and rural components and as such would yield inappropriate information. In the fourfold life-history tables which follow the cell percentages represent the percentage of the respondents in each cell who responded in the manner indicated by the table heading. For example, in Table XII below 49 of the 75 urban at 16/urban now respondents, 65.3 percent, were highly satisfied with their family life.

Hypothesis 1 - Lifelong urban residents are likely to exhibit less intense primary group ties than are lifelong rural residents (or current urban residents raised in rural areas).

There are a number of questions in the General Social Survey dealing with primary group associations. Tables X and XI indicate the amount of satisfaction R's received from family, friends and the place in which they live by residential location independent of where the R's currently live.

TABLE X

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE HIGHLY SATISFIED* WITH SELECTED
AREAS OF LIFE BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION
AT AGE 16 (GSS)

Selected Areas of Life			
	Place in which R lives	Family	Friends
Urban at 16	54.7	75.4	75.4
Medium at 16	61.3	84.6	80.6
Rural at 16	68.7	89.9	85.0

*Percentages represent those R's who responded that they were greatly or quite a bit satisfied.

TABLE XI

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO GET LITTLE OR NO SATISFACTION FROM SELECTED
AREAS OF LIFE BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AT AGE 16
(GSS)

Selected Areas of Life				
		Place in which R lives	Family	Friends
Residence at Age 16 -	Urban	12.5	10.8	4.6
	Medium	6.4	3.3	4.3
	Rural	5.0	3.8	1.9

The data in Tables X and XI present a picture consistent with the hypothesized relationships. Urban raised respondents, in general, receive less satisfaction from primary relationships than do rural-raised respondents. Additionally, urban-raised respondents are considerably less satisfied with the place in which they live. High satisfaction may well indicate a more intense and stronger supportive ties to one's place and one's relationships. Turning to the fourfold life history tables we can compare satisfaction with our selected areas of life by residential history.

TABLE XII

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS HIGHLY SATISFIED WITH FAMILY
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	65.3	77.8	66.6
Rural at 16	71.8	79.3	75.1
	68.5	79.1	

TABLE XIII

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS HIGHLY SATISFIED WITH FRIENDS
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	63.5	88.9	66.3
Rural at 16	59.0	75.9	72.1
	66.2	77.6	

TABLE XIV

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS HIGHLY SATISFIED WITH PLACE THEY LIVE BY LIFE HISTORY

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	56.2	88.9	61.3
Rural at 16	57.7	82.8	67.9
	56.9	83.5	

Analyzing the marginal percentages in Tables XII, XIII and XIV it would appear that where the respondents currently live is a slightly better predictor of satisfaction than residence at age 16. In all cases the percentage differences are greater between urban/now and rural/now respondents than between urban at 16 and rural at 16 respondents.⁵

For the case of satisfaction in the three areas, residence at age 16 is only slightly less predictive of satisfaction with family life, friends, and place of current residence than is current residence. It could be argued, therefore, that satisfaction with primary relationships and place is more a function of current residence, a finding which is very much in line with the notion of the city as an alienating factor in people's lives, but that place of residence during formative years may help us interpret the effect of current residence.

5

From time to time marginal percentages will be used in the analysis. The reader should be reminded, however, that because of the low frequency of urban at 16-rural/now respondents the marginal percentages are not heavily influenced by these types of people.

Note that in Table XII, respondents who were rural at age 16 but currently reside in urban places exhibit a greater percentage highly satisfied with family life (71.8%) than do lifelong urban residents (65.3%), and a lower percentage than lifelong rural residents (79.3%). This same general pattern holds for satisfaction with friends (Table XIII) and for satisfaction with the place they currently live (Table XIV), although in the latter case the current urban residents with rural backgrounds are much closer to lifelong urban residents than in the other two areas of satisfaction. These tables suggest that rural-urban differences in satisfaction with primary group relations are likely to increase as the proportion of urban residents with rural backgrounds declines. In other words, current urban residents with rural backgrounds appear to "carry over" life style characteristics from their rural heritage into their urban environments. Although these rural to urban migrants are generally closer to the lifelong urban residents in their satisfaction with primary relations, their residential history of rural background does appear to be related to a somewhat higher degree of satisfaction than one would expect if they had lived their entire lives in urban areas.

But the degree of satisfaction one has in his or her primary relationships does not, in itself, suggest behavioral patterns associated with primary relationships. Tables XV, XVI and XVII extend the analysis using behavioral indicators.

TABLE XV

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO VISIT WITH RELATIVES FREQUENTLY
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	46.7	50.0	46.9
Rural at 16	50.7	48.3	49.6
	48.6	48.5	

TABLE XVI

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO VISIT NEIGHBORS FREQUENTLY
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	29.3	12.5	27.7
Rural at 16	38.6	40.0	39.2
	33.8	36.8	

TABLE XVII

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO VISIT FRIENDS NOT IN THE
NEIGHBORHOOD FREQUENTLY

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	21.3	33.3	22.6
Rural at 16	26.8	13.3	20.6
	24.0	15.9	

Tables XV, XVI and XVII present a somewhat enigmatic picture of visiting behaviors. There is little difference in the likelihood of visiting relatives among the different respondents. Tables XVI and XVII however show some rather notable differences. The marginal percentages in Table XVI show residential location at age 16 to be a better predictor of neighboring behaviors, with urban at 16 respondents considerably less likely to neighbor than their rural counterparts in this instance. Neighboring behaviors appear to be carried into urban situations by migrants. At the same time, the likelihood of visiting friends outside of the neighborhood is better predicted by current residence. This finding might well be due to geographical considerations. Neighborhood for rural dwellers may well encompass the entire community while representing only a few blocks for urban dwellers. Urban migrants could increase their frequency of visiting outside of the neighborhood simply by redefining neighborhood after moving to the city. It is particularly noteworthy that with respect to visiting relatives (Table XV) and visiting friends (Table XVI), urban residents with rural backgrounds are much more similar to lifelong rural residents than to lifelong urban residents. Thus, as the percentage of urban residents with rural backgrounds declines over time, we might expect to find somewhat less neighboring and visiting of relatives in the nation's cities.

Turning to the SSI Survey data on primary group associations we find differences which are similar to those found in the General Social Survey.

While the differences shown in Table XVIII are in line with the hypotheses, they are not particularly great with the exception of the

TABLE XVIII
 PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SPOKEN TO SELECTED PARTIES
 DURING LAST MONTH BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION
 AT AGE 16 (SSI)

	Relative	Friend	Neighbor	Child/Grandchild	Someone not a Friend/ Relative
Urban at 16	34.3	69.3	88.0	47.4	78.4
Rural at 16	36.9	66.4	90.3	47.9	70.4

last category, "speaking to someone not a friend or relative." We can term this category "secondary contacts" and as such it lends support to the urbanites' increased likelihood of engaging in secondary relationships. It should be recalled that all of these SSI respondents are currently urban so differences in secondary contacts are especially interesting.

A rudimentary indicator of intensity of primary relationships can be drawn from the SSI Survey. Respondents were asked to indicate the number of confidantes they had, if any, with whom they could discuss personal matters. While both rural (75.9%) and urban (71.6%) raised R's were highly likely to have at least one, there were some intriguing differences in the numbers of confidantes as shown in Table XIX.

Rural raised individuals appear slightly more likely to have multiple confidantes than do urban raised people. This indicates that rural raised individuals (see Tables XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII) tend to be close to more people than are urban individuals; however, without data on the number of friends each of the respondents have this

TABLE XIX

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH SELECTED NUMBERS OF CONFIDANTES
BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION
AT AGE 16* (SSI)

	only 1	2-4	4+
Urban at 16	41.7	38.9	19.5
Rural at 16	30.3	45.0	24.8

*Percentages do not include those R's who responded that they had no confidantes.

conclusion must remain conjectural. Be that as it may, it would seem that Wirth's notion of the segmentalization of urban life and an increase in relatively superficial and secondary relationships finds a limited support in the data presented above.

Turning to religious beliefs and practices, we can detect considerable differences based on residential background. Tables XX and XXI present that material from the General Social Survey which appears relevant.

TABLE XX

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THAT THEY ARE STRONGLY RELIGIOUS
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	40.3	33.3	39.5
Rural at 16	71.0	50.8	61.7
	55.9	48.5	

TABLE XXI
PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO NEVER ATTEND CHURCH
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	24.0	11.1	22.6
Rural at 16	9.9	11.7	10.7
	17.1%	11.6	—

Similarly, from the SSI Survey,

TABLE XXII
PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO LAST ATTENDED CHURCH DURING SELECTED PERIODS
BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE AT AGE 16 (SSI)

	During last month	During last 6 months	During last year	More than a year/never
Urban at 16	33.6	4.0	8.9	53.5
Rural at 16	36.5	9.0	6.9	47.6

Tables XX and XXI show some rather large differences which indicate that an urban life history is very much consonant with lowered religiosity measured either by beliefs or practices. While the differences in the SSI Survey (Table XXII) are less than those of the General Social Survey, they remain in the same direction. The data on religiosity very strongly support the contentions of the theorists cited in Chapter I that urbanism results in a high degree of secularization. It should be remembered that the aged, as a group, are highly religious but it would seem that much of this religiosity is explainable by background

history as much as by age. In other words, the predominantly rural upbringing of the current aged is strongly related to their religious beliefs and practices. It is interesting to note that many services for the aged are currently provided through churches. Meals programs, senior centers and a number of other programs for the aged use churches for the delivery of those services to a high degree. Clearly, using the churches for vehicles with which to provide services can remain effective only to the extent that the recipients of these services are inclined to attend those churches. Then too, if the church does its own advertising of these services, we might expect, as the urban raised aged become more numerous, that a higher proportion of the aged will be unaware of such services. At any rate, a lower level of religiosity found among lifelong urban residents is in line with the idea that many formal, secondary institutions have taken the place of the church in the provision of supportive services to urban individuals. Rural raised individuals may well use the church as a central institution for the maintenance of community cohesion simply because there does not exist a multitude of other institutions which could compete with the church.

One other measure which might reflect on the intensity of primary group ties has to do with attitude towards aged people living with their children.

It seems quite clear from Table XXIII that urban at 16-urban/now respondents are much less in favor of older people sharing homes with grown children than are the other groups. While the visiting data presented in Tables XV through XVIII suggested that both urban and rural

TABLE XXIII

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS BELIEVING IT IS A GOOD IDEA FOR OLDER PEOPLE TO SHARE A HOME WITH GROWN CHILDREN BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	10.8	33.3	13.3
Rural at 16	31.0	25.0	28.2
	20.7	26.1	

raised respondents visited with their families to a high degree, Table XXIII seems to indicate that urban raised respondents exhibit strong feelings of independence and a value on going it alone. For the urban respondents we might suggest that family ties are viewed more as a duty than as a source of friendship and enjoyment.

A number of published reports tend to support the findings reported here. Reiss (1959), although finding that primary group associations were as widespread in the city as in rural areas, found some qualitative differences in the kinds of primary groups people were involved in. The major primary groups to which rural inhabitants belonged were family and close friends; indeed, these two groups comprised most of the primary contacts of rural dwellers. While urban inhabitants had strong ties with family and close friends, they also maintained primary relationships with work associates and clients. If anything, urban dwellers exhibited a wider range of primary contacts than did rural dwellers.

Sussman (1959), in a study of the nuclear family in urban settings, found that the extended family was extremely important for urbanites.

Sussman concluded that the isolated nuclear family which has been posited by urban theorists was largely a myth because of this importance. But if we look more closely at the Sussman findings some interesting material emerges. Urbanites involve themselves in extended family relationships mostly during times of migration, family disruption and financial loss. At the same time, there tends to be low participation for purely interpersonal reasons like helping with children, giving advice on decisions or for friendly visits among urban inhabitants, while ruralites depend heavily on the family for these gratifications. Similarly, Litwak (1960) found that extended family participation was important only in those aspects which didn't require nearness of residence.

The data presented above on primary group involvement, when taken in total, provide considerable support for hypothesis number 1. It can be concluded that (1) rural and rural raised respondents are more highly satisfied with their primary group relationships as a whole than are their urban counterparts, (2) this higher satisfaction may be due in part to the higher acceptance of extended family as an important and valued source of friendship and succor, and (3) religious affiliations play an important role in the lives of rural and rural raised respondents. It seems safe to suggest that, based on the data presented above, the rural and rural raised respondents get most of their primary relationship needs met by their families, their church and a few close friends whereas the urban raised respondents exhibit a more diversified set of relationships which are most often based upon functional criteria. In

other words, urban raised respondents tend to use the family for helping kinds of tasks, friends for leisure and enjoyment and secondary relationships for service needs. All this, of course, appears very much in line with hypothesis number 1 and supportive of Wirth's and other theorists' arguments. At the very least, those students of urban sociology who have suggested that Wirth's major points are not valid in the United States today might well be somewhat premature in this suggestion. The data here presented on primary group relationships strongly suggest that one's background, in urban and rural terms, affects his or her attitudes and, to a lesser degree, behavior in later life. In most cases the urban migrant respondents are much more like the lifetime rural residents than they are like the lifetime urban residents. The primary group associations, excepting satisfaction indicators, of older Americans as a group should and do reflect their backgrounds more than they reflect their current status. It is not argued here, however, that persons currently living in rural areas will exhibit differing patterns of attitude and behavior from current urban residents, especially after migrating to urban places. The criticisms of Wirth (Brian Berry, The Human Consequences of Urbanization) are quite well taken with respect to the declining urban-rural differences in recent times. However, we are dealing here with a cohort phenomenon--a cohort of much older Americans who were raised in rural areas at a time when urban-rural differences were much more marked. The analysis here aids us in understanding the current older cohort of rural raised urban residents and also, given the decline in rural-urban differences more

recently, suggests that the city of tomorrow may be different in particular ways from the city of today, since there will be no component of the population in tomorrow's cities which has had a distinctly rural experience in their formative years of life. That this has important implications for policy and planning cannot be gainsaid and will be dealt with more completely in Chapter V. It remains now to look at the other two hypotheses with which this dissertation is concerned.

Hypothesis 2 - Lifelong urban residents are more likely to develop adaptable and individualistic personality structures than are lifelong rural residents, or urban migrants.

Analyzing the material on personality characteristics presents somewhat of a problem. Neither the General Social Survey nor the SSI Survey presented the respondents with items specifically designed to measure personality attributes. Personality attributes must be inferred from answers to questions involving values and attitudes concerning appropriate behavior for others. In this way some measure of differences in terms of normative expectations can be derived. With this in mind, there are several items in the General Social Survey which might bear on hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 2 suggests that rural and rural-raised respondents will be more likely to see people as being good, that is, they might tend to see the best in people, be more trusting of strangers, and to see people in general as helpful and fair. To this end, Tables XXIII, XXIV and XXV provide some information.

TABLE XXIV

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVE PEOPLE TO BE ESSENTIALLY
HELPFUL BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	55.4	75.0	63.4
Rural at 16	43.7	55.9	49.2
	49.7	58.2	

TABLE XXV

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVE PEOPLE TO BE ESSENTIALLY
FAIR BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	63.5	66.7	63.9
Rural at 16	53.5	61.0	56.9
	58.6	61.8	

TABLE XXVI

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVE THAT MOST PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	36.1	55.6	38.3
Rural at 16	28.6	27.1	27.9
	32.4	30.9	

As can readily be seen from the three tables above, residential history is a powerful factor in determining the respondents' beliefs concerning other people. In all cases the marginals show residence at age 16 as the better predictor of current attitudes. But the above tables represent a rather complicated picture as to the direction of influence. In all cases a higher proportion of the urban at 16 respondents saw people as helpful, fair and trustworthy than the rural at 16 respondents. At first glance this is a somewhat disconcerting finding. Common sense and hypothesis 2 would have it that rural raised respondents should see people in a better light than do urban raised respondents. However, urban migration does appear to lower the respondents' esteem for others, with the exception of trustworthiness in which some small increase is noted.

An explanation of these findings is somewhat difficult to arrive at. One possible explanation may be that cities in general are in low regard. Upon migration to the city the migrant may well see others in a poor light because of the low respect people have for cities in general. The lifelong urban resident has grown up in the city and may have little understanding of rural life or he may have developed enough satisfying relationships to offset the general beliefs that cities are not good places to live. Results similar to these findings were reported in Table XIV where urban migrant respondents were less satisfied with where they lived than were either the lifelong urban or the lifelong rural respondents. Again this might be due to the fact that the urban migrant sees the city in general as a less than desirable place to be.

In light of this possible explanation, Table XXVI further confounds things. In Table XXVI the lifetime urban residents are more trustful of others than either the urban migrant or the lifetime rural dweller. Little can be done to account for this inconsistency; however, Milgram (1970:198) cited unpublished research which indicated a much higher level of trust on the part of small town residents than that of New York City dwellers which contradicts the General Social Survey results reported in Table XXVI. In this study cited by Milgram, small town people were from twice to five times as likely to admit a stranger to their home for the purpose of making a phone call than were the New York City residents. Table XXVII illustrates the findings cited by Milgram.

TABLE XXVII
PERCENTAGES OF ENTRIES ACHIEVED BY INVESTIGATORS FOR
CITY AND TOWN DWELLINGS

Experiment	Entries achieved (%)	
	City*	Small Town**
Male requestor		
No. 1	16	40
No. 2	12	60
Female requestor		
No. 3	40	87
No. 4	40	100

* Number of requests for entry, 100

**Number of requests for entry, 60

Another area which should show some difference in personality attributes is what the respondents see as ideal qualities for children. The GSS provides several items in which respondents are asked to express their opinions as to the qualities which children should have. Hypothesis 2 suggests that rural and rural raised individuals would select as important those ideal qualities which reflect a relative inflexibility of personality and an importance on conforming expectations. Table XXVIII illustrates the findings from the General Social Survey.

The first four categories of Table XXVIII can be considered as qualities which are consonant with the inflexibility and conforming expectations of hypothesis 2. As can be seen, a general support of the hypothesis is evident to the extent that urban and urban raised respondents put less importance on these qualities than do rural and rural raised respondents. In two of the first four qualities, good manners and obeying parents, the rural at 16 urban now are closer to the rural respondents, while in the other two they side closer to the urban respondents.

Those categories which might reflect urban personality attributes, individuality and rationality, are represented by qualities 5 through 10. Here, too, we find that the urban respondents see all of these, save one, as more important than the rural respondents.

As with attitudes toward others, qualities desired in children represent a problem in interpretation which makes it difficult to argue

TABLE XXVIII

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO CONSIDER VARIOUS
 QUALITIES OF CHILDREN AS AMONG THE THREE
 MOST IMPORTANT BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	<u>Rural at 16</u> <u>Rural/now</u>	<u>Rural at 16</u> <u>Urban/now</u>	<u>Urban at 16</u> <u>Urban/now</u>	<u>Urban at 16</u> <u>Rural/now</u>
1. Good manners	33.9	34.3	26.4	44.4
2. Cleanliness	11.9	15.7	4.2	00.0
3. Acts like a boy or girl	10.2	2.9	4.2	11.1
4. Obeys parents	49.2	55.7	37.5	44.4
5. Good sense and sound judgment	13.6	21.4	38.9	33.3
6. Self-control	20.3	17.1	25.0	22.2
7. Is responsible	27.1	15.7	31.9	33.3
8. Is considerate of others	11.9	21.4	12.5	22.2
9. Is interested in how and why things happen	3.4	2.9	13.9	11.1
10. Is successful	8.5	14.3	13.9	00.0
11. Is studious	5.1	8.6	8.3	00.0

any unqualified support for hypothesis 2. There are to be sure urban-rural differences but these do not seem to be predictable by life history.

One final indicator of personality differences can be found in people's attitudes towards appropriate roles for women.

Tables XXIX and XXX again present a relatively clear distinction between rural and urban attitudes but bewildering findings in terms of background. While the differences between the urban respondents and the rural respondents are quite large, the urban migrant respondents do not follow any particular pattern. It is true, however, in the cases of Tables XXIX and XXX that the urban migrant respondents are much more like the urban people than their rural counterparts. If we look at Tables XXIV through XXX as a whole, the urban migrant respondents are closer to urban respondents in five of the sixteen measures, closer to the rural respondents in five, and in the middle on two. On four of the indicators the rural respondents and the urban respondents are much alike with the urban migrants off on their own.

TABLE XXIX

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT THAT WOMEN SHOULD -
STAY HOME AND TAKE CARE OF THE HOUSE BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	49.3	44.4	48.8
Rural at 16	45.1	68.3	55.7
	47.3	65.2	

TABLE XXX

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO APPROVE OF WOMEN WORKING AT A CAREER
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	53.5	55.6	53.6
Rural at 16	46.5	36.7	42.0
	50.0	39.1	

The evidence presented above bearing on hypothesis 2, while supporting the hypothesis generally, suffers from problems which do not enable any statements of strong support. One of these problems is in the nature of the attitude measurement. As stated above the measurement of attitudes and analysis of those measurements are highly problematic. A number of explanations could be derived which would make the results of the attitude measures used above more consonant with hypothesis 2; but then the converse is also true. Explanations could be derived which might tend to refute hypothesis 2 especially among those measures which indicate that the urban migrants exhibit considerably different attitudes from those of their lifetime rural counterparts. It is, given the data at hand, not possible to resolve this problem. It should be remembered that the behavioral indicators presented in support of hypothesis 1 did not present nearly as ambiguous a set of conclusions as did the attitudinal items. As Deutscher (1973) states in What We Say, What We Do, the relationships between behavior and attitudes are not nearly so simple as have often been assumed. It would seem then that the analysis of attitudinal indicators would present a much more complex

problem and would require much more carefully designed measures than those available through the General Social Survey or the SSI Survey. In fact, Tables XXVI and XXVII above are almost the contradiction of each other. Much of this contradiction could well be due to the fact that whereas Table XXVI is an attitude measure, Table XXVII represents a behavioral indicator. Clearly more information would be required before any unqualified support for hypothesis 2 could be ventured.

A second problem of the data presented above in support of hypothesis 2 is the problem of operationalization of personality characteristics. When forced to rely on secondary data one must pay certain costs and in this case those costs are a well operationalized and theoretically based set of indicators. This is not to say, however, that the indicators used are inappropriate for the measurement of personality characteristics; rather it is to say that the source of variation on these indicators lends itself less well to control and specification of important attributes than would indicators which were designed specifically for looking at urban-rural differences in personalities.

In conclusion, while we cannot here argue that the data presented above provide unqualified support for hypothesis 2, we can argue that the data certainly provide enough of a case so as to make future examination worthwhile. As was stated in Chapter I, the formation of a distinctly urban personality is well grounded in the theoretical literature and the data bearing on that point discussed here lead to a tentative affirmative response to that statement. There are major

differences between urban and rural raised respondents. These differences, while having an effect on one's attitudes, do not show a directional relationship. This lack of directional relationship does not necessarily vitiate the findings reported here. A more complete test of the hypothesis would be necessary before any specification of the relationship between urban or rural upbringings and personality characteristics can be delineated.

Hypothesis 3 - Lifelong urban residents are less likely to maintain a community based upon proximity than are lifelong rural residents or urban migrants.

The data from the General Social Survey and the SSI Survey are extremely limited as they pertain to hypothesis 3. However, there are a number of items in the surveys which have a bearing on this matter. Some of the material presented in support of hypothesis 1 is relevant here as well. Tables XVI and XVII (page 69) illustrate the likelihood of visiting neighbors and friends outside of the neighborhood by life history. As can be seen, Tables XVI and XVII offer some support for hypothesis 3. Lifelong urban respondents are less likely to visit neighbors than are either urban migrant or rural respondents. In contrast, the urban migrant respondents are the most likely to visit friends outside of the neighborhood. While rural background does tend to increase the likelihood of neighboring, it also increases the likelihood of leaving the neighborhood to visit friends; indeed, urban migrant respondents are the group most likely to visit friends outside of the

neighborhood. The low percentage of rural residents who visit friends outside of the neighborhood may be due, in part, to the respondents' notions of what constitutes a neighborhood. In other words, the geographical size of a rural resident's neighborhood may be larger than an urban resident's or, more importantly, may be determined by who his friends are. The rural resident may, therefore, travel a considerable distance to see a friend but still consider that person a neighbor. Tables XVI and XVII would suggest that urban migrants tend to visit more often than either of the other two groups. The urban migrant is not only more likely to visit neighbors but to visit outside the neighborhood than are the lifelong urban respondents. This might suggest a tendency toward primary group establishment and maintenance in the face of perceived secondary nature of urban living. In other words, urban migrants tend to adapt to what is perceived as an alienating and segmentalized situation found in the city by attempting to establish and maintain a large number of friends. Data from the SSI Survey, reported in Table XXXI, in showing relatively little difference between the urban and rural raised respondents, is in line with the the hypothesized relationship.

TABLE XXXI

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SPOKEN TO SELECTED PARTIES
DURING THE LAST MONTH BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION
AT AGE 16 (SSI)

	Neighbor	Friend who is not a neighbor
Urban at 16	88.0	69.3
Rural at 16	90.3	66.4

In general, then, the limited data which exist on the likelihood of respondents to leave the neighborhood to visit friends suggest that currently urban residents do exhibit a somewhat higher likelihood of leaving the geographical area to visit socially than do currently rural residents. In addition, currently urban residents have a somewhat lower rate of neighboring than do currently rural residents. Keeping in mind that the respondents are all over 60 years of age, this finding presents some interesting ramifications.

A report by Wachs and Blanchard (1976) on transportation needs of the aged indicated that a high percentage of elderly subjects in Los Angeles County do not have an automobile nor do they have a driver's license. This is especially true for women in Los Angeles County, where only 39 percent of the women over the age of 65 were licensed drivers. Furthermore, Wachs and Blanchard (1976) reported that many of today's aged never possessed driver's licenses because at the time they were growing up it was much less likely for people, and especially women, to learn to drive. It might also be safe to suspect that rural raised aged would be less likely to drive than would the urban raised aged.

The SSI Survey provides some information which might bear on this problem. Table XXXII indicates that urban raised respondents are more likely to drive and somewhat more likely to take the bus but less likely to be driven by another person than are rural raised respondents. To the extent that likelihood to drive reflects the ownership of a car and driver's license, we find limited support for the Wachs and Blanchard (1976) argument. Then too, the lower likelihood of urban raised respondents to be driven by others might be due to a lower involvement with neighbors who

would be willing and able to provide transportation. The data presented in Table XXXII may, in a roundabout way to be sure, indicate a lower involvement in the immediate community than is true of rural raised respondents. It should be remembered, though, that, in the absence of better data this conclusion must remain highly tentative.

TABLE XXXII

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO USE SELECTED METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION
BY RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AT 16 (SSI)

	Usually walk	Usually take bus	Usually drive car	Usually driven by other
Urban at 16	18.6	20.6	20.6	29.4
Rural at 16	18.6	18.6	15.0	39.3

A final indicator which might have some bearing on interest versus proximity based communities is organization membership. We might well expect urban raised respondents to belong to a higher number of organizations than do rural raised respondents. Table XXXIII presents data on this issue.

TABLE XXXIII

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELONG TO TWO OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now	
Urban at 16	34.7	25.0	33.7
Rural at 16	32.4	30.0	31.3
	33.6	29.4	

A weak but expected relationship is illustrated in Table XXXIV. However the complete picture is somewhat foggier as the data on non-membership illustrate.

TABLE XXXIV
PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT BELONG TO ANY ORGANIZATION
BY LIFE HISTORY (GSS)

	Urban/now	Rural/now
Urban at 16	38.7	50.0
Rural at 16	26.8	28.3

Rural now and urban migrant respondents are more likely than urban respondents to belong to at least one organization. The most probable explanation for this outcome is to be found in the previously reported information that rural and urban migrant respondents are more likely to belong to religious organizations than are urban respondents (see Tables XX and XXI). The high religious membership of the rural and urban migrant respondents reflects the lower likelihood of no memberships as shown in Table XXXIV. Once again tentative support for hypothesis 3 can be found in General Social Survey data.

While most of the relationships found do not indicate any major support for hypothesis 3, all of the indicators together suggest that urban respondents are more likely to involve themselves in relationships which are not related to proximity than are rural respondents. As with the material presented in support of hypothesis 2, however, the position of the urban migrant respondents is less clear. Migration, it

would seem, acts in a relatively unpredictable way, in some cases increasing urban adaptations while in others the migrants appear to keep the learned behaviors associated with rural backgrounds. Primary group relationships appear to be the only area in which the urban migrants have, for the most part, maintained behaviors which they exhibited during their rural upbringings. This might well be expected as primary group relationships, notably in the family, are based on a long lasting commitment of family and close friends.

While acceptance of hypothesis 1 is in order, the data presented on hypothesis 2 and 3 indicate only a qualified acceptance based upon the rather consistent, if small, variations between the rural at 16-rural/now and urban at 16-urban/now respondents. Another major goal of this research has also been met in that an individual's background history has important consequences on his or her present adaptations. In some cases, as has been mentioned above, it is difficult to predict those consequences but that does not lead to a rejection of background history as a variable of significance. This analysis dealt only with elderly respondents, many of whom have been urban residents for the better part of their lives; that they still reflect to some extent a lifestyle which made up only a small proportion of their lives is quite amazing. The effects of a rural upbringing are quite strong and often continue to influence individual's attitudes, perceptions and behaviors long after those individuals have left the rural surroundings. To speak of the aged as seeing the world through rural eyes is not an exaggeration. The world of a large percentage of today's aged is a rural one. They may

well represent the last of the aged "urban villagers" who have strong attachments to family, place and life style, attachments which are quickly dying out in an increasingly urban society. Future generations of the aged will represent a considerably more urban lifestyle than is now observable. We must now ask what are the consequences of these findings for researchers, planners and policy makers who must attempt to meet the needs of the aged in the future. It is to this problem we turn next.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

A major finding of this study, albeit tentative, is that residential background history is, in many cases, a more important determinant of current attitudes and behavior than is current residence. This is extremely important for the study of older people, since much of the current knowledge about older people reflects, in part, their rural roots. For this reason much research which has purportedly been directed at the urban aged has not really been capturing the attributes of the "urban" aged; rather it has often reached rural individuals who happen to reside in the city. This is an important distinction. Considerable evidence has been provided by this research which suggests that lifelong urban residents are quite different from those who migrated to the city from rural areas, even though this migration occurred relatively early in the migrants' lives. It is important to reiterate that with the rapid urbanization of the middle part of this century the proportion of these migrants will decline drastically in future years. With this decline will be a decline in the proportion of older people who share the attitudes and behaviors of their less numerous rural counterparts. We are moving toward a nation of truly urban old folks, older people who manifest those urban characteristics associated with a diverse, secular, individualistic

and changing society. What might they expect and demand from the planners and policy makers of the not distant future?

Considerable emphasis has been placed on the importance of the primary group relationship for older people. Retirement and widowhood have been seen as major role exits which often lead to inactivity, loneliness and a diminished self concept. To counter the effects of role exit a number of social programs have been developed or proposed which would provide older people with satisfying personal relationships. One example of these programs is the Senior Center. A central purpose of the Senior Center is to provide older people with socialization activities where they can meet and get to know other old people, thereby reestablishing relationships lost through role exit. But we must ask what the creation of senior centers assumes about older people. First of all, it assumes a basic homogeneity of the older population. The physical structures of senior centers are such that they limit the amount of diverse activity which can take place within them; therefore, activities which do take place are designed with the main aim of increasing socialization among the members. The assumption is that older people will take part in these designed activities, have a good time doing so and get to know others. Secondly, it assumes that primary ties are formed simply by bringing older persons together. Older people are seen largely as needing a place where they can meet and share with others their interests and experiences. While these assumptions may be true for a high proportion of the current elderly, the evidence presented in this research suggests that they will be much less true in the future. Since urban raised older people tend to place less

emphasis on the family to meet all of their primary relationships, we might expect the loss of family and kin through death or through migration to be less problematic. That is, urban raised older people are more likely to build and maintain primary relationships outside of the family. Additionally the primary relationships formed by the urban raised elderly tend to be based around functional ties and are probably less intense and long lasting than is true of the rural raised elderly. Relationships tend to be, in Janowitz's (1952) terms, of "limited liability"; that is, they do not demand a strong personal commitment. Because of this, we would expect urban raised older persons to attend and take part in senior center activities less frequently than do rural raised older persons. When urban raised older people do take part it would likely be for rather specific purposes--to attend a class, for instance--than for generalized social interaction. They may well identify less with the center and more with specific activities the center conducts.

The research reported here leads to one general conclusion, notably that urban raised individuals tend to be dependent upon a large number of individuals and organizations while rural raised individuals tend to be dependent upon a rather restricted number of individuals and organizations. The urban individual is more likely quite consciously to pick his associates, the organizations to which he belongs, where he lives and what resources in the community he will use. This most probably comes from the wider variety of associates, organizations and resources which are available from which the urban dweller may choose. The senior center which was mentioned above is just one option and the urban old person will likely select only that which is of interest

to him and withdraw from that which isn't. The rural or rural raised older person, because of more limited choices whether real or perceived, does not have the opportunity for discretion enjoyed by the urban dweller and, consequently, must use associates, organizations and resources to their fullest; hence, the multiple functions of his family, his friends and the organizations of which he is a member are vital. This is, I believe, an essential difference between social networks in urban and rural places in general; this difference was most likely even more significant in the earlier part of this century before modern communications and transportation systems began eroding urban-rural differences. Today's older person tended to carry over many of those attitudes and behaviors which were developed in these rural places as has been shown above, but, in time, as younger, more urban cohorts begin to replace them many of these attitudes and behaviors likely will disappear. What then is to become of our senior centers, our church picnics, bazaars and sewing circles and our senior apartment houses with congregate meals and Wednesday evening bingo games? To be sure, they will not disappear; there will still be a need and a market for senior centers, churches and housing. They may, however, become functionally specific and serve only those needs which they were designed to serve.

There are a number of possible policy implications which can be derived from this research. Central among these is that policy must not be based upon assumptions which tend to see older people as a homogeneous mass. This assumption is, of course, not very accurate even now, and it will become far less accurate in the future. Future generations of older people will expect and demand more choices in

their housing, mode of transportation, leisure pursuits and their associations. If they live in a senior apartment complex they will not automatically be content with having their non-housing needs and desires met at the same location; rather, they are likely to want to go across town to attend a meeting, visit a friend or go to a movie. While older people currently engage in these activities, they likely will do them with ever increasing frequency in the future. Future policies must bear in mind that urban raised individuals are accustomed to a range of choices which rural raised individuals are not.

Given the above, it is possible to conclude that programs which are currently quite successful--senior centers, older people's housing and church operated programs, for example--may well be much less successful in the future. As the future aged become more educated, economically better off, more numerous and more urban, new types of programs will be called for. A range of housing alternatives, more adaptable transportation services and, possibly, increased access to educational institutions, to name a few, will be necessary. Perhaps what will be needed, indeed demanded, will be an end to services specifically designed around and for older people. In its place may well be a demand for age integrated services which fulfill specific needs for all of the population not just a portion. Senior centers may well go the way of the Grange hall to become relics of the past with a decreasing membership and a decreasing ability to effectively provide services to older Americans.

This interpretation is in conformity with the theories of the interactionists discussed in Chapter I. Urban raised individuals do

appear to exhibit a personality structure which differs from rural raised individuals along the lines suggested by the interactionists. The design of separate organizations and activities for older people may well contradict this personality structure in that it implies or applies an identity to older people, stripping them of much of their ability to adapt those identities to situational demands. By removing individuality and implying a basic similarity among older people we may be going against the fabric of the older person's past experiences and, in so doing, may alienate rather than serve that person.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In the introduction of this report it was stated that this was a pilot study designed to explicate the effects of life history on current attitudes and behaviors of older Americans. In this the research has succeeded; however, like other pilot studies, it has raised more questions than it has answered. These questions will be addressed in this final section.

In Chapter II (pages 46-48) it was noted that research on the adaptation of migrants to the city furnished an incomplete understanding of the adaptation problem. The research reported here has, unfortunately, failed to make that problem much clearer. Rather, what has been presented has confirmed the complexity and variability of the adaptation process. In some instances migrants have taken on quite readily characteristics exhibited by lifelong urbanites while, in others, they have maintained the characteristics of the ruralite. This problem is a baffling one and not susceptible to an easy answer. A major problem

with the data used for this research has been an absence of complete migration information. We know the size of place the respondents lived in at the age of sixteen and the size of place they currently reside in but no data were available on the lengthy period between 16 and 60+. A more complete picture of migration history may have done much to resolve some of these problems. But the problem isn't peculiar to the General Social Survey alone as there is an absence of good migration data in general. Lifetime migration research has been forced to project from area or grouped migration data to individuals. A tracing of individual migration history on a large sample basis is needed if we are to construct adequate migration histories and the effects of that history on adaptation to cities.

A research project which would address the three hypotheses directly is desirable. One can only go so far in adapting general survey data to meet the needs of a problem as complex as the effects of background history on adaptation to cities. The General Social Survey and the SSI Survey data were deficient in a number of areas relating to each of the three hypotheses studied. This problem was especially true of the personality hypothesis and the proximity vs. interest hypothesis. A project specifically designed and adequately funded to answer the questions proposed by the research could go far in solving these problems. Future research projects should couple interview and ethnographic material which would better enable an analysis of behavioral and attitudinal differences. A major shortcoming of this research has been its inability to clarify the differences found between attitudinal and

behavioral indicators. This is, of course, no simple task but it is one which should be undertaken. The research reported on above has suggested that these differences may be important to an understanding of adaptation problems. What is being suggested here is a rather major research undertaking which is warranted, I believe, in light of the current findings and, also, in light of the ongoing discussion of rural-urban differences.

A final point which should be made concerns some secondary findings of this research which were not reported in the analysis above. During a preliminary analysis of the data it was found that, in many instances, medium sized places appeared to manifest "urban" characteristics to a higher extent than did the large places. For example, respondents raised in middle sized places had fewer children and higher educational attainment than the urban or rural respondents. These findings lead one to wonder whether or not medium sized places would rate higher on urban characteristics using other indicators. If so it would indicate that size is significantly related to urban attitudes and behaviors only to a certain point after which increasing size may lead to the reemergence of more "rural" attitudes and behaviors. One possible explanation for this finding, if true, would be that the elderly in middle sized places are heterogeneous enough to develop strong functional ties but lack enough older people in any particular group which would enable the formation of sub-communities within the larger community. To speculate further, a large urban center is likely to be populated by enough blacks or Baptists or carpenters to form strong primary ties due to a sub-community status. Large areas can

support special apartment houses, senior centers and services for old people whereas, in medium sized places, there is not enough of a demand for these things to bring them about. This would then result in these minorities having to go outside of the group for services, associations and memberships. The outcome would be that medium sized places might well exhibit higher rates of secondary involvement, adaptable personality structures and interest based communities than do larger urban settlements. An attempt to determine the validity of this argument is much needed. Increasing size has been assumed to be the central factor of urbanization and little, if any, consideration has been given to the possibility that size has an upper limit after which it has a declining effect on those characteristics which are considered urban. It is certainly worthy of much more research.

Although the research here reported on has a number of shortcomings it has been successful in pointing to a source of variation in urban older people's attitudes and behaviors. By pointing to the importance of life history it has shown that past research which fails to find differences between rural and urban residents may be quite misleading, especially, when this research has used the urban elderly as subjects. It would behoove future researchers to be cognizant of the importance of life history if they are to add to the understanding of America's older citizens. This was the central purpose of the research and it has, I believe, achieved this purpose.

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