



4-1-1970

Factors Associated with the Urban Church Participation of Former Members of Rural Churches

Edwin Max Case
Butler University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.butler.edu/grtheses>



Part of the [Civic and Community Engagement Commons](#), and the [Other Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Case, Edwin Max, "Factors Associated with the Urban Church Participation of Former Members of Rural Churches" (1970). *Graduate Thesis Collection*. 273.
<https://digitalcommons.butler.edu/grtheses/273>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Scholarship at Digital Commons @ Butler University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Thesis Collection by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Butler University. For more information, please contact digitalscholarship@butler.edu.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE URBAN CHURCH
PARTICIPATION OF FORMER MEMBERS OF RURAL CHURCHES

by

Edwin Max Case

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree
Master of Science

Division of Graduate Instruction
Butler University
In Cooperation with Christian Theological Seminary
Indianapolis
1970

LP
10
10

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Problem Area	
Research Objective	
Research Delimitation	
Previous Studies	
Summary	
II. RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES	13
Panel of Selection	
Construction of Research Instrument	
Data Collection Techniques	
Content Analysis	
Summary	
III. THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	24
Tilly's Migration Model	
Church as a Voluntary Association	
Chapin's Scale of Social Participation	
Conclusion	
IV. THE FINDINGS	31
Summary of Findings	
Interpretation of Findings	
Suggested Modifications for Further Research	
V. CASE STUDIES	39
Mrs. J. H.	
Mrs. W. B.	
Mr. B. D.	
Mr. R. W.	
Mr. G. W.	
Summary of Case Studies	
VI. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH	68

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS70
BIBLIOGRAPHY71
General Articles, Periodicals and Public Documents Other Sources	
APPENDIX75
Sample Letters Research Instrument Verbatim Transcript of an Interview Implications for the Church	

CHAPTER I

Problem Area

When a person migrates from a rural community to an urban one, he enters a world of unfamiliar roles, new social relationships, and different patterns of social behavior. Socialized into the culture and social organization of the rural community, he has developed an understanding of that community with its recognized social positions, role prescriptions, and the behavior associated with these positions. In the city a process of resocialization must occur if the migrant is to become an effective participant in urban life. Through interaction with others in the urban community, he is enabled to acquire a greater or lesser understanding of the city's social structure and of the role prescriptions and behavior associated with these different positions. Successful adjustment to the city life is thus dependent on the content of the individual's socialization experiences. It is within a network of interpersonal relationships and within the various social role contexts that the migrant becomes a part of the urban milieu. The process by which the rural migrant acquires personal attributes descriptive of his new conditions of life in the city is termed "urbanization." Harvey Cox stresses the qualitative aspect of urbanization in this respect.

In trying to define the term urbanization, however, we are confronted with the fact that social scientists themselves are not

entirely agreed about what it means. It is clear, however, that urbanization is not just a quantitative term. It does not refer to population size or density, to geographic extent or to a particular form of government. Admittedly some of the character of modern urban life would not be possible without giant populations concentrated on enormous contiguous land masses. As Vidich and Bensman have shown in Small Town in Mass Society, high mobility, economic concentration, and mass communications have drawn even rural villages into the web of urbanization. Urbanization means a structure of common life in which diversity and the disintegration of tradition are paramount. It means a type of impersonality in which functional relationships multiply. It means that a degree of tolerance and anonymity replace traditional moral sanctions and long-term acquaintanceships. The urban center is the place of human control, of rational planning, of bureaucratic organization.¹

The primary interest in this present study is to ascertain changes in the rural migrant's church relationships effected by migration from a rural to an urban environment. It is important to study the impact of urbanization in these changes from rural to urban church relationships.

Research Objective

The specific objective of this research design is to identify and explain the factors associated with the adjustment of former members of rural churches in urban churches. For example, the following questions will be raised in this regard.

- What factors enable or do not enable former members of rural churches to adapt and adjust to a large urban church?
- What factors influence or do not influence former members of rural churches in their participation in a large urban church?

¹Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965), pp. 4-5.

- What degree of personal satisfaction do former members of rural churches express about their participation in an urban church?
- What changes are perceived by these former members of rural churches in their church relationship effected by migration?
- How does the level of participation in the urban church compare to the level of participation in the former rural church?

It is assumed that the present study, then, can yield data useful to these questions. If the rural church migrants do, in fact, change their church relationships in urban churches, which we assume is the result of their "urbanization," it becomes important for the researcher to identify and interpret their explanations of these changes, i.e., self-perceptions.

There is prolific research literature bearing on the movement of people to cities and their consequent adjustment, including studies of the acculturation and assimilation of ethnic minorities in the dominant urban society. There has been much confusion about the overlapping of terms in such studies, as Charles Tilly summarizes:

Overlapping terms like integration, assimilation, enculturation, acculturation, absorption, amalgamation, and adjustment are constantly contending for recognition, and constantly changing their meaning. Most likely confusion will continue until some standard ways of measuring various changes associated with migration gain wide acceptance; that has been the course of events elsewhere in demography. In the meantime, it may be pertinent to point out how much of the confusion has come from unnoticed variation in the unit of analysis and in the span of time under consideration.¹

Following Tilly's suggestion that migration studies should be defined by the unit of analysis and the span of time under consideration, this present study will employ a unit of analysis small in scope

¹Charles Tilly, Migration to an American City (Agricultural Experiment Station and Division of Urban Affairs, University of Delaware, April, 1965), p. 4.

like individuals or nuclear families, and a span of time relatively short from the beginning of the movement to shortly after its completion.¹ Hence, the present study employs the term "adjustment" in lieu of its unit of analysis and span of time. To our knowledge there have not been any studies conducted specifically on the subject of the adjustment of former members of rural churches in urban churches. This necessitates an exploratory research design, which is the intention of this study.

Research Delimitation

In studies that have as their purpose to gain familiarity with a phenomenon and to achieve new insights into it, often in order to formulate a more precise research problem or to develop hypotheses (for future studies)--generally called formulative or exploratory studies, the major emphasis is on discovery of ideas and insights.²

The major emphasis in this study is on discovery of ideas and insights, and its purpose is to formulate a problem for more precise investigation in future studies. Thus, this study must be viewed as an initial step in a continuous research process.

Ingenuity and good luck play a part in determining an exploratory study's productiveness. Nevertheless, it is possible to employ three methods in the search for important variables and meaningful hypotheses defining the research problem, and consequently formulating it into manageable size in a single study. These methods include:

¹Ibid.

²Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch, Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, Revised (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964), p. 50.

(1) a review of the related social science and other pertinent literature; (2) interviews with people who have had practical experience with the problem to be studied; and (3) an analysis of "insight-stimulating" examples.¹ Most exploratory studies utilize one or more of these approaches. This study utilized all three in varying degrees.

The topic for research was selected in the beginning of the process--what are the factors associated with the church participation of former members of rural churches in urban churches. With the selecting of a topic for research, we employed these three methods in defining and formulating the research problem.

- (1) A review of the current social science and religious research journals.

The investigator undertook a systematic survey of sociological and religious research journals. Various articles, periodicals, public documents were then noted that related to our selected topic, e.g., "Social Class and Church Participation," "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures." The Sociological Abstracts yielded additional sources, notably, a significant article "The Assimilation of Migrants to Cities," with 60 bibliographical references to related sources. The journal Human Organization provided theoretical insights in such articles as "Alternative Models for the Study of Urban Migration" and "Role Path: A Concept and Procedure for Studying Migration to Urban Communities."

Whenever recent studies were cited in magazines and journals, the investigator sent for further information. For example, the

¹Ibid., p. 53.

Biblical Recorder, August 9, 1969, reported a study on "Rural Churches Fail to Prepare Members for Life in Cities." However, this study was not available to the investigator. The response to various inquiries led to yet other unpublished sources heretofore unknown, e.g., Thomas Boling's M.A. thesis on Socio-Religious Factors in the Adjustment of Southern Baptists in the North and Millard Brown's M.A. thesis on The Influence of Horizontal Mobility on Social Participation in the Rural Community.

Finally, Doctoral Dissertations were examined for the past five years, and no new sources were yielded.

(2) The investigator conducted a survey of people who had practical experience with the research problem to be studied.

Six interviews or more were held with Dr. Donald W. Zimmerman, Director of the Ecumenical Center of Renewal and Planning; two interviews were held with Rev. Arleon Kelley, Director of Research and Planning, Indiana Council of Churches; two interviews were held with Dr. Richard Myers, Director of Research and Planning, Greater Church Federation of Indianapolis. Dr. Jay Johnson, Department of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin, was consulted for possible suggestions and knowledge of previous studies.

The investigator was advised to correspond with the Youth Research Center (YRC), Minneapolis, Minnesota for information on previous studies. The investigator learned that the YRC had not conducted any studies on migration of rural youth to urban churches.

After selecting a topic for research, the investigator learned that Rev. Lloyd Wright of the United Methodist Church, South Indiana

Conference, had considerable interest in such a research project. In fact, Rev. Wright made available funding for such a project. The investigator then drafted a proposal specifying the research objective, method, instrument design, schedule, budget expenses, to submit before the Town and Country Commission of the United Methodist Church, South Indiana Conference. The Commission acted affirmatively on September 25, 1969, to fund such a research proposal, and would make funds available beginning January 1, 1970.

Rev. Lloyd Wright and the Town and Country Commission brought their interests to bear on the research proposal which led to subsequent revisions. It was recognized that this research advisory group, in this case the client of the research, had a responsibility to explore the research needs, assist in the development of the design, and to give advice during the process.

(3) An analysis of "insight-stimulating" examples.

Various pre-test interviews were conducted with the focus on the individual's self-perceptions, attitudes, and interpretations. The emphasis was upon an intensive study of selected instances of the phenomenon of church participation, and its changes under the impact of urbanization and migration.

Several features characterized the approach used for the evoking of insights. First, the investigator's attitude was one of "alert receptivity of seeking rather than of testing."¹ Hence, the inquiry was constantly in the process of reformulation and redirection as new information was obtained. Frequent changes were made in the types of

¹Ibid., p. 60.

ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

data collected or in the criteria for case selection as emerging hypotheses required new information. Second, one attempted to obtain sufficient information to characterize and explain both the unique features of the case being studied and those which it had in common with other cases. In the study of the individual, this entailed an extensive examination of both his present situation and his life history, i.e., his rural church and urban church experience. A third feature of this approach was its "reliance on the integrative powers of the investigator,"¹ on his ability to draw together many diverse portions of information into a unified interpretation. As experienced researchers point out, "the characteristic is not necessarily undesirable when the purpose is to evoke rather than to test hypotheses."²

The study of individuals who are in transition from one stage of development to another stage was the focus of the investigator's attempt to gain insights. This type of investigation is used by anthropologists to study the influence of culture on personality, and it has proved valuable in understanding the processes of social change.³

In summary, it is important to note that this exploratory study's purpose is to merely discover ideas and insights. It does not test or demonstrate hypotheses. In selecting cases that have special characteristics, one has by definition taken cases that are not typical. Although the selected cases may be sources of ideas about processes that occur in more typical cases, one cannot assume that these processes do in fact occur in cases other than those one has studied.⁴

¹Selltiz, op. cit. ²Ibid., pp. 60-61. ³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp. 64-65.

Thus an exploratory study must be regarded as a first step in a continuous research process; more carefully controlled studies are needed to test whether the hypotheses that emerge have general applicability.

Previous Studies

The investigator discovered numerous variables for the present research objective in previous empirical studies. These studies pointed to several factors which influence the social participation of rural migrants in urban structures.

A great deal of conjecture but little empirical research has characterized the discussion of the effects of migration on social participation. The studies conducted indicate one clear-cut direction: greater social participation is associated with less migration, i.e., greater length of residence in a given community.

Basil Zimmer's findings in "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures" reached these conclusions:

Migrants differ from the natives in level of participation but they become more similar to the natives in their behavior the longer they live in the community.¹

Zimmer noted the effect of age, occupation, education, and urban background on entry into formal organizations.

Younger persons are less affected by migration than older persons. . . .

It takes the manual worker longer to become similar to the native in participation. . . .

¹Basil G. Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Cities and Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 731.

In preparing for or in the pursuit of white collar work, persons learn at the same time an urban way of life, which is carried with them in their migration. . . .

At the lower levels of education, migrants become similar to the natives of equal education sooner than at the college level. It may be that college persons join more exclusive groups which are more difficult to enter. . . .

Urban migrants tend to enter the activities of the community more rapidly than farm migrants. . . . Farm migrants . . . never do attain the level of participation of the natives. . . . Apparently rural nonfarm and urban migrants attain their normal participation in about five years, whereas, farm migrants are continually adjusting.¹

It should be noted that John Scott came up with different results and concluded in another study:

In general, the length of residence in the community has no significant influence upon membership participation, although there is a slight tendency for persons who have lived in the community ten years or less to have more memberships than those who have lived in the community over ten years.² (*Italics mine.*)

Will Herberg conjectured on the long-term effect of inter-societal migration.³ He stated that second generation immigrants are less active in religious groups, but the third generation returns to the churches as a symbol of social identification. Gerhard Lenski tested this hypothesis but did not find support for Herberg's thesis. Lenski said, "Instead of the pattern of decline and return which Herberg speaks of, our data suggest a pattern of increasing religious activity linked with increasing Americanization."⁴ Lenski also found

¹Ibid., passim.

²John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, XXII (June, 1957), p. 325.

³Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1956).

⁴Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961), p. 41.

that intrasocietal migration has an effect similar to immigration in disrupting patterns of participation.

Southern-born white Protestant migrants to Detroit are no more active in the churches than first-or second generation immigrants from abroad. . . . The explanation for this seems to be that the transition from the semi-rural south to a modern metropolitan community is in many respects a change comparable to that experienced by first-generation immigrants from abroad. The established white Protestant churches seem strange and unfamiliar by rural southern standards, and hence not especially attractive.¹

Previous empirical studies bear out another finding useful in the present research; namely, that secular variables are intertwined with the religious variable.² Erich Goode summarized such findings on social class and church participation:

The higher the class level, the greater the degree of church participation; the lower the class level, the lower the degree of church participation.³

Goode states that the main area of disagreement about this finding centers, not around whether the association exists and whether it is positive or negative, but it centers around why this regularity exists. Gerhard Lenski, for example, maintains that the observed regularity is a function of the fact that church members of the middle classes demonstrate a higher over-all associational activity.⁴ In other words, the

¹Ibid., p. 42.

²Erich Goode, "Social Class and Church Participation," American Journal of Sociology, 72 (July, 1966), pp. 102-111. Goode cites another article testing three variables, Rodney Stark's "Class, Radicalism, and Religious Involvement in Great Britain," American Sociological Review, 29 (October, 1964), pp. 298-706, in which Stark concludes middle class individuals actually do display a higher level of religiosity, a greater degree of religious concern, and their higher level of church activity measures this religiousness.

³Ibid., p. 102.

⁴Lenski, The Religious Factor, p. 44n.

regularity between social class and church participation is explained by non-religious factors. Goode, however, concludes that Lenski's findings are without empirical evidence, and until such time as empirical data are brought to bear on this question, it will remain an unwarranted assumption.

It is important to note here that in Zimmer's and Goode's studies "church participation" clearly means something quite different for white-collar workers than it does for manual laborers.

Summary

Several factors influence the social participation of rural migrants in urban structures according to previous studies: (1) origins, (2) education, (3) occupation, (4) auspices of migration, (5) age at migration, (6) length of residence, (7) previous migrations, (8) social mobility, (9) income, (10) geographic mobility, (11) community activities. These variables will be included in the research design of this present study.

Review of previous studies indicates that there have not been any studies conducted on the factors associated with urban church participation of former members of rural churches.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

After delimiting the study to the self-perceptions of former members of rural churches who participated in urban churches, the investigator proceeded to the next steps in any research problem-- (1) determine the panel of selection, (2) construct the research instrument,¹ (3) and develop data collection techniques and (4) select techniques useful in data analysis.

Panel of Selection

First, the panel of selection was dictated by our research advisory group, The Town and Country Commission of the United Methodist Church, South Indiana Conference. It was suggested that rural migrants be interviewed who had recently moved to the city of Indianapolis and joined United Methodist churches. The investigator selected a cross-section of United Methodist churches on the basis of the church's social stratification and size of membership. Dr. Myers of the Greater Church Federation of Indianapolis assisted in the selection on the basis of his previous research findings. Twenty United Methodist churches were selected representing a cross-section of the social strata. A letter of explanation of the research project was sent to these twenty churches in an attempt to discover if the churches had received former members of

¹See the Appendix.

rural churches into their memberships during the last three years. These former members were identified by the community recorded on the church letters of transfer sent from the rural to the urban church. A criterion of "country church" was developed in subsequent phone calls with the pastors and secretaries of these churches; namely, a "rural church" implied it was located in a rural community of under 2,500 population and not adjacent to another community of 50,000 population according to the definition of the U. S. Census Bureau. This demographic criterion was applied to the letters of transfer, comparing the size of the migrant's community to the census definition.

The research advisory group also suggested it would be of value to know more about the phenomenon of denominational mobility among the rural migrants from Indiana. In an attempt to identify any United Methodist members who recently migrated to Indianapolis but transferred their membership into a church of another denomination, the same letter of explanation of our research project was sent to churches which were either "splinter-groups" or "sisters in denominational tradition" --in this case, to Nazarene, Wesleyan, and to one additional church with a reputed membership of rural migrants, The Baptist Temple. Subsequent phone calls were made on these churches to clarify the "country church" by census definition.

A previous study established that rural migrants migrating to an urban center were more apt to achieve similarity to the urban natives with greater length of time in the urban community;¹ therefore, the

¹Basil Zimmer's study on "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures" guided this direction in our research design.

investigator chose to limit the period in which rural migrants joined urban churches to three years reducing the similarity to the urban natives in the urban churches. (Our findings produced other intervening variables far more important than length of residence, however.)

After sending out 27 letters to urban churches,¹ with enclosed return postcards, in late November, 1969, subsequent phone calls were made in early December, 1969, and by mid-January, 1970, the investigator had received replies from five United Methodist churches and no replies from the Nazarene, Wesleyan and Baptist Temple churches. Forty-six persons were indicated as prospective rural migrants from Indiana from these five United Methodist churches. Closer scrutiny eliminated even more persons as rural migrants by census definition.

It is inconclusive whether this represents all the rural migrants in the five United Methodist churches reported, let alone the actual situation in churches which reported none. The churches which sent in names of persons were in each instance large urban churches with secretarial staff. It was conjectured that the returns may indicate the convenience or inconvenience of securing such information for the pastor-in-charge of the respective churches. The large churches with secretarial staff found it convenient to make their return, but the smaller churches without secretarial staff did not find it so convenient.

It also must be noted that the number of rural migrants from Indiana recorded on the letters of transfer in Indianapolis churches reflects a very small percent of each church's total membership, and it

¹See the Appendix.

was conjectured that this small percent might not be true in the unreported urban churches with small memberships. Our data are distorted, without a doubt, in that the total number of rural migrants reported (N=46) probably under represents the actual number of rural migrants in these churches canvassed. It was inferred that the inconvenience in gathering such data reduced the actual number to the reported number.

The United Methodist churches which reported former members of rural churches were:

Irvington United Methodist	-20
Asbury United Methodist	- 9
Broadway United Methodist	- 8
University Heights United Methodist	- 3
Broad Ripple United Methodist	<u>- 6</u>
Total Former Members of Rural Churches	-46

It was learned in phone conversation with the pastors of Nazarene and Wesleyan churches that their rural migrants are from Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, and not from Indiana. It may be noted that these churches were selected on the basis of reputed size of church membership,¹ and the larger churches were selected in our canvass; namely, churches of 400-500 members. The United Methodist churches ranged from this size to over 2,000 members. The reporting churches averaged on the whole nearly 1,000 members or more.

¹Greater Church Federation Directory of Indianapolis.

Another assumption the investigator made in selecting Nazarene, Wesleyan, and the Baptist Temple churches was that this type of churches would be more likely to preserve the rural church's revivalistic tradition, i.e. emphasis upon "altar call" and salvation by conversion, more than the established middle-class United Methodist churches. Hence, it was assumed that the rural migrant who came out of the revivalistic tradition would be more likely to attend and join these churches of another denomination than his own denomination. These denominations, incidentally, did not have any reason to cooperate especially with our research project, and it might be concluded that the lack of response may reflect this attitude of noncooperation--in spite of the fact the letter was purposely written on Greater Church Federation of Indianapolis stationery. The United Methodist churches were obliged to be cooperative with the research project under the auspices of the United Methodist church, and furthermore the letter of introduction was purposely written on the District Superintendent's stationery.

Construction of Research Instrument

Second, the construction of the research instrument evolved out of personal consultation with several church researchers and/or faculty members. A further refinement took place after a series of pre-test interviews. The Information Sheet was derived largely from Dr. Pittard's survey in measuring the meaning of commitment of the church.¹ Modifications were made for the study's emphasis upon the effects of migration,

¹Barbara Pittard, The Meaning and Measurement of Commitment to the Church, Research Paper No. 13 (Atlanta, Georgia: Georgia State College, 1965), pp. 78-79.

noting the previous and present employment, family income, residence, number of previous migrations. The construction of the instrument further involved the building of various response categories to the pre-tested questions, attempting to provide means of comparing the various responses. For example, categories were formulated for the question indicating whether the city church helped the rural migrant make the transition to the city, and categories were formulated indicating whether certain non-religious factors influenced their current church participation. Responses to these categories were then tabulated to present a profile of the majority-minority responses, which is presented in the summary of the findings.

The Instrument included two parts, then: (a) The Information Sheet (demographic data), (b) The Interview Questions (factors associated with church participation).

Data Collection Techniques

The investigator decided to make use of the focussed interview as the primary means of data collection, and in order to insure reliability of our findings, it was decided that the focussed interviews be transcribed on tape, and this procedure was followed in all twelve interviews conducted by the investigator.

The steps taken to arrange the interviews with the rural migrants in the five United Methodist Churches were these: (1) a phone call was made to the pastor-in-charge of the churches, and explanation was made of the research project, and a request was made that the pastor authorize a letter of introduction to be sent to each prospective interviewee;¹

¹See the Appendix.

(2) after the pastor consented to send the letter, the investigator mailed a sample letter to the pastor for his approval and signature; (3) the letter of introduction was mailed to the prospective interviewee and (4) the investigator contacted by telephone the prospective interviewee to request his permission for an interview. Related to the previous step, (5) the prospective interviewee qualified or disqualified himself as a recent rural migrant from Indiana. (6) Finally, an appointment was made at the individual's convenience and the investigator then conducted the interview in the private home of the interviewee.

The investigator discovered that approximately one-third of the persons contacted disqualified themselves from the interview when it was learned that the prospective interviewee had lived in the city more than 10 years. This says something that needs attention later in the paper. Four prospects lived in the city more than 30 years before transferring membership into a city church; five prospects lived in the city more than 20 years before transferring membership; seven prospects lived in the city more than 10 years before transferring membership. Sixteen were disqualified on this ground. Two persons refused to cooperate with an interview and informed the investigator on the telephone.

Interviews were arranged with twelve individuals, and these interviews were conducted by the investigator during February and March, 1970, in the private homes of the individuals. The individuals were members in three United Methodist churches in Indianapolis; namely, Broadway, Irvington and Broad Ripple. Three persons were interviewed from Broad Ripple; five persons were interviewed from Irvington; four persons were interviewed from Broadway.

The interviews were arranged at the interviewee's convenience, and two interviews were conducted during the daytime with housewives supervising children; the other ten interviews were conducted during the evening when the individuals were not at their employment.

The tape recorder was used in each interview and it was set on the floor or on a nearby table as inconspicuously as possible, so as not to detract from the interviewee's attention. The investigator never met resistance with the use of the tape recorder, and on the whole, the interviewees never mentioned its presence or verbalized their discomfort at its presence during the interview. The interview lasted approximately from 45 to 50 minutes--the shortest interview conducted lasted 35 minutes while the longest interview conducted lasted one hour and 25 minutes due to frequent interruptions. Other persons than the interviewee were present during the conducted interview, but did not speak--unless the interviewee brought such a person into his conversation, e.g., to request a spouse to help in remembering previous history. The investigator also interrupted a few interviews in the case of temporary disruptions such as someone at the door, a telephone call, or a child needing attention.

In conclusion, our research design relied on focussed interviews to gather the data, and the interviews were transcribed on tape. The methodology has built-in limitations, and it must be recognized that the study is restricted to a descriptive approach. The study's findings will not lead to generalizations about any other population but the one reported. It is assumed, however, that a respondent's report of changes in his church participation from a rural to an urban community, and his

explanation of how these changes occurred, do constitute adequate data on which to build future hypotheses of social-psychological processes.

Content Analysis

An additional step was taken in the research design and procedures. The investigator used content analysis. "Content analysis" is the tool employed when working with large amounts of unclassified narrative material. Berelson defines this tool as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."¹ He suggests that it can be applied to private communications like conversations, or the psychoanalytic interview just as it can be applied to public communications like newspapers and radio programs.² Because this study's primary sources were conversations acquired through personal interviews, transcribed on tape, the procedures of content analysis were used.

This investigator was aware of the inherent danger of seeing what he wanted to see in the responses of the individuals interviewed. Some refinement of method beyond the mere conducting of an interview and recording impressions by one individual was necessary to establish the reliability of the findings. Berelson comments:

There is considerable opening for the collection of selective evidence, usually unconsciously--for overlooking the non-dramatic and focussing upon a few cases which may be quite untypical of the total output and there is often no assurance that this has not occurred.³

¹Bernard Berleson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952), p. 18.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 119.

In the present study quantitative measurements were not used. The data itself rather called for qualitative analysis. Again, Berelson cites seven distinguishing features of qualitative analysis guiding this study: (1) much qualitative analysis is quasi-quantitative, (2) it is often based upon presence-absence of particular content (rather than relative frequencies), (3) it is done on small or incomplete samples, (4) it usually contains a higher ratio of noncontent to content statements than quantitative analysis, (5) it is relatively less concerned with the content as such than with the content as a "reflection" of "deeper" phenomenon, (6) it employs less formalized categorization than quantitative analysis, (7) and it utilizes more complex themes than quantitative analysis.¹

Qualitative analysis then focuses on developing meaningful categories and measuring the qualitative data against the categories, and these non-numerical units may be called "categories of content." In order to determine these categories, two steps were taken. First, sociological literature was reviewed to discover how previous studies analyzed the phenomena of migration from rural to urban cultures. Second, the transcribed interviews were listened to twice in all cases, and in the process of listening, the investigator tried to develop clues from the content itself. Berleson justifies this step stating "the tendency of the qualitative analyst is to make his interpretations as he goes through the material--whenever a piece of content cues him in some way."² The transcribed interviews were then listened to again

¹Ibid., pp. 116-128.

²Ibid.

and notes were made when any statement of the respondent suggested the presence of the developed "categories of content." (These categories of content are discussed in the next chapter, "Theoretical Concepts.") These noted statements were then used as evidence of the factors associated with the migrant's participation in the city church. It was noted whether such statements illustrating the categories of content were present or absent in each interview, or whether such categories were not applicable and hence in need of modification in future studies.

Summary

What has been written thus far describes the steps taken in the Research Design and Procedures. These steps were (1) determining the panel of selection, (2) constructing the research instrument, (3) developing the data collection techniques, and (4) use of content analysis.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

After a review of previous empirical studies, the investigator sought to build a theoretical framework for the purposes of this present study. Three theoretical concepts are employed in this study; (a) Tilly's Migration Model, (b) The Church as a Voluntary Association, (c) Chapin's Scale of Social Participation. Thus, the investigator has attempted to build on the research hypotheses of previous studies.

Tilly's Migration Model

If an investigator wishes to estimate the extent and type of adjustment of a rural migrant to an urban community, he may well begin by identifying the origin and the characteristics of the migrating individuals and thereby judge the amount and the kind of transfer of skill, status, and membership each individual makes at migration. Charles Tilly states the impact of transfer at migration in these terms.

On the whole, the higher the rank of an occupation, the more likely that its migrating holder will bring with him memberships in a variety of national associations, that he will have a status which will mean something to a wide variety of people, and that he will already have accumulated a variety of skills in dealing with the characteristic bureaucracies, markets of system of communication of any city. On the other hand, the low-ranking migrant whose move utterly interrupts his occupational life, who arrives illiterate and with little knowledge of bureaucrats, subways, department stores or traffic laws, often transfers active membership in 'ascriptive solidarities' (the useful, if ponderous, term of Talcott Parsons') as kind groups, ethnic¹ subgroups, or networks of individuals from the same country town.

¹Tilly, op. cit. p. 2.

Tilly's point is important to underline in this study; namely, that the amount and kind of transfer at migration, indicated by occupational rank and previous urban experience, make great differences in the adjustment patterns of rural migrants in the city, and in their subsequent assimilation. In fact, Tilly asserts that transfer at migration affects the social organization of migration itself. To see this clearly, Tilly indicates that the auspices under which migration occurs must be studied in various individuals, which are either related to work or nonwork auspices in the American society.

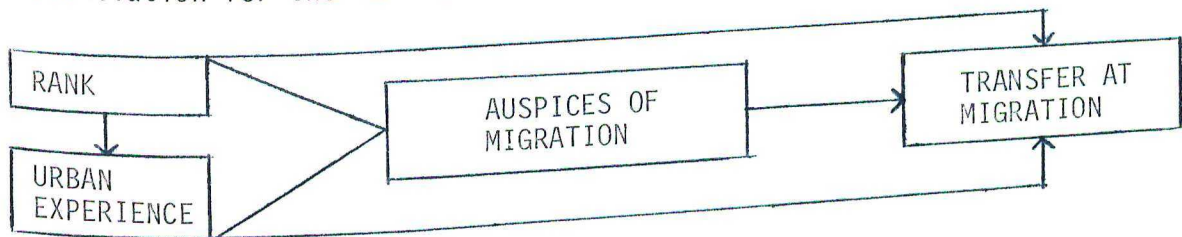
Tilly summarizes the findings of previous studies relating these variables:

Previous analysis of migration offer some guidance as to what regularities in the auspices of migration one might expect to find. On the whole, the proportion of migration to cities under work-related auspices probably rises with rank and secondarily with the urbanity of the migrating group's previous experience. These expectations follow from a) the general increase in the possession of valued and transferable skills, involvement in pervasive systems of communication, and implication in careers calling for sequences of simultaneous changes of job and location, with rise in rank, and b) the association between urban experience and involvement in extensive labor markets. On the whole, the proportion of migration under the auspices of ascriptive solidarities probably declines with the rank and with the similarity of communities of origin and destination, for related reasons.¹

While general skill in dealing with urban institutions rises with occupational rank and with urbanity of origins, so does the transfer of statuses in pervasive formal structures, and so does the transfer of membership in particular associations, and the effective transfer of membership in ascriptive solidarities declines with rank and with urbanity of origin. Now it seems reasonable to qualify this finding with the

¹Ibid., pp. 3-4.

statement that the auspices of migration have parallel but partly independent effects. For example, the auspices under which individuals migrate may weaken or strengthen the relationships cited above. That is, at a given rank those who migrate under work related auspices more frequently transfer general skill, pervasive statuses, membership in associations, and less frequently transfer membership in ascriptive solidarities, than others at the same rank. A simple diagram will present the elements (boxes) and the relationships (arrows) discussed thus far.¹ It is important to note that Tilly's migration theories support Basil Zimmer's findings, and provide further empirical substantiation for the variables used in this present study.



Though there are certain ambiguities in Tilly's hypothesis as stated, it offers some interesting guidance for further investigation. The focus of this study is to examine whether differences in the amount and kind of transfer at migration, along with the auspices of migration, make significant differences in the initial experience of the migrant in the city church.

Church as a Voluntary Association

The term "voluntary association" can be appropriately applied to the church. John Scott defines it as used in this study:

¹Ibid., p. 4.

A voluntary association is a group of persons relatively freely organized to pursue mutual and personal interests or to achieve common goals, usually non-profit in nature.¹

The emphasis is upon voluntary, non-profit, avocational organizations, which combine personal gratification with pursuit of shared goals. The implicit model seems to be the national organization with local chapters. Excluded are informal associations which lack formal structure, and involuntary associations created by fiat or ascription, e.g., armies and clans.

Scott's criteria for a voluntary association are: (1) qualifying criteria for membership, (2) offices filled by election or selection by representatives empowered by by-laws, (3) periodic meetings frequently in a regular meeting place.

Churches, at least, contemporary churches in the United States, meet these criteria. However, these criteria apply variously to different types of church organizations with "inner city storefront" churches approaching but not attaining each kind of criteria.

(It is widely questioned today, however, whether the church is a voluntary association in America. There are exceptions, e.g., attendance at church is not voluntary for infants carried to church or small children forced to attend church by their parents.)

In contemporary America, participation in the churches is voluntary. And these statements of the voluntary nature of the church can be true even if Will Herberg, Martin Marty, and Peter Berger are correct that identification with a socio-religious community is a product of

¹John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, 22 (June, 1957), p. 316.

social pressures in society.¹ It may be admitted that identification is socially sanctioned, but participation is not, and, in no case, is financial support or attendance compelled by church law. The religious identification of a person is not sufficient data for purposes of sociological analysis without further information as to the extent of involvement and commitment to the particular religion. Thus, participation in the churches is a major variable in the study of contemporary American religion.

In this study, then, it shall be assumed that the extent of participation in the church is voluntary--even if socially conditioned --and the study shall investigate the ways in which social characteristics of persons are related to ways of participating in United Methodist churches in Indianapolis.

Chapin's Scale of Social Participation

In many of the social participation studies, the construction of an index to measure social participation is "either...or," i.e., either one participates or one does not participate. Affiliation has been used as synonymous with participation. Membership, however nominal, has been sufficient to categorize one as a participant. The studies tend to pay more attention to different types of organization in which people participate, rather than attempt to identify how people participate in organizations.

¹Herberg, op. cit.; Martin Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (New York: Harper and Row, 1958); Peter Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961).

F. Stuart Chapin developed a social participation scale as one component of a measure of socio-economic status. The scale consists of the following five items and their arbitrary weights:

- 1 Point for Membership
- 2 Points for Attendance
- 3 Points for Monetary Contributions
- 4 Points for Committee Membership
- 5 Points for Office Held¹

Chapin's scale has been used as an ordinal scale of social participation in an attempt to overcome the simple "participant-nonparticipant" dichotomy based on affiliation or nonaffiliation.

One of the necessary developments in the systematic study of voluntary associations is the establishing of scales of social participation. The plural form, "scales," is used deliberately to indicate the complexity of social participation which varies quantitatively and qualitatively.

Chapin, himself, recognized that more than one factor is involved in the social participation scale:

The social participation scale measures a person's social acceptance or rejection on three factors: membership (1), committee membership (4), and offices held (5). It measures pure participation of the person on two factors: attendance (2) and contributions (3).²

Critics of the Chapin Scale point out that membership is merely a condition of participation and does not describe an individual's

¹F. Stuart Chapin, "A Quantitative Scale for Rating the Home and Social Environment of Middle Class Families in an Urban Community: A First Approximation of the Measurement of Socio-Economic Status," Journal of Educational Psychology, 19 (January, 1928), pp. 100-101.

²F. Stuart Chapin, "Comment" on "Social Participation in the Rural Community" by Selz C. Mayo and Paul March, American Journal of Sociology, 57 (1951), p. 248.

behavior in a voluntary organization.¹ Financial contribution is one way, but not the only way, of acting to implement the purposes of an organization. The term "attendance" does not have a single reference. One critic isolates three dimensions of participation: (1) decision-making, (2) activity, and (3) value commitment.²

It is not within the scope of this pilot-study to devote time to this important subject; namely, to develop the various dimensions of social participation in a voluntary association and scalize each dimension.³ The present study attempts to assess the degree of urban church participation of former members of rural churches using Chapin's five items.

Conclusion

These three theoretical concepts guide the present study not only in research design and procedures, but also in data analysis. Earlier it was stated that these theoretical concepts serve as Berelson's "categories of content" in this study's content analysis. These research assumptions will be employed in the present study's data analysis: (a) Tilly's Migration Model, (b) The Church as Voluntary Association, (c) Chapin's Social Participation Scale.

¹William M. Evan, "Dimensions of Participation in Voluntary Associations," Social Forces, 36 (December, 1957), pp. 148-153.

²Ibid., p. 149.

³See John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 315-326. An attempt toward isolating various dimensions of participation and scalizing each dimension.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINDINGS

The church participation of the interviewees is shown in Table 1. The reader will find Chapin's five items measuring social participation contained in this Table.

TABLE 1
CHURCH PARTICIPATION OF TWELVE INTERVIEWEES

Number of persons interviewed		12
Number of church members		12
Number who attended church		
Every Sunday	0	
Once a month or more	7	
Irregular	5	
Number who contributed financially		
Tithed	1	
Pledged	4	
Irregular	7	
Number holding committee membership (includes church school, choir, women's organization)		4
Number holding church office		0

The sociological characteristics of the interviewees are shown in Table 2. These same characteristics will be used to describe five former members of rural churches in the case studies (Chapter V).

TABLE 2

SOCIOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TWELVE INTERVIEWEES

Origins: Six persons were from rural villages. Four were from small towns. Two were from the rural-urban fringe.

Education: All had at least a high school education except two persons (defected from the Methodist Church); three had postgraduate education.

Occupation: Four persons were professionals, e.g., teachers and nurses. Others were operators, service workers, salesman. Three were regarded as unemployed, e.g., housewives.

Auspices of Migration: Seven moved for work related reasons; five for nonwork related reasons (closer to family and relatives).

Age at Migration: All persons moved before they were older than 35 years of age except one woman recently widowed.

Length of Residence: All persons had lived in the city 3 or more years.

Previous Migrations: All had a history of previous migration, i.e., all had moved from a rural community to another small town or city prior to moving to Indianapolis.

Social Mobility: Seven persons evidenced vertical mobility, while four persons evidenced horizontal mobility. One person evidenced downward mobility (older woman recently widowed).

Geographic Mobility: Three persons who had moved twice within the city during a four year period did not attend church and did not belong to subsidiary organizations in the church.

Community Activities: All persons participated in one other social organization or community activity in addition to the church except one person.

Summary of Findings

What did the investigator learn about the factors associated with church participation? Comparison of the city church and previous church participation revealed that with few exceptions former members of rural churches decreased in (1) frequency of church attendance,

(2) financial contributions, (3) participation in church committees, (4) offices held in the city church (R. W. is the singular exception).

Three nonreligious factors influencing the migrant's participation in the city church were (1) visiting relatives on weekends, (2) the work schedule(s), (3) family illness.

The factors most frequently cited as influencing the rural migrant's selection of a city church were in order of frequency (1) the minister's personality, (2) the physical proximity of the church to their own home, (3) and denominational preference.

A comparison of the family income with the migrant's financial contribution to the church revealed that the vertically mobile, i.e. those who earn more income, contribute more financially to the city church, while the horizontally mobile, i.e., those who earn the same amount of income, contribute less to the city church. However, two migrants who earned more income contributed less to the city church; one migrant who earned less income, contributed less to the city church.

The two areas most frequently mentioned in which the rural migrants received help from the city church making the transition to the city were (1) "securing new friends," and (2) "children's adjustment."

Seven persons felt that the size of the church did not make a significant difference in whether the church helped them or not, while five persons felt that the church would help them more if the church size were smaller.

The majority reported that the city church was "more tolerant on moral questions" than their previous church--and were evenly split on whether this was evaluated as "good" or "bad." The more vertically

mobile and with a high school education or more concluded it was "good" while the horizontally mobile with less than a high school education concluded it was "bad."

The vast majority felt that it was not the "church's role" to help minority group members to have equal employment opportunities, nor to urge more tax dollars be spent for the housing needs of low-income people; the rural migrants were evenly split on whether it was the "minister's role" to take a public stand on school desegregation. On the latter question, those with high school education or more tended to reply "yes" while those with less than high school education tended to reply "no."

All but one did not participate in any church activity beyond Sunday programs. One person was in the church choir, midweek study group, and a Boy Scout sponsor. The majority participated in one or more community activities. The persons who participated "more" in the city church, also tended to participate in community activities, while the persons who participated "less" in the city church tended not to participate in community activities.

The majority felt that they would not be missed if they participated less in the city church. Those persons who did feel they would be missed indicated that they would be missed by the minister or a subsidiary group they were involved in, e.g., church school superintendent, midweek study group, choir, etc.

Interpretation of Findings

According to Tilly, varying kinds of transfer deeply affect the initial experience of the rural migrant in the city church, and his

subsequent assimilation. Perhaps the simplest way to summarize this quite complex phenomenon is to say that the individual changes most and longest where he transfers the least amount of rank and previous urban experience. On the whole, the twelve persons interviewed supported this general formulation. Those persons with more urban experience came, on the whole, with better information, more advanced preparation and less disruption in family life. Almost all the persons interviewed had spent some time in other small towns and cities before moving to Indianapolis. In other words, all twelve persons did not make their first move from a rural community moving to Indianapolis. Contrary to the popular notion, none had experienced the so-called "direct plunge" from rural to urban culture. In fact, the rural-urban cultural plunge was much in absence and less important in urban adjustment than the transfer at migration.

The findings suggest that the extent and kind of disruption occasioned by migration to cities varies greatly with the occupational rank, previous urban experience, and the auspices of migration of the individual migrant. The whole process seems much more organized than the harse words like "uproot"--"isolate"--or "disrupt" imply.

Apparently some persons adjust to a life of mobility. Perhaps they are in the military service, employed by large corporations and subject to periodic reassignment or work at various jobs where moving is an occupational necessity (salesman). Knowing that they have to move frequently, these persons develop a facility for putting roots down quickly, thus circumventing the "shopping around" and "apprenticeship pattern" which characterizes the beginning of participation in formal

voluntary associations. In fact, church participation may be one way in which these persons adjust to their life of mobility.

Suggested Modifications for Further Research

The participation of former members of rural churches in city churches will vary greatly depending on the personality needs and dispositions of the individuals under study. The quality and quantity of their church participation will vary greatly depending on whether their personality needs are more suited for "face-to-face" or "more impersonal, functional" relationships, and secondly, whether the city church structures meet the individual at the level of his cultural expressions of religion.

In making use of psychological theory and data about human nature, the future research cannot help but improve the scope and adequacy of any sociological analysis of the rural migrant. If future researchers are to go beyond Tilly's migration theories to more complex explanatory schemes with predictive possibilities in new situations, they must be able to deal in greater depth with the personal component--the motivated actor in the social situation, who acts out his "felt needs."

This study concludes that a full understanding of any social situation and its probable consequences--e.g., the rural migrant in the city church--assumes a knowledge not only of the main facts about the social structures, i.e., the churches, especially programs and leadership, but also of the main facts about the personalities operating in that structure. It is suggested that an integration and coordination of these two basic sets of data serve in future investigations.

The data collected lend themselves to several rather different interpretations. Namely, urban experience does affect the pattern of migration and initial adjustment of the migrant, but the classification of migrants according to where they spent their youth (until 14 years old) allows intervening contacts with cities and towns to obscure the genuine contrast of rural and urban patterns. Furthermore, the extent of the individual's urban experience does not in itself influence his particular mode of migration and adjustment. In order to interpret the several alternatives, the investigator needs a much more careful attempt to isolate the effects of cumulative urban experience than has been possible here. The indeterminate findings have at least the value of pointing the way to new investigations.

(1) To this end, the future investigator could profitably emphasize history: personal history, group history, the history of the receiving units. The present study has been weakest where it confronted questions of change, process, cumulative effects, temporal contexts. Future research must develop adequate means for isolating and tracing these genuine changes accrued over time.

(2) Another important problem this study exposes but leaves unresolved is the place of intermediaries. One needs to only reflect on the information regarding the auspices of migration to realize that a whole series of intermediaries play important parts in the migrant's initial contact with the city, in his recruitment, in his move to the city, in his subsequent adjustment and assimilation. To rely for information on interviews with the individual migrants reduces the intermediaries to means in the accomplishment of the migrant's ends.

(3) Lastly, this pilot-study tends to concentrate on the conception of migration as individual behavior. This is much too truncated a view to adequately deal with the complexities of the phenomenon under investigation. This study's approach has tended to omit the human interactional element from migration, and consequently, to concentrate on individual characteristics in a more or less atomistic manner.

However, our data indicate that collectivity and interaction are more at the very heart of the phenomenon; namely, "intermediaries," and interaction between the migrant and the sending and/or receiving community.

It is concluded that this study's data tend to be fragmented and noncumulative with migration viewed as individual behavior. It is not necessarily incorrect, however, to think of migration as individual behavior; for some purposes, to be sure, it may be useful. However, as a requisite for building a general theory, a concerted research emphasis on the individual is much too narrow an approach. Hence, more theory building is required before the present investigator conducts an empirical study.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES

The characteristics of five of the twelve former members of rural churches are shown in Table 3. These five case studies are selected not only for the comparison and contrast possibilities indicative of all twelve, but also are selected to demonstrate the interaction of numerous variables in this present research.

Mrs. J.H.¹

J. H. is a woman 34 years old with postgraduate education, currently employed as a nurse with the Bureau of Public Health, Marion County. She is divorced and has two school-aged girls. She lived in a small town (under 10,000 pop.) in Indiana until attending Indiana University. Among all persons interviewed, J. H. has a history of migrations among the highest, numbering seven moves within 14 years before moving to Indianapolis. She was previously employed as a nurse before accepting her present position. Her reasons for moving to the city were (1) to secure postgraduate education, (2) to secure a better paying position. At the time of the interview, J. H. lived in the city four years. J. H. had joined a suburban Methodist Church in the neighborhood of 900 members. She reported her work hours did not interfere with her church participation. She was more actively involved in

¹See Appendix, Verbatim Transcript of an Interview.

TABLE 3
CHARACTERISTICS OF FIVE FORMER MEMBERS OF RURAL CHURCHES

	Former Members				
	J.H.	W.B.	B.D.	R.W.	G.W.
Origins	small town	rural village	rural village	small town	fringe*
Education	post-grad	h.s.	some college	h.s.	less than h.s.
Occupation	nurse	waitress	salesman	mechanic	apprentice
Auspices of Migration	work	nonwork	work	work & nonwork	nonwork
Age at Migration	under 35 years	over 35 years	under 35 years	under 35 years	under 35 years
Length of Residence	4 yrs.	3.5 yrs.	6 yrs.	5 yrs.	10 yrs.
Previous Migrations	7	5	2	8	3
Social Mobility	vert.	downward	vert.	vert.	horizontal
Income	more	less	more	more	same
Geographic Mobility (moves within 4 yrs.)	0	2	3	0	1
Community Activities	3	0	2	2	2
Church Particip. (Chapin's scale by numbers)**	1,2,3	1,2	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3
Urban Church Particip. compared to Rural Church	more	less	less	more	less

*Rural-Urban Fringe

**Chapin's Scale: 1 Point for Membership, 2 Points for Attendance, 3 Points for Monetary Contribution, 4 Points for Committee Membership, 5 Points for Office Held.

community affairs than all persons interviewed, citing Red Cross, Community Action Against Poverty, Brownies.

The interviewer learned of J. H.'s membership in Broad Ripple Methodist Church through the church secretary's information. The interviewer was interested to learn what factors influenced her to select a large city church, and whether previous experience (the country church) influenced her selection as much as her present life situation--family status, education, occupation, and standard of living. Likewise, to what extent she supported or did not support the migration hypotheses: whether her occupational rank, previous urban experience, and auspices of migration influenced her participation in the city church.

J. H. attended two other Methodist churches in the city before joining the suburban church. Her reactions were negative to these churches: "Nobody said a word to me" or "They were nonchalant"--but she was recognized as "somebody new" at the suburban church. An associate minister visited in her home the same week she attended church, and she responded positively to church membership. She cites various factors as influencing her church participation: (1) completing her postgraduate education, (2) community activities, (3) her professional work load. These factors seem to affect her participation more than any other factors. She regards herself as "more active" in this church than in her country church, stating she assists the women in church suppers occasionally, is a church school teacher; therefore, is a regular Sunday attender, and contributes financially. She feels the church is an extension of her family, and regards it a moral responsibility to

reciprocate by teaching a class of children on Sunday morning. J. H. stated: "I didn't feel like an outsider, but discovered that there were other women with children without husbands, too." This statement is consistent with her evaluation of whether the church size affected her participation: "It isn't the size that counts, but my own personal needs." The church assisted J. H. in two respects, making new friends and her children's adjustment. She also felt the city church "more tolerant" than her country church, and that this was a positive value in her judgment.

The interviewer observed that certain social characteristics were far more important in influencing her church participation than were church factors.

J. H. supports our migration hypotheses. She transfers an increase in her occupational rank, acquiring her postgraduate education, increases her status and skills in her profession, and earns more income. Her previous urban experience is extensive, numbering seven migrations, and includes academic, marriage and job auspices for her migrations. She has considerable skill and knowledge of city life, and in fact, has prior experience of completing her education in Indianapolis. Her adjustment is not as great, nor does it demand as many changes, as it does for migrants of lower occupational rank and limited urban experience, and nonwork auspices. Her auspices for migration are two-fold: academic and work related.

How is J. H. different or similar from other persons transferring church membership from a rural to a city church? Again, J. H. has a previous history of denominational mobility and in fact, married

a Roman Catholic (2 year marriage), and was married in an Episcopalian church. She began her break with the rural church while attending Indiana University, and reported that she did not attend her rural church thereafter "because of a personality conflict with the minister." She did not transfer her denominational loyalty, however, after exposure to other denominations and faiths. In fact, her small children were baptized in her rural church after her divorce.

She never cited the minister's personality as the salient feature of her suburban church's ministry, but indicated that the church program made room for her, was open to a "mother with children without a husband," and the associate minister's visit in her home served as an indicator of the church's "personal interest" in her. In fact, she didn't ask what the church could offer her as much as what she could do for the church--hence, she volunteered to lead a church school class. She commented as to her action, "My girls needed a teacher in that class." She needed the church to give to someone--in this case, the children, and at the same time, it met her needs to feel like she was religiously performing her duties as a "mother." (She reported that the period in her life when she felt "more religious" was during pregnancy.) The significant factors affecting her adjustment in the city church were socio-economic, education, family life cycle.

In summary, her church participation was influenced more by her "life situation" than by her "previous church experience." Her rural church participation was fairly active and regular, but her church participation decreased during college and during marriage ceased completely. With the arrival of her twin girls, she renewed her contact

with the church and becoming a mother reawakened her sense of religious need. (This period is paralleled by her divorce from her Roman Catholic husband.)

Mrs. W. B.

W. B. is a woman 58 years old with a high school education, currently employed as a "waitress" at a large downtown department store. She is a widow and has a 27 year old daughter, who suffered a nervous breakdown, and is living at home. She moved to the city after her husband's death to be closer to her family, in particular, a brother in the city. She lives in a Mobile Home Trailer Court. Among all the persons interviewed, W. B. had lived away from Indiana the longest period of time, in her case, 20 years in Miami, Florida, and migrated at the oldest age, i.e. 54 years old. She has a previous history of migrations, numbering four moves within a 30 year period. She grew up on a farm near a small town in Indiana. She had joined a Baptist country church of 100 members and had attended a large Baptist church in Miami, Florida (where her daughter joined), before joining a large Methodist church in Indianapolis of more than 2,000 members. She reported her work hours did not interfere with her church participation. She was not active in any community activities.

The interviewer learned of W. B.'s membership in Irvington Methodist Church through the church secretary's information. The interviewer was especially interested to learn what factors influenced her to select a large city church of a different denomination, and whether her previous rural church influenced her selection as much as her life

situation, i.e. family status, education, occupation, and standard of living. Likewise, to what extent she supported or did not support the migration hypotheses: whether her occupational rank, previous urban experience, and auspices of migration influenced her participation in the city church.

W. B. cited several factors influencing her church participation: (1) her daughter's illness (it restricted her outside activities); (2) her working full time, Tuesday-Saturday; (3) weekend visits with relatives. She regards herself as "less active" in the city church than in her Miami, Florida church and rural church. She notes her decline of participation since her husband's death, and the fact she had to work has limited their financial contributions to the church. She commented it has been "rough financially" since moving to the city, and indicated her family income is "less" than in her previous residence.

She did not attend any other churches but Irvington Methodist Church. Her first impression of the minister on a television show, she explained, was the factor which influenced her to attend this city church. She responded positively to the minister's personality. She expresses her reasons for joining this city church in these words: "Felt like I had come home" and "gave me answers I was looking for" and "gave me a reason for living." She also credits the city church for helping her to make the transition to the city in two respects: (1) to meet new friends, (2) and my daughter's adjustment. She stressed the fact that the Methodist minister seemed to relate his sermons to her everyday life, and this factor alone led her to transfer her membership to a different denomination.

She related her rural church experience as a "way of life for us" and that meant regular Sunday attendance, but in the city church, she is more irregular in her attendance. In fact, W. B. rated near the bottom of our church participation score among those persons interviewed. Her church participation is affected more by "life situation" again than by "previous church experience." W. B. indicated that her daughter's illness had led her to search for other "religious answers," outside her Baptist church, and she inferred that the Baptist religion had a negative impact on her daughter.

Does Mrs. W. B. support the migration hypotheses? She transfers low occupational rank, her previous urban experience is considerable, and her auspices for migration are nonwork, i.e., to be closer to relatives. Her adjustments seem very great without the assistance of her husband, coupled with her daughter's illness. All of these factors support Tilly's hypotheses that the lower rank migrants have greater adjustments in the social structures of the city, especially, migrating under nonwork auspices.

How is Mrs. W. B. different or similar from other persons transferring membership from a rural to an urban church? W. B. is another person who transferred into a different denomination. She does have previous history of attending different denominations in her small town in Indiana. She did attend different denominations in Miami, Florida, after her husband's death, when she was searching for "religious answers" precipitated by her daughter's illness. W. B. also stands out as a person who was "more active" in her rural church than in her urban church. In this sense, we suspect the intervening variable of age at

migration is significant in this regard. Mrs. W. B. had not migrated for 20 years and furthermore when migrating, she was 54 years old. Her age at migration increased the number of adjustments and conditioned her adjustability within limits. Family disruptions affect many adjustments in the city church; namely, being a widow, working full time, family member ill at home. All these social factors contribute to a decrease in church participation.

Mrs. W. B. relates to the church not on the basis of denomination, nor size, nor program, but on the basis of whether it meets her personal needs. She relies on the minister as an authoritarian figure to provide her with "answers" during personal crises. During the interview she became emotionally upset, evidencing tears. She was very confused by questions regarding the role of the church and the role of the minister, and tried to depend on the interviewer to provide her with answers. In summary, the over-all impression is that Mrs. W. B. related to the church as an extension of her family, as a source of comfort, and specifically a source of emotional stability when family relationships were disrupted by death and illness. She did not relate to the church for intellectual challenge, but for emotional comfort.

Mr. B. D.

B. D. is a 33 year old man with some college education, currently employed as a salesman for a printing company. He is married and has an infant son. He lived on a farm in southern Indiana¹ until

¹Near Shoals, Indiana

attending Purdue University. He was previously employed as an insurance salesman before accepting his present position, and is currently earning more income. His reason for moving to the city was the job opportunity with the increase in salary. He served in the Air Force for a year in southeast Asia, and is currently in the Air Force Reserve. At the time of the interview B. D. had lived in the city six years and been married three years. He had a limited history of migration, moving only twice, once to Purdue, and the other with the Air Force. He had joined a large Methodist Church of over 2,000 members. He reported the Air Force Reserve interfered severely with his church participation, requiring him to miss church two weekends a month. He was an active member of the Scottish Rite, and sang in a choral group in the organization.

The interviewer learned of B.D.'s membership in Broadway Methodist Church through the church secretary's information. The interviewer sought to discover what factors influenced his current lack of participation in the large city church. Among all the interviewees, B. D. scored lowest on the church participation score, yet had scored high on the rural church participation score. Furthermore, whether B. D. supported or did not support the migration theories.

B. D. identified the various factors he felt influenced his participation in the city church in this manner: (1) Air Force Reserve on weekends; (2) Scottish Rite; (3) visiting relatives. This man was very defensive about his Scottish Rite activities, pointing out to the interviewer, "It sounds like I'm using the fraternal organization in lieu of church. It appears that way, but it is not the prime consideration." It was an insight for learning later that B. D. had be-

longed to the masonic order prior to moving into the city, but not the Scottish Rite, and hence, the masonic order performed a valuable service in providing him with identification moving from the country into the city; in fact, more so than the city church could provide him. The fraternal lodge had become more important in terms of his personal involvement and satisfaction than the church. B. D. reported he sang at special services weekly in addition to meeting for a choir practice weekly at the Scottish Rite.

B. D. impressed this interviewer with his sense of cultural distinctiveness coming from southern Indiana. He expressed it this way: "People who live in southern Indiana are known for being more hospitable and friendly...People south of [highway] 40 are different from people north of 40." He expressed great discomfort and feeling ill-at-ease with the large city church, since he couldn't recognize people from one Sunday to the next, and stated that he felt anonymous in such a large, impersonal congregation. He expressed the cultural gap between southern Indiana and the city in this fashion: "What would be acceptable in Broadway [church], would be unthinkable in Shoals."

B. D. migrated as a single young man 27 years old to the city. He married a Roman Catholic girl who worked as a nurse at the Indiana University Medical Center. She attended church with B. D. very infrequently, and since the arrival of the baby, not at all. B. D. sensed of all the interviewees the wide-cultural gap between the rural and urban church. He felt very uncomfortable with the "mass society" and really missed "being recognized" by someone in the congregation.

Talking with B. D. following the formal interview, the interviewer learned that B. D. had more or less been "censured" in his country church as a college student teaching a young people's Sunday School class. He related the incident as it had arisen. After visiting a girlfriend in Kentucky who happened to be Roman Catholic, he reported attending Mass with his girlfriend to his young people's class, affirming in the same class that "I can worship God in the woods as well as in a church setting." The two events precipitated his summary dismissal from the teaching position. No reasons were ever communicated to him why he had been asked to resign the class--but these two factors, worshipping in a Roman Catholic church and affirming he could worship God outdoors as well as in a building were the suspected grounds for dismissal in B. D.'s judgment. He laughed about this incident, but felt the sting of its provincial overtones and intolerance.

B. D. articulated his awareness of religion in his personal experience citing he felt God's presence when (1) flying an airplane, (2) plowing the field on the farm, (3) attending the country church. He stressed the function of religion as a tranquilizer stating that religion brought "peace of mind" and "contentment."

Does B. D. support or not support the migration theories? B. D. brought the occupational rank of a salesman to the city. He had changed his sales position and employer in moving into the city to earn "more" money in the move. He brought few skills and knowledge of the city with him, having a previous history of limited migration. His auspices were work related, and he did not rely on relatives to make the transition to the city. His transfer at migration did increase his

rank and his auspices were work related, but yet his lack of previous urban experience ill-equipped him for the city church. He did not have skills and knowledge to identify with the large city church, and even felt isolated in the mass society.

In what way is B. D. similar or different from the other persons interviewed? B. D. is exceptional in his perception of the cultural gap between his country church and city church. Even with some university education he shows little adaptation to the city church, but evidences "cultural shock." He articulates nostalgia for the rural culture--conspicuously absent in other interviewees. The Scottish Rite proved to be more of a cultural cushion for him in his state of cultural conflict. His religion is highly privatized and has little if any public significance. While he claims "nothing was detrimental in my church experience" (negative so as to alienate him) at the outset of the interview, he later reveals at the end that he was "censured" as a Sunday School teacher in his country church. What he was censured over looms prominent in his adult life marrying a Roman Catholic. It seems that the anti-urban and anti-Catholic feeling of his southern Indiana church worked a reverse effect; instead of turning him away, he was attracted to these experiences. It is highly problematic what all the intervening variables might be at the interpersonal level in B. D.'s case, but the socio-cultural level is operative--and the country church did have a negative influence on B. D. "censuring" his religious assertions, perhaps, forcing him to seek religious outlet in the ritualistic masonic order, where it was more tolerant of his religious viewpoints. Broadway Church was "more tolerant" on moral questions,

and B. D. felt this was "good" but he could not identify his role as clearly as in the masonic order. B. D. was a member of a city church in absentia, but really a "religious member" of the Scottish Rite. It is a matter of conjecture that B. D. kept his membership in Broadway for social status, perhaps, but belonged to Scottish Rite for religious expression.

Mr. R. W.

R. W. is a man 29 years old with a high school education, currently employed as an electronic mechanic. He is married and has two grade school aged children. He lived in a small¹ town in Indiana until joining the U. S. Navy and attended electronics school. Among all the persons interviewed, R. W. has a history of more migrations, numbering eight previous residences within six years before moving to Indianapolis. He was previously employed as a radio mechanic in Texas before moving to the city to resume his present position, and now earns greater income than he did in Texas. His reason for moving to Indianapolis was twofold: "closer to family and better position." At the time of the interview, R. W. had lived in the city five years. R. W. and his wife had joined a suburban Methodist Church of 900 members. He reported his work hours did not interfere with his church participation. He was involved in masons and the Boy Scout Troop in his church.

The interviewer learned of R. W.'s membership in the Broad Ripple Methodist Church through the church secretary's information. The interviewer was interested to discover what factors had influenced R. W.

¹On a farm near Peru, Indiana

to participate in this city church and to what extent his previous church experience influenced his participation in this church, and likewise to what extent his occupational rank and previous urban experience and auspices of migration influenced his participation.

R. W. had attended two other city churches prior to joining Broad Ripple. He stated that he selected two other churches in his neighborhood after reading the newspaper because they were "Methodist churches" but that he "didn't care for either of them." Resorting to the yellow pages in the telephone directory, he located Broad Ripple and attended this church and was impressed by the minister's personality and the subsequent visit by laymen in his home. He attributed his interest to the fact that the "church seemed interested in my family."

It is important to observe that R. W.'s previous church experience included a variety of churches of different denominations and sizes. He had grown up attending a small Baptist church as a child, and switched to a Methodist church when he met his wife (she was Methodist), and attended this church with 150 members every Sunday with his wife. He reported attending church as a youth on account of his interest in the Boy Scout Troop. It also is significant to observe that R. W. had been active in a new suburban church in Texas similar in size to Broad Ripple, and had compared the two churches in this manner: "Our church in Texas was 'a new church with fresh ideas' while Broad Ripple was 'an old established church with older people.'" R. W. evaluates his country church activity as less significant than his

activity in the Texas church and the Indianapolis church. As to social factors influencing his church participation presently, R. W. cited one item: "visiting relatives on the weekends." As to whether the city church helped him in making the transition to the city, he enumerated: meeting new friends and his children's adjustment. In fact, his two children were in need of playmates and the church provided them with new friends. Again, as to the church size as a factor in his participation, he disclaimed that size was significant, and stressed "the minister" and "church program" as the significant factors in selecting the city church.

It must be cited that in R. W.'s case physical mobility with the U. S. Navy also increased his early denominational mobility, and he frequently attended Protestant churches of different denominations during his tour of duty.

In terms of his current participation in this city church, he stood out among persons interviewed as registering the highest amount of church participation, scoring four out of five categories used in gauging church participation. He was a regular church attender, a member of the choir, a sponsor of the church Boy Scout Troop, a member of a midweek study group, and contributed financially, in fact, "was tithing," and was on a Church Commission (committee). R. W. indicated great skills and knowledge in adjusting to the city church among all persons interviewed.

Preceding hypotheses suggest that the extent and kind of disruption occasioned by migration to cities varies greatly with the occupational rank, previous urban experience, and auspices of migration.

R. W. confirms an organized process of adapting to the city church based on these factors; furthermore, the salient factors in R. W.'s adjustment to the city church were not contingent on the length of residence in the city as much as previous migrations and the age at which migration took place. R. W. had 8 previous migrations and migrated at 24 years of age.

First, let us examine the transfer at migration--R. W.'s experienced vertical mobility moving from Texas to Indianapolis. He did increase his family income by changing his job description (e.g. radio to electronic mechanic). His move did not interrupt his occupational life, and he did not arrive illiterate and without knowledge about the city. His previous migrations had taught him much about bureaucratic city organization, transportation systems, traffic laws and communications, etc. His previous urban experience had taught him many of these skills in dealing with city life (e.g. yellow pages of telephone directory, newspaper church ads). Second, as to the auspices of the migration, R. W. moved to a better work position and secondarily to be closer to family in nearby small towns. It is noteworthy that the social structure establishing his relationship to the city was his employer, in this case, Naval Avionics, as his previous contacts in the state during former employment in Bloomington and Kokomo. The distinction we draw between auspices related to work and nonwork (or family) is not an absolute one, but rather one of priority.

How is R. W. similar or different from other persons interviewed who made the transition into a city church after coming out of a rural church in Indiana? First, R. W. stands out as exceptional in

that he actually became "more active" in the city church. The intervening variables cannot be underestimated in their importance in affecting his adjustment in the city church. He stands at the top of the list of migrants in terms of previous urban experience, i.e. number of migrations. Secondly, he is exceptional in that his previous rural church participation was far "less active" than the other persons interviewed. This is not a contradiction--but a possible correlation. It is for future research to assess these variables as they affect his adjustment to the city church. A migrant who is less active in the rural church may be able to adjust to the city church with greater participation than the migrant who is more active in the rural church.

Among all the persons interviewed R. W. was singular in his emphasis upon the importance of the "small group" in his Christian growth and nurture. He cited that the single most important development in his church participation in the city church was joining a midweek study group. R. W. reported he discovered new dimensions of personal awareness and corporate responsibility for other church members: "I can't escape into anonymous standing in the membership" and "It was the first time I ever looked at me." He also identified his relationship to the minister in this manner: "I discovered the minister was a man with troubles and I was one of his troubles." (Nervous laughter) R. W. was the strongest advocate of an "interpersonal relationships" approach to Christianity: "The small group experience helped me to reevaluate my religion from Sunday to the whole week, and I had a progressively greater sense of religion in the group experience." R. W. was able to achieve a high degree of intimacy and personal quality in

his church participation in this large-sized suburban church via the small study group. He had successfully learned how to cope with the impersonality and anonymity characteristic of the city among all persons interviewed. His needs for emotionality in his religion were increasingly satisfied by the "give and take" of the members in the small group. In fact, he conceded that this small group fellowship led him to reevaluate his past participation in this vein: "I don't know why I wasted my time in church prior to this."

Mr. G. W.

G. W. is a man 42 years of age with some high school education, currently employed as a die-maker for his father-in-law's printing company. He is married and has two children. He lived in the country, i.e., rural-urban fringe of Indianapolis,¹ until 17 years old, and then served in the United States Navy, and was married and lived in Indianapolis, 1946-1955. He moved to Fortville, Indiana, during 1955-1959, and became a member of the Fortville Methodist Church. While in Fortville, he was employed at the Hoosier Box Company and worked in New Castle, Indiana. His reason for moving back to Indianapolis was that their two sons could receive a better high school education in the city than in Fortville. At the time of the interview, G. W. had lived in Indianapolis 10 years,² and had joined the Temple Baptist Church within the last year. Temple Baptist Church is a small church of 150 members located a considerable distance from their residence. They

¹New Augusta

²The greatest length of residence reported among interviewees.

reported commuting "25 minutes" to the church on the freeway. He reported that his work hours did interfere with his church participation on Sunday to some extent. He also reported that his family income was about the same as in his last place of employment. He was involved in two other community activities--a bowling team sponsored by his employer and a line officer in the Masonic Lodge.

When the interviewer learned of G. W.'s membership in the Fortville Methodist Church, he became interested to interview G. W. since he had not transferred his membership into a Methodist church in the city. Such questions were raised as--what factors influenced G. W. to participate in the Temple Baptist Church? And what factors influenced G. W. not to participate in a Methodist church in the city? Did G. W. support the migration theories?

G. W. had early exposure to the "UB Church" as a child in the country but did not attend church again until he was married and attended his wife's Methodist church in Indianapolis. During his residence in Indianapolis, 1946-1955, he and his wife, however, began attending a Baptist church after a favorite minister left the Methodist church. He reported attending "Youth for Christ" rallies, Billy Graham crusades, and revival services in the city. When G. W. moved to Fortville, he and his family attended and joined the Methodist church even with a wide range of churches to choose from in Fortville. G. W. states that after moving back to Indianapolis, he and his family commuted to the Fortville Methodist Church for "three or four years," approximately a 30 minute drive from their home. G. W. made an attempt to attend a neighborhood Methodist church upon moving back to the city but after four Sundays

did not continue attending. Also, a neighborhood Baptist church was attended but again discontinued after one Sunday.

What were G. W.'s reasons for not joining a Methodist church in the city? Most of his reasons were related to the content of the preaching: "Never gave the call to come and be saved" "Always talked about joining the church, but not about salvation." G. W. discounted denominational affiliation in his church participation. "I'm a Christian and believe in the whole Bible; I'm not a Baptist or a Methodist." Though the neighborhood Methodist church was larger in membership than his Fortville Methodist Church he commented that the "church size did not make a difference but whether the minister preached the gospel." When G. W. answered whether or not he felt that the neighborhood Methodist church was "more tolerant" on moral questions than the Fortville Methodist Church, he affirmed that it was more tolerant, and furthermore, it was "bad" that it was. "If you did something questionable (in Fortville), you'd do it once and that'd be all, but if you did something questionable here (in the city) nobody would say anything about it, and others would do it, too."

Some reasons for not attending the city Methodist church were related to the impersonality and anonymity of the membership. G. W. reported that the Sundays they attended it seemed "very cold" and "people didn't know you." G. W. reported that this city church was also in "financial trouble." It may have been a factor discouraging him, though he never related it as such a factor--only he mentioned "the church needed money, and they had some colonel (Army officer) up front talking about it." In fact, church size may have been more of a factor

than G. W. admitted, when he revealed the fact that they currently attended a church of 150 members, comparable in size to the Fortville church.

The deciding factor in G. W.'s attending and eventually joining the Temple Baptist Church was the timing of a visit by the church's pastor during a crisis of illness. G. W.'s wife was seriously ill and had quit her job in 1966, and lay at home ill during this period. In fact, G. W.'s wife almost died a year ago, and he reported "We felt blessed by God that she didn't die, and prayed to accept God's will, and we believe His will was that she be well." The interviewer saw this as the critical factor in their selection of the Temple Baptist Church, and wondered if the wife had died whether or not G. W. would ever have related himself to a city church--but the wife's recovery of health was a very real factor in their decision to unite with the Temple Baptist Church, coupled with the fact that the pastor of this church had made a visit in the home during the crisis of illness.

What features made G. W. different from those who did not defect from the Methodist church? One factor is that among all persons interviewed G. W. and his wife had the lowest level of formal education, having completed some high school, but not graduating. Another factor is that G. W. would be regarded as having lower occupational rank than the others interviewed and his family income remained the "same" moving into the city compared to the increase of family income of others. Another distinguishing feature is the auspices of G. W.'s migration to the city. G. W. reported that he moved for "family reasons" rather than "work reasons." However, G. W. is not dissimilar to the others in terms

of previous urban exposure since he lived on the "fringe" of Indianapolis as a child and later lived in the city during the early years of his marriage, nor in terms of decreasing church participation in the city. Among all the persons interviewed, G. W. and his wife were the only middle-aged couple whose children had left home. Hence, G. W.'s family situation (empty nest) and length of residence (10 years) were factors singling them out among the persons interviewed. His church participation was influenced by this complex of interrelated factors: lower socio-economic status, lower educational level, nonwork auspices.

How would G. W.'s response to the city church have been different if the "receiving community" had been different? G. W. regards the "Bible preaching" as the decisive factor in his relating to the city church; however, he omits any reference to whether or not he felt comfortable with church members of higher social status. He only reports the people were "very cold" and implies a judgment on their emotional aloofness and reveals his desire to find greater emotionality in his church religion. G. W. might possibly have responded positively to a city church with more familiar worship liturgy ("salvation") and greater emotional appeal ("altar call"), since he rejected the institutional appeal ("join the church") of the city church with its more tolerant stance on moral questions. It may be conjectured that G. W. would have responded favorably to an authoritarian minister with a Biblical vocabulary (repeating verses of the Bible in the sermon verbatim).

G. W. found the middle class church too permissive and too tolerant on moral questions, and needed moral absolutes to govern his personal conduct. Religion was something intensely emotional, evoked

by an altar call or conversion experience, and his beliefs were largely dictated by his personal needs and social conditions. The middle class Protestant church did not meet G. W. at the level of his "culture-religion;" consequently, G. W. felt isolated in such a setting.

Does G. W. support our migration hypotheses or not? G. W. transferred less rank than others interviewed and this noticeably affected the amount and kind of transfer of status, membership, and experience which influenced his adjustment in the city church. There did seem to be greater changes expected of G. W. after migrating with lower rank and under nonwork auspices than among persons with higher rank and work auspices. G. W.'s occupational and educational level and standard of living were more important factors in determining the church he attended in the city than his previous church experience in Fortville. However, G. W. did not fit traditional variables gauging the migrant's social participation in terms of length of residence--G. W. showed less participation in the middle-class city church even though he had the greatest length of residence in the city.

Summary of Case Studies

The two women, J. H. and W. B., showed marked similarity in the impact that family disruptions, i.e., divorce and death, had on their church participation. Mrs. W. B. reported a resurgence of religious participation after her husband's death and her daughter's illness. These family disruptions brought her to the city and in fact to the city church for personal security and spiritual comfort. Mrs. J. H. reported her resurgence of religious participation after childbirth

and divorce. Again, family disruptions brought her to the city church for two reasons: First, for nurture of her children, and secondly, for support in her responsibilities as a mother.

The dissimilarities between the two women are numerous in terms of (1) age, (2) education, (3) occupation, (4) family income. Mrs. J. H. is a young woman, 34 years old, with postgraduate education, a professional nurse, and earning more income in the city than in her previous employment. Mrs. W. B. is an older woman, 58 years old, with high school education, a waitress, and earning less income in the city than in her previous residence (since her husband's death).

Again, the two women show dissimilar degrees of participation in the church. Mrs. W. B. regarded herself as "less active" while Mrs. J. H. regarded herself as "more active" in the city church. Tilly's hypotheses are confirmed in these two cases; namely, Mrs. W. B. migrated under nonwork auspices, "to be closer to family," after her husband's death, and transferred lower occupational rank as a waitress. Hence her adjustments are greater. Mrs. J. H. migrated under work auspices (and education) and transferred higher occupational rank as a professional nurse; hence her adjustments are less. The church participation of each reflects the over-all adjustment posed by the transfer at migration and auspices of migration.

The city church did provide personal security for both women in time of family disruptions. It is observed that the vertically mobile person, J. H., adjusted to the church with greater participation than the downwardly mobile person, W. B. This would be expected on the basis of previous studies indicating the correlation between social

class and church participation in which the middle class tend to be more active in church participation than the lower class.¹

Among the three men reported in the case studies, two stand out in a marked contrast--R. W. and G. W. Both men express a desire to bridge the gap felt between a face-to-face culture and a more impersonal, functional relationship culture, but choose to respond in distinctly different ways. R. W. chose to achieve personal relationships in the discipline of a midweek study group in the suburban church. In fact, R. W. found greater personal identity and corporate identification with the study group members. G. W. chose to achieve personal relationships rejecting the middle-class suburban church and commuted back to his previous rural church, until finally, he related to a small church of a different denomination in a time of personal crisis (his wife's illness). It was inferred that both men had come to the city church looking for "face-to-face" relationships, and perhaps, the church was the only known source of finding such relationships. Both men had previous urban experience; yet both experienced varying degrees of cultural shock in the city church.

It was observed that the masonic order served a similar social function for G. W., i.e., providing "person-to-person" contact, that the small study group provided for R. W.

It was never mentioned by G. W. that his discomfort in the suburban city church might be related to the lower occupational rank he had transferred. But it appeared significant that G. W.'s horizontal mobility accounted for his inability to identify with the middle-class

¹Goode, op. cit.

class and church participation in which the middle class tend to be more active in church participation than the lower class.¹

Among the three men reported in the case studies, two stand out in a marked contrast--R. W. and G. W. Both men express a desire to bridge the gap felt between a face-to-face culture and a more impersonal, functional relationship culture, but choose to respond in distinctly different ways. R. W. chose to achieve personal relationships in the discipline of a midweek study group in the suburban church. In fact, R. W. found greater personal identity and corporate identification with the study group members. G. W. chose to achieve personal relationships rejecting the middle-class suburban church and commuted back to his previous rural church, until finally, he related to a small church of a different denomination in a time of personal crisis (his wife's illness). It was inferred that both men had come to the city church looking for "face-to-face" relationships, and perhaps, the church was the only known source of finding such relationships. Both men had previous urban experience; yet both experienced varying degrees of cultural shock in the city church.

It was observed that the masonic order served a similar social function for G. W., i.e., providing "person-to-person" contact, that the small study group provided for R. W.

It was never mentioned by G. W. that his discomfort in the suburban city church might be related to the lower occupational rank he had transferred. But it appeared significant that G. W.'s horizontal mobility accounted for his inability to identify with the middle-class

¹Goode, op. cit.

suburban church. In fact, the investigator concluded that G. W. did not feel comfortable in the middle-class church since his lower occupational rank and educational level inhibited or at least reduced his identification with middle-class members. R. W. had more education and higher occupational rank which lessened the social class barriers in his identification with the middle-class members. Again, both men confirmed previous studies indicating the correlation between social class and church participation. Perhaps what the case studies suggest is Russell Dynes's finding that the middle-class churches make religion meaningful for the vertically mobile, while sects (or lower-class churches) make religion meaningful for the horizontally or downwardly mobile.¹

What led G. W. to defect from the middle-class church might be explained, also, by the failure of the established churches to provide a type of indigenous religion that proves satisfying to the rural migrant newcomer. The established, middle-class churches, in fact, become symbolic of the rural migrant's cultural isolation and maladjustment in mass society. As John Holt explained the revolt of rural migrants in analyzing the "Social Factors in 'Holiness Religion'";

Why the religious revolt took place outside of, in the form of secession, rather than within the established denominations is best explained by the failure of the established churches to provide the type of religion which proved satisfying to the migrant newcomers or even to cater to them at all. The established churches became a symbol of the migrant's isolation and of the strange and unfriendly society with which he was confronted.²

¹Russell Dynes. "Rurality, Migration, and Sectarianism," Rural Sociology, XXI (March, 1956), pp. 25-28.

²J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1957), p. 470.

R. W. felt similar cultural shock as G. W. but yet reacted not by defection, but by greater participation. R. W. had moved eight times within six years, and had experienced much social mobility. It is conjectured that his felt needs "to belong" grew out of a repeated history of physical mobility. His lack of roots in any community the past six years contributed to his desire to find "face-to-face" relationships in the suburban church. Another explanation might be that R. W. had developed a facility for secondary relationships in previous migrations in addition to primary relationships.

Both men felt "lost in the crowd" and did not know the value of more impersonal, functional relationships, and both found small groups (church or masonic order) to provide a similar social function, i.e., a sense of belonging. Their felt needs were similar, but social class factors in large part determined the choices they made.

Finally, B. D. is singular in his perception of the "cultural gap" between his small rural church and the large city church. He participated least in the city church among the case studies reported.

He is similar to G. W. in that he turned to the masonic order to find "person-to-person" contact, and in fact, whether conscious or not, did not look to the church, but the masonic order--The Scottish Rite--to serve as a cultural cushion.

It is conjectured that B. D. dealt with his social reorganization or cultural shock by joining and becoming very active in the Scottish Rite, and it fitted more within his particular cultural tradition than did the urban church. Hence, the masonic order provides a socially useful function for both B. D. and G. W.

B. D. did not really look for "face-to-face" relationships in the city church as R. W.; instead, he relied on his previous association with the masonic order (though R. W. had the same option, i.e., R. W. had masonic affiliation prior to his move to the city).

B. D. commented after the interview that he had been "censured" by his rural church for teaching "unorthodox" subject matter in a high school class, and his rejection had negatively influenced his subsequent church participation, perhaps unconsciously, and perhaps quite consciously. The parochial reaction of B. D.'s rural church may explain his rejection of the city church in spite of its best efforts.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

What are the factors associated with the adjustment of former members of rural churches in urban churches? The present study devoted itself to describing the changes in church relationships effected by migration from rural to urban churches. Therefore, it became important for the researcher to identify and interpret the explanations of these changes by former members of rural churches.

The major emphasis in this study was on the discovery of ideas and insights, and its purpose was to formulate a problem for more precise investigation in future studies. Three methods were employed in the search for important variables and meaningful hypotheses defining the research problem and formulating it into manageable size in a single study: (1) A review of the related social science and other literature; (2) a survey of people who had practical experience with the problem to be studied, and (3) an analysis of insight-stimulating examples.

The research design relied on focussed interviews to gather data, and the interviews were transcribed on tape. It was assumed that a respondent's perception of changes in his church participation moving from a rural to an urban community, and his explanations of how these changes occurred, constituted adequate data on which to build future hypotheses of social-psychological processes.

Four steps were taken in the Research Design and Procedures: (1) Determined the panel of selection; (2) constructed the research instrument--information sheet and interview questions; (3) developed data-collection techniques; (4) used content analysis.

Theoretical concepts were employed; namely, (a) Tilly's Migration Model, (b) The Church as a Voluntary Association, (c) Chapin's Scale of Social Participation.

The profile of the majority of former members of rural churches revealed varying degrees of "cultural shock" in the urban church.

The major findings revealed that the urban church did not serve as a cultural cushion to former members of rural churches, nor were these former members of rural churches equipped to know how to deal with the anonymity and impersonality they felt in the urban church. Moreover, their adjustment in the urban church was influenced by non-religious factors, e.g., transfer at migration of occupational rank and previous urban experience, and the auspices under which migration took place.

The major implications were that the church did not seem to act as a cultural cushion, and that perhaps, it serves the interests of the church to act as such a cushion, and it could perform this function if it redefined the church's mission in American culture, focussing on the problems of identification and communication.¹

¹See Appendix.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project was undertaken with a grant from the Town and Country Commission of the South Indiana Conference of the United Methodist Church. While the investigator was employed as a graduate assistant with the Ecumenical Center of Renewal and Planning, the project was jointly sponsored by the South Indiana Conference and the Ecumenical Center.

The early stages of the project were encouraged by the Reverend Lloyd Wright, Chairman of the Town and Country Commission, South Indiana Conference. The research design and procedures were developed with the expertise of church researchers, Dr. Richard Myers and the Reverend Arleon Kelley. My faculty advisor, Dr. Edwin Becker, directed my efforts toward a delimitation of the subject. During the entire course of the project, Dr. Donald Zimmerman, Director of the Ecumenical Center, was able to work closely in its development and many of its strengths are due to his careful attention and insight.

The completion of a thesis always requires patience and understanding on the part of a number of people. In addition to the above mentioned, my debt of gratitude extends to--Mrs. Robert Jassman who performed all secretarial duties; my wife, Ann, and two sons, Marcus and Michael, who were patient more than a husband and father has a right to expect.

In anticipation of future research uses, this study is dedicated to the ecumenical Church--and its allies inside and outside the institutional walls.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Berger, Peter. The Noise of Solemn Assemblies. Garden City: Doubleday, 1961.
- Cox, Harvey. The Secular City. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965.
- _____. The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Demerath, N. J., III. Social Class in American Protestantism. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965.
- _____. and Hammond, Phillip E. Religion in Social Context: Tradition and Transition. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Elias, C. E., Jr.; Gillies, James; Riemer, Svend (eds.). Metropolis: Values in Conflict. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1969.
- Ferm, Robert L. (ed.). Issues in American Protestantism. Anchor Books. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969.
- Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Gould, Julius, and Kolb, William L. (eds.). A Dictionary of the Social Sciences. Glencoe: Free Press, 1964.
- Herberg, Will. Protestant-Catholic-Jew. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956.
- Lenski, Gerhard. The Religious Factor. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961.
- Marty, Martin E. The New Shape of American Religion. New York: Harper and Row, 1958.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957.
- Moberg, David O. The Church as a Social Institution. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962.
- Nida, Eugene A. Message and Mission. New York: Harpers and Brothers Publishers, 1960.

- Niebuhr, H. Richard. Christ and Culture. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1951.
- Pittard, Barbara. The Meaning and Measurement of Commitment to the Church. (Research Paper No. 13) Atlanta, Georgia: Georgia State College, 1965.
- Schnore, Leo F., and Fagin, Henry (eds.). Urban Research and Policy Planning. Vol. 1. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1967.
- Selltiz, Claire, and Jahoda, Deutsch, Cook. Research Methods in Social Relations. Revised. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- Sherif, Muzafer, and Sherif, Carolyn W. Reference Groups. New York--Evanston--London: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964.
- Yinger, J. Milton. Religion, Society and the Individual. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1957.
- Young, Pauline V. Scientific Social Surveys and Research. Fourth Edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

Articles, Periodicals and Public Documents

- Axelrod, Morris. "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), pp. 13-18.
- Beal, George M. "Additional Hypotheses in Participation Research," Rural Sociology, XXI (1956), pp. 249-256.
- Bealer, Robert C.; Willits, Fern K.; and Kuvlesky, William P. "The Meaning of 'Rurality' in American Society," Rural Sociology, XXX (September, 1965).
- Chapin, Stuart F. "A Quantitative Scale for Rating the Home and Social Environment of Middle Class Families in an Urban Community: A First Approximation of the Measurement of Socio-Economic Status," Journal of Educational Psychology, XIX (January, 1928), pp. 99-109.
- _____. "Comment" on "Social Participation in the Rural Community" by Selz C. Mayo and Paul March, American Journal of Sociology, LVII (1951), p. 248.
- Dillingham, Harry C. "Protestant Religion and Social Status," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (January 1959), pp. 416-422.
- Dynes, Russell. "Rurality, Migration, and Sectarianism," Rural Sociology, XXI (March, 1956), pp. 25-28.

- Evan, William M. "Dimensions of Participation in Voluntary Associations," Social Forces, XXXVI (December, 1957), pp. 148-153.
- Goode, Erich. "Social Class and Church Participation," American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (July, 1966), pp. 102-111.
- Graves, Theodore D. "Alternative Models for the Study of Urban Migration," Human Organization, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Winter, 1966), pp. 295-299.
- Hanson, Robert C., and Simmons, Ozzie G. "The Role Path: A Concept and Procedure for Studying Migration to Urban Communities," Human Organization, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Summer, 1968), pp. 152-158.
- Holden, David. "Associations as Reference Groups: An Approach to the Problem," Rural Sociology, Vol. 30, No. 1 (March, 1965), pp. 63-74.
- Holt, John B. "Holiness Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization," in J. Milton Yinger's Religion, Society, and the Individual. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1957, pp. 463-470.
- Jitodai, Ted J. "Urban-Rural Background and Formal Group Memberships," Rural Sociology, XXX (1965), pp. 75-83.
- Lasswell, Thomas E. "Supplement Social Stratification: 1964-1968," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 384 (July, 1969), pp. 104-134.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, XX (September-December, 1955), pp. 221-228.
- Mangalam, J. J., and Schwarzweller, Harry K. "General Theory in the Study of Migration: Current Needs and Difficulties," The International Migration Review, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Fall, 1968), pp. 3-17.
- Omari, Thompson P. "Factors Associated with Urban Adjustment of Rural Southern Migrants," Social Forces, XXXV (1956), pp. 47-53.
- Ravitz, Mel. "Rural In-Migration and Urban Assimilation." Detroit: Wayne State University, July 15, 1963.
- Reeder, William W. "A Theory of Social Participation," A Theory of Social Action (Paper presented at meetings of Rural Sociological Society, 1964).
- Rose, Arnold M., and Warshay, Leon. "The Adjustment of Migrants to Cities," Social Forces, XXXVI (October, 1957), pp. 72-76.
- Russell, Letty M. "Renewal, Rapidation and Future," Risk, Vol. 5, No. 3/4 (1969), pp. 60-69.

- Schnore, Leo F. "The Rural-Urban Variable: An Urbanite's Perspective," Rural Sociology, XXXI (June, 1966), pp. 131-142.
- Scott, John C., Jr. "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, XXII (June, 1957), pp. 315-326.
- Shannon, Lyle W., and Shannon, Magdaline. "The Assimilation of Migrants to Cities," Anthropological and Sociological Contributions in Schnore and Fagin's Urban Research and Policy Planning. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1967, pp. 49-75.
- Tilly, Charles. Migration to an American City. Agricultural Experiment Station and Division of Urban Affairs, University of Delaware, April, 1965.
- Urban Studies Center. "A Rural-Urban Relocation System." Louisville, Kentucky: University of Kentucky, October 16, 1968.
- Wagner, John, Jr. "Programs and Services of Urban Churches in Helping Rural Youth Become Assimilated in Urban Areas." New York: National Council of Churches, 1963.
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), pp. 1-24.
- Wood, Darrell W. "Communicating Christ Through Culture," The Commission, Southern Baptist Foreign Missions Journal (February, 1970), pp. 6-8.
- Zimmer, Basil G. "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures," American Sociological Review, XX (April, 1955), pp. 218-224.
- _____. "Farm Background and Urban Participation," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (March, 1965), pp. 470-475.

Other Sources

- Brown, Millard. The Influence of Horizontal Mobility on Social Participation in the Rural Community: A Study done in Pitt County, North Carolina. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Duke University, 1969.
- Davis, James Hill, Jr. Social Bases of Participation and Non-Participation in the Contemporary Urban Protestant Congregation. A Published Ph.D. Thesis. Northwestern University, 1964.
- Jitodai, Ted J. Migration, Mobility, and Social Participation. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Michigan, 1962.

APPENDIX

Sample Letters

Research Instrument

Verbatim Transcript of an
Interview

Implications for the Church

SAMPLE LETTERS

November 21, 1969

Dr. Ballard
Irvington United Methodist Church
30 North Audubon Rd.
Indianapolis, IN 46219

Dear Pastor Ballard:

Under the auspices of the United Methodist Church, Town and Country Commission, and The Ecumenical Center of Renewal and Planning, we are undertaking a research project to determine what factors enable rural migrants to assimilate into urban churches.

Your church has been chosen to be part of such a religious survey. We are writing to ask your assistance in drawing up a list of recently arrived rural migrants to Indianapolis who have joined your congregation during the period 1966 through 1969. We are especially interested in locating and identifying persons who have transferred into your membership from a country church background in Indiana. Would you have some way of gaining access to such information from your own membership records and personal acquaintance of the membership, and be willing to share such information with us by January 12, 1970? A postcard response is enclosed for your convenience.

We are stressing the importance of locating and identifying as soon as possible the number of persons we might interview in such a survey.

Thank you for your cooperation in this regard.

Sincerely,

E. Max Case
Research Assistant
Ecumenical Center of Renewal and
Planning

Dr. Leroy Hodapp
District Superintendent
United Methodist Church

SAMPLE OF POSTCARD SENT OUT

___ We do have new members from country churches in
Indiana, 1966-1969.

___ We do not have such members.

___ We could prepare a list of these new members by
December 25th and mail it to you.

___ We need more time to prepare a list.

Name _____

Church _____

February 4, 1970

Name
Address
City

Dear _____:

In the coming week you may expect a phone call from Rev. Max Case who is a United Methodist minister attending Christian Theological Seminary. Mr. Case has asked me to write you and ask your cooperation with him in arranging for a visit in your home for the purpose of an interview.

Mr. Case is in the process of conducting a religious research project to gather information on people who have recently moved into Indianapolis from a rural church background in Indiana. He would simply like to talk with you about your feelings and attitudes since moving into the city. The interview would take approximately one hour of your time which might be arranged at your convenience.

Would you please consider cooperating with Rev. Case in this important project which is funded by the Town and Country Committee of the South Indiana Conference?

Sincerely yours,

Charles W. Ballard
CWB/kk

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

ECUMENICAL CENTER OF RENEWAL AND PLANNING
 February, 1970
 Information Sheet

Name -

Address -

Phone No. -

Church Affiliation -

Date of Interview -

Interviewer -

1. How old are you?

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| (1) _____ 15-19 | (5) _____ 45-54 |
| (2) _____ 20-24 | (6) _____ 55-64 |
| (3) _____ 25-34 | (7) _____ 65-over |
| (4) _____ 35-44 | |

2. Sex: (1) _____ Male; (2) _____ Female

3. How much education have you had?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) _____ less than high school | (4) _____ some college |
| (2) _____ some high school | (5) _____ graduated from college |
| (3) _____ graduated from high school | (6) _____ other |

4. Where did you live until you were 14 years old?

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) _____ on a farm | (4) _____ in a city over 10,000 pop. |
| (2) _____ in the country, but
not on a farm | (5) _____ in a city over 100,000
pop. |
| (3) _____ in a small town | |

5. Where did you live from the time you were 15 years old until you lived in Indianapolis?

6. How many times have you moved in the past four years?

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) _____ none | (3) _____ 2 times | (5) _____ 4 times |
| (2) _____ 1 time | (4) _____ 3 times | (6) _____ 5 times or more |

7. A. How long have you lived in this community?

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) _____ 1 year or less | (4) _____ 4 years |
| (2) _____ 2 years | (5) _____ 5 years or more |
| (3) _____ 3 years | |

B. Why did you move to Indianapolis?

Information Sheet
Page 2

8. What was your last employment before moving to Indianapolis?
Husband _____ Wife _____
9. What is your present employment? (Describe your job please)
10. Is your family income more or less or about the same as in your last place of employment?
11. Do your work hours interfere with your church participation on Sundays? (Or your spouse's work hours) ___Yes ___No.
12. Are you involved in any community activities? If so, what are they?

ECUMENICAL CENTER OF RENEWAL AND PLANNING
 February, 1970
 Interview Questions

1. Did you attend church prior to high school? Please describe the church and/or churches you attended until you were 14 years old.
2. Did you attend church while in high school and later? Please describe the church and/or churches you attended after you were 14 years old.

Additional lead questions:

Did you have a choice among churches to attend?
 If so, did you attend different churches? Which ones?
 Did you participate in any fellowship groups or classes?
 Did the church have classes for each age-group or were they combined age-groups?

3. When you moved to Indianapolis, did you attend any other churches before joining Irvington Church? What other churches did you attend?
4. What led you to attend and eventually join Irvington Church?
5. If persons changed denomination, then ask - What led you to change denominations? (Optional)
6. Do you think you would be missed if you participated less in this church?

Missed by whom: Minister Choir Sunday School Class
 Commission Board Fellowship Group
 Women's Organization Men's Organization

7. How frequently do you attend church?
8. Do you consider yourself more or less active at Irvington than in your former church?

What factors would you cite as influencing your participation at Irvington?

Your or Your Spouse's Work Schedule
 Your Children's Schedule
 Your Involvement in Community Activities
 Your Weekend Recreation
 Other

Interview Questions
Page 2

9. Are you participating in any classes or fellowship groups in Irvington Church? Do you teach Sunday School or are you a youth counselor? Are you on a Commission or on the Administrative Board? Do you sing in the choir? Are you in a men's or women's organization? Do you participate in Irvington just on Sunday morning?
10. Do you feel there are more opportunities to participate in Irvington Church than in your former church or churches? Yes No.
11. Do you contribute financially to Irvington Church? If "yes," then ask--How would you compare your financial support of your present church with your former church? For example, do you contribute more or less, or equal amount in proportion to your income?
12. What does religion mean to you?
13. Do you think that the church should help minority group members have equal employment opportunities?
14. Do you think that the church should urge more tax dollars be spent for housing needs of low-income people?
15. Do you think that your minister(s) at Irvington should take a public stand on school desegregation?
16. Is Irvington Church more tolerant on moral questions than your previous church? For example, is it more tolerant on drinking, divorce, miniskirts? If so, what do you feel about it?
17. Has Irvington Church helped you in making the transition to Indianapolis in terms of

<input type="checkbox"/> securing new friends	<input type="checkbox"/> getting involved in the community
<input type="checkbox"/> finding a job	<input type="checkbox"/> meeting a new spouse
<input type="checkbox"/> locating a home	<input type="checkbox"/> your children's adjustment
18. Do you think the church would help you more if it were smaller? larger?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW

A VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH J.H.
CONDUCTED BY THE INVESTIGATOR (I), MARCH 17, 1970

- I: Why don't we go ahead and start tonight by asking--did you attend church up until you were 14 years old or say through high school?
- JH: You mean because I wanted to, or because someone made me, or just did I go.
- I: Yes, the latter. Just did you go.
- JH: Yes, up until I was out of high school and even college - habit.
- I: O.k. You said yes. Let's pursue it. What do you remember about this church?
- JH: One of my first memories was of the stained glass windows. I was very impressed with those at a very early age. The windows were on the east side and the sun would shine through those windows in the morning...and my Sunday School teachers, my teachers at school and the people who knew me all my life and, of course, all my peer group went to the same church that I went to so just kind of an extension of school really.
- I: Did you have a choice of churches to attend...in Attica? Did you have any choice of churches there?
- JH: If you were a Methodist you didn't, because there was only one Methodist Church. There were other churches--Presbyterian, Christian, Baptist, Catholic and some--I call them far out--we had these.
- I: Did you ever attend any of these churches?
- JH: The Christian, the Presbyterian and the Catholic I have attended at one time just out of curiosity. I don't know what age I was, but I went through an age where I was really impressed with the rite of the Catholic church. I thought they really had something. There was something very fascinating about all of that.
- I: Now what kind of things did you participate in in Attica in the Methodist Church there? Did you attend Sunday School class and church service? Did they have a youth group? choir?
- JH: Yes, they had a youth group and I went to Sunday School and sang in the choir when I was old enough in the church service...MYF and of course choir practice every Thursday night.
- I: How about the youth group? Were you in youth group did you say?
- JH: Yes. Not really actively. They did a lot of things out of town. I was just kind of a border line there. If I didn't have anything else to do, I would go.

- I: How frequently did you attend church there?
- JH: Church every Sunday unless something happened that we were out of town or something. I would say probably three Sundays out of the month at least.
- I: Did you have a Sunday School class for each age group or were they combined?
- JH: I think most of them were combined--like 1st and 2nd, 3rd and 4th--first one I remember was 5th and 6th combined. That was the age when I was beginning to be interested in boys and those sort of things. That was the first memory I have of who was with what group.
- I: Can you remember about how many would attend that church each Sunday? Or how many members did they have in that church?
- JH: I think they probably had over 1000 members but the number who attended was probably 250 maybe 300.
- I: Oh, it was a pretty good sized church.
- JH: Yes, it was a pretty good sized church. In a small town--in Attica--there was a steel factory. Harrison's owned this and they supported the Methodist Church and so it was one of those little things you know, but everyone in Harrison who was in the hierarchy belonged to the Methodist Church. That was a drawing card.
- I: I'm glad you pointed that out. I didn't know that about Attica.
- JH: Oh, yes, I suppose many realized it, but when I went away to school I became acutely aware of it.
- I: Now, this pattern of your participation--did it hold up through high school?
- JH: Yes.
- I: What kind of churches did you attend after you left Attica. You have already said that you attended some.
- JH: I attended Methodist all away along--some large churches and some small ones. At Bloomington I went to the Episcopal church several times because I had a roommate who was Episcopalian and she got me to go one time and I really didn't like the service, but I liked their minister very much. I really enjoyed him so I went primarily for that several times with her. The Methodist Church in Bloomington was down the street and was a pretty good sized church. They had two services and a lot of kids. Sometimes it would be real crowded. I don't know. I think I seemed to lose interest. I

think that was one reason I went to the Episcopal Church. It was a smaller church with a smaller attendance and he was either awful good with names or what but I was only introduced to him once and every time I went he knew who I was and greeted me personally and this appealed to me and this didn't happen at the Methodist Church. Just sheer numbers I am sure.

I: Now what happened after you left Bloomington?

JH: Then I was back home again for awhile...and then I moved to Indianapolis for about a year. At that time when I first arrived I was living at the YWCA which are large apartments near the Methodist Church about 300 Delaware. Some young people, but mostly older families. I got the feeling that they were people who at one time lived in that area but had moved out but kept their membership there and came back to the Methodist Church. They have an active young adult group but they were all married couples and there didn't seem to be any place for a young single girl. So then when I moved a little further north and then went to Broadway Methodist there at Fall Creek and 21 and then I kind of got lazy I guess and quit going. I walked over occasionally. If I would wake up early and it would be a nice beautiful morning, I'd hop on the bus and go to church. I didn't have transportation so I had a good excuse you know. I could rationalize. If it was snowy, rainy and cold, it was too difficult to get down there, but if it was nice I was usually there.

I: And you generally went to Broadway after this Robert Parks experience.

JH: Yes. I didn't participate in any sort of group. I just went to church service.

I: Restricted to Sunday morning.

JH: Yes.

I: You had so many moves there.

JH: Yes. And then see I was back again. About that time when I moved back they had a new minister and I don't know--personality conflict I guess--I didn't like him so I didn't go to church. All the time until I left high school we had the same minister and finally he left and went on to another city and his children were in school with me and that was a real warm relationship that everybody in town had with them...and then when he left it was pretty difficult to find anyone who measured up to him because you know...I am sure that he wasn't as great as we had him in our eyes--you know as he appeared to us. He was just like one of the family and so then when I came back and they had this new minister--I went really just to please my mother because she still went every Sunday and so she

wanted me to go with her and I did primarily for that and I got out of it as often as I could.

Let's see. Then down to Florida. I didn't go very much there at all because there was nothing but old people in the churches there and then I went back into school when I was in Florida--back into Nurses Training at the University of Florida and then started going again when I was on campus. They had a dynamic young minister. He certainly was a drawing card of the church.

I: Was this strictly a Methodist?

JH: Yes, this was a Methodist Church.

I: So you pretty much stayed with the Methodist except for the Episcopalian in Bloomington.

JH: Yes. So far in your chronology there. Yes.

And so then I married a Catholic. He didn't want to be married in the church, so we weren't. In fact we were married in the Episcopal church. His parents got satisfied then. His mother was Episcopalian and his father was Catholic so this satisfied them and I was willing to go into the church but he had some very strong feelings about this and was kind of unhappy with the church at that time and didn't want to tie me down to something that I might later want to get out of, so we went ahead with the Methodist church, but then we didn't really go anywhere. He didn't go to Mass and I occasionally went to the Methodist church with some of my friends from school.

I: Let's see-- does that mean you are back in Indianapolis? No, this is still in Florida.

JH: Oh, the University of Florida there. Yes.

Then after about two years--well I was there a year before we were married--then we were married for two years and then separated and divorced and I moved back to Attica with my folks and I was there about a year then--Oh it was longer than that because the girls went to Sunday School there and my girls were baptized in the church at Attica, so it must have been about two years I guess because they went to Sunday School there for awhile and then we moved to Crawfordsville.

I: Your move at that time to Crawfordsville was for employment?

JH: My parents moved--my father changed his job and built a house, so we moved down there with them. I was at this time thinking about going back to school but hadn't really made any decisions yet and wasn't really on my feet financially enough to do this on my own

yet, so that was part of the reason I stayed with them so that I worked in a book binding factory there and worked in the nursing office in the medical office where the nurse might need me. The girls went to Sunday School then and I was working nights and by the time I got home from work in the evening it would be in the morning and got them ready for Sunday School, I was so sleepy I couldn't stay awake through the service, so I took them and went home and took a nap and my mother picked them up.

I: So your work schedule did interfere?

JH: Yes, it did interfere at Crawfordsville. That is the only place though that it really has...but it did then.

I: And so your children were in Sunday School at that stage.

JH: (nods "yes") And then after about a year at Crawfordsville we moved to Lafayette and I finished up my schooling there and we went to the Methodist church there and I couldn't tell you the name of it for the life of me. We went to the one in West Lafayette, but I don't remember the name. Again they had large crowds but it still was a very friendly church. I don't know whether it was because I had children in Sunday School and this made me feel closer to the people in the church or what it was, but I helped teach the class for about once a month--they had a rotating team approach and I volunteered to help out one Sunday a month which I did and I think this perhaps made me feel a little more like I belonged there. I didn't transfer my membership because I knew we would just be there that one year, so I didn't transfer my membership, but we did participate a little more. They had carry in suppers and we went to quite a few of those, and it was a church that there were several women in my situation who had children but no husbands, so I didn't feel like such an outsider, and I think this may be part of the reason that I did more.

I: It seems to indicate that you did participate more actively in this church than the churches you had been attending up to this time.

JH: Yes. So then from there we went back to Crawfordsville and the church situation was the same. I was working in the hospital then instead of the factory, but it was the same situation. I was working nights and nearly every weekend. I had one weekend off a month and I just--you know--it was so nice to lay in bed on that one weekend that I just didn't make the effort but did get the girls there. That was the pattern there. And then after not quite a year there we moved to Indianapolis. About the first thing I did when we got to Indianapolis was get the paper out to see where the closest Methodist churches were and we went to several, and as soon as I went to Broad Ripple I just felt that was the church for me and felt completely at home. So much like the church in Attica and I don't really know what it was. I think it was many different things,

but I felt at home there. It was a small enough church that I... we went over on Meridian to some larger churches and I don't know.

I: Tell me about what other churches you did try out.

JH: 38th Street and what is it...North Church and then the Methodist church on about 56th and Meridian, we went there. We went to those two and they just...(pause)

I: What happened?

JH: Nobody said a word to me. It was just as if I wasn't there. I took the girls to the Sunday School and introduced myself to the teachers and they were very nonchalant and I just felt as though they weren't at all interested in knowing--I don't think they even asked the girls names--so I just crossed them off my list right away.

I: How many Sundays did you try these out?

JH: We just went once to each one.

I: This was on the basis of your first Sunday then.

JH: Yes, and when I went then to Broad Ripple the first Sunday they were just as friendly as could be and that is where I've went ever since.

I: Let's go back to this comparison with the church in Attica. What are some of the things that you think made you feel comfortable in Broad Ripple that you felt had been in your past.

JH: Well, I think the size of the church and the church building itself-- just the physical plant--very similar to the church I had been raised in. Not as many stained glass windows, but basically and the first Sunday I went Rev. W. was the minister at that time, and he knew I was someone new and he sought me out and wondered who I was, and if I was new in town and then about two days after that Mr. H., who was the associate minister, came calling, and I thought they were really interested in me, and they wanted me to join and they didn't pressure me. I didn't feel pressured at all, but I felt that they were truly interested, and I think this was the thing. There was just an atmosphere--you know--everybody was friendly and when I took the girls up they enrolled them and filled out cards and wanted to know all about them and what their likes and dislikes were, and if they were used to going to Sunday School, so I felt that these people were really interested in helping our children get what they needed to get in Sunday School. A lot of it is just feeling, but you know you walk into a place and either you feel at home and at ease or you don't, and I felt at home and at ease there. I can't really pick out any one person I think it was just the atmosphere of the congregation.

I: How did you find Broad Ripple?

JH: In the News...in that thing they have on Saturday night.

I: Church directory in the newspaper.

JH: Yes, church directory, but I wanted a church that was fairly close. I like it to be convenient you know.

I: This is convenient to where you live.

JH: Yes, well, its right across the street from our nursery (or little girls) school, and they walk to school, so it must be 6-7 blocks.

I: Now, how long had you been in the city when you found Broad Ripple?

JH: About two months.

I: Do you think...No, wait a minute before I ask that--how frequently do you attend Broad Ripple church?

JH: Every Sunday unless I am out of town. I teach a Sunday School class now.

I: Ok...maybe you can cite any other things you participate in. Do you teach Sunday School?

JH: Yes.

I: Are you in the choir?

JH: No.

I: Are you on the Official Board?

JH: No.

I: Any committee? Christian Education committee?

JH: No. I cook when they have Bazaar's and dinners and that is about it.

I: Ok. You're not in any social group as such but you do get out for the family suppers and things like that.

JH: Yes.

I: You do help in the kitchen you say...do you consider yourself more or less active in Broad Ripple than in your former church and let's see...by former church we should mean the church you attended before you moved to Indianapolis.

JH: More.

I: You're participating more here.

JH: Yes...in Broad Ripple, yes.

I: Do you think you would be missed if you participated less in Broad Ripple? For example would you be missed by the minister, by the choir, by the Sunday School class, commissioned Board and fellowship group, women's organization?

JH: You bet I would, because they can't find anyone to take my Sunday School class.

I: So you would probably be missed by the Christian Education people.

JH: Yes. We have been trying to develop team teaching, and we can't get anyone else even to help out.

I: What class is this?

JH: Third and fourth, and we have split them off now into third and fourth. I have the fourth grade and the other teacher has the third graders by request of my children because I did have the third and fourth combined and did have 30 some children, and I decided right then and there never to be a school teacher. Too many pupils are a strain, so in January when she offered to take half the group, we decided to split it by grades and my girls wanted me to take fourth graders, so that they could have me next year, so that's the reason we did it this way. Really not very scientific but...

I: So that does obligate you on Sundays since you have been teaching. How long have you been doing this?

JH: I started out a year ago November with the 5-6 graders because they couldn't get anyone to take the first service, and so they called me and caught me in a weak moment I guess. No, it was something that I'd wanted to do, but I'd been so busy with school, and you know how much time that takes when you are going to school full time, and I just really thought that I owed it to the church. I felt really that it was something that I had an obligation to do and I enjoy it very much. The kids are delightful, so then we went to our new service where we are having the children sing in the choir and have a little sermon afterwards...everyone goes up to church in the morning so that now we just have the one Sunday School class so that then when they didn't need me for the 5th and 6th they wanted to know if I would be willing to take over the 3rd and 4th grades because the teacher had moved out of town, so I said it was all right with me.

- I: Did any of these factors influence your participation in Broad Ripple? For example, your work schedule, your children's schedule, your involvement in community activities, your weekend recreation.
- JH: Yes, because I kind of made an unofficial rule that I could only go to one night meeting a week, because I feel like--you know-- I have to have some time to do things at home and be with my family, so I limit myself to one thing a week that I go out for, so if the CAPS have their meeting this week, and I go to that then everyone else gets a "no" this week, so to that extent that I did put some limits on my time--because you know, I do have some things that I like to do myself.
- I: So that's kind of dictated by I suppose your time limitations really.
- JH: Yes.
- I: Where you work full time as it is. Are you participating in any classes or fellowship groups--maybe you've already answered that-- in Broad Ripple?
- JH: Not for myself, no.
- I: Do you go to church?
- JH: Some Sundays I do--depends on the girls. They sing in the choir and have Sunday School and if they are tired then we go on home. This is the one thing that I do because last year when I was teaching the first service they went to Sunday School then, and they stayed for the second Sunday School hour, and it was a new group of teachers so that it was a whole new lesson, so then I went to church the second service, but I can't do that this year--at least I can't depend on doing it, so I kind of miss this.
- I: Do you think there are more opportunities to participate in Broad Ripple than in your former church.
- JH: I don't know whether there are really more or whether it is just that my situation is such now that I can be involved in more of them. I am sure that they were there in the other churches, but I just--the atmosphere *wasn't* such that I felt that I really wanted to get in there, and they didn't really come after me and ask me to do anything--they just kind of let me slide along.
- I: Let's see, you were also working different shifts weren't you in your former community in Crawfordsville and were you also going to school in Crawfordsville?
- JH: Yes, part time at that time--just two evenings a week.

I: How much more schooling did you do when you moved to Indianapolis? How many years did you continue?

JH: The first year I was here I just worked and I think I took probably six credit hours a semester, and the second year I was here I went to school full time and worked part time, and the next year--I had finished up my requirement then for my Bachelors and the next year and a half I took three credits a semester and then I went full time last summer--picked up credits on my Masters.

I: So would it be correct now to say then that you really started being active in Broad Ripple after you had gone full time as a student--it was after that year--about the third year that you started to get active in Broad Ripple?

JH: Yes. I felt that less of my time was taken up with that and I felt that I had time to do it. I...it was something that I wanted to do, but I also realized that you would have to have time to prepare--you know you don't just go in on Sunday morning and read the book--at least I didn't feel that you did. I've had teachers and the girls would come home and make comments--Oh--I don't want to go--and when you try to find out why, it is because nothing is planned for and they just kind of go and its just babysitting, and I had an idea in my mind that Sunday School should be more than this, because I recall that my Sunday School was more than this, and so I just thought I would like to try my hand at it and see if I could do something to make it a little more interesting to the kids.

I: Do you contribute financially to Broad Ripple?

JH: Yes.

I: How would you compare your financial support of Broad Ripple with your former church...for example, do you contribute more or less or equal amount of the portion of your income.

JH: More.

I: What does religion mean to you?

JH: What do you mean by religion?

I: What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of religion?

JH: Well, several things really...now I don't know when I think about it what the first thing is--uh--God--a building--a...some sort of a feeling and I don't know how you describe it. I know on Sundays when I lay in bed I feel very guilty about it, but I am sure that is just part of my mother has brainwashed me, but I feel empty without it. I have occasionally went to churches and sat there

and listened to the minister and got home and thought to myself--what in the world did that man say--you know--and I try to think and sometimes they don't say anything--it is just words and I haven't found that to be true of Broad Ripple as it is now, so that actually it is a learning experience for me. I learn something every time I go. A lot of things that maybe I'd just maybe be aware of or sometimes you hear something said a little differently or suddenly you can associate it with yourself...or else maybe I am just more aware--I don't know what it is. I think a lot of the things that I have heard from sermons I guess. It's carried over into my work, and I think it has made me more aware of people.

I: Your religion has helped you in your own profession.

JH: I think it has. I think part of it is just natural maturity, but I think it certainly helped and I certainly feel that it's--uh--I don't know--it's very hard to pick out something concrete that I gained, but it is just a feeling. I think that probably the churches as a whole today are more active and aware of what is going on, and I think sermons are trying to make people more aware of these things. Looking back when I was in school, I think sermons were just--I don't know--they would read the scripture and they would talk about that and didn't really relate to anything that was concerned with me or anything I was concerned in... you know how to live--well, maybe that concerns me, but it didn't relate to where I was at that time. I didn't really find anything --you know...it was just something that you did...you went to church on Sunday. I think I was always kind of glad to sing in the choir because then I would have other things to do. I didn't have to pay that much attention to what was being said and I can remember churches that I just fought to stay awake in--terrible feeling--just sit there...sing the Doxology...my mother used to catch my father because he would fall asleep in church, but I can understand now why he did, but I haven't had that problem lately.

I: Have there been any periods in your life when you felt more religious than at other times?

JH: Oh, when I was pregnant. Then when I found out I was going to have twins I think that really...used to think a lot about it and worry if I was going to be a good mother and all these sort of things I think most expectant mothers worry about...and real concerned about my past and afraid things were going to catch up with me, and my children would have to pay for them, and I think I was probably very concerned at that time.

I: Awareness of your responsibilities for nurturing your children.

JH: And even though I believed that God didn't punish your children for what you had done, I--you know--I had religious courses in college and one thing and another and didn't really believe this,

but still back in my mind there was a little doubt somewhere--well, maybe--you just never know for sure--and my husband and I used to talk about this quite a little bit--particularly in our situation, and I was concerned that he was pulling away from his church. I felt that we ought to belong somewhere and have ties somewhere.

I: So it would be mainly during this period of pregnancy and the fact that you were going to have twins brought you into a greater sense of awareness of your relationship with God.

JH: And I think every since I have become a mother because I want my girls to...I don't want them to fear God, but I want them to respect God and I want them to understand, so I am trying to be a good mother model for them. I don't know--every once in awhile they will get up on Sunday morning and won't want to go to church, and I don't know--I really want to go--it is very difficult to explain to them the feeling I have when I don't go--I don't know--maybe it is just psychological, but I just feel that I am ready to start the new week then. Just gives me a little something to go on for the next week, and I know it gets a little monotonous for them. They sing in the choir and they find it is the same old thing, and we talked about their choir...their choir director talked to them one Sunday and they were getting kind of melancholy and he sat them all down and had a little talk with them about this was one way they could serve God. They didn't have money they could give and this was one way they could show God that they loved Him and that they cared and this was one way they could serve God. Oh, made a big impression on them for about three weeks, but they have kind of forgotten, so I thought--you know I never really thought about it that way, so I have kind of reinforced that idea with them and

I: I would say you got some assistance from the other teachers.

JH: Yes.

I: I want to shift the question now and maybe go to another one--has Broad Ripple helped you in making the transition to Indianapolis in terms of any of these following categories: securing new friends, finding a job, locating a home, getting involved in the community, meeting a spouse, your children's adjustment.

JH: Let's see--go through those again (repeat)

I think probably meeting new friends, because I find I have two sets of friends. I have friends from the church and I have friends from my work so that I know many of the people I meet at church, our kids are in dancing lessons together, Brownies together and this reinforces that...

I: Your children's adjustment in the community is assisted by this then.

JH: Yes.

I: Do you think the church would help you more if it were smaller or larger?

JH: No, but I feel that if I would have problems in it that they would probably do what they could...what problems I have had haven't been monumental that I haven't been able to work out myself, but I feel that if I needed help I think that is probably where I would go. If something would come up that I needed someone to talk to, I am sure...

I: So it's more your attitude toward the church than the size of the church.

JH: Yes.

I: I've been finding that this is kind of valuable--maybe I'll let you write out answers to the next four and these are the concluding four questions. These have to do with the role of the church in society, and for my record keeping, you can just number it thirteen and I would just like a "yes" or "no" answer. Do you think that the church should help minority group members have equal employment opportunities? and I always point out--let's take Negroes as a minority group--do you think the church should help Negroes have equal employment opportunities?

JH: Are we going to look at them on the basis of their qualifications?

I: Well, the question is really geared to whether or not you feel it is the role of the church to get involved in this type of enterprise. If you get involved in the enterprise, then you start worrying about these other criterion.

#14. Do you think the church should urge that more tax dollars be spent for housing needs of low income people? and I point out on this one that this might mean churches would go to the state legislature and maybe the federal legislature and try to influence how money be spent on housing for the elderly, etc.

#15. This is on the role of the minister. Do you think your minister at Broad Ripple should take a public stand on school desegregation? Should he take a public stand?

Now the last one--#16. Is Broad Ripple church more tolerant on moral questions than say your previous church? For example: Is it more tolerant on drinking, divorce, mini skirts? Let's see...its been a long time since you've been back in Attica, but I'd be interested to know--is Broad Ripple more tolerant on these questions than your previous church and Attica church? Give me two answers there and just tell me which is which--one would be the previous church and one would be the Attica church.

JH: Yes, but no compared to the church in Attica.

I: Ok. Let's take the previous church. Is that good or bad?

JH: I think it is good. I don't know...I've had the feeling for years that the church is driving teenagers and young people away from the church by this rigid behavior that particularly older members of the church seem to have. They look down their noses at anyone that has any fun, and I have felt that the churches have used a lot of negative reinforcement and pushed young adults and teenagers out of the church and I think there is a move now toward a more tolerant attitude among some of the churches to get the young people back into the church and to get them involved, and I think it is excellent and I think--you know--I can look at some of my friends who have completely dropped out of church for this very reasons and they felt that there were a lot of hypocritical people in the church because they were doing the same thing on Saturday night that they were doing, but they were going someplace where nobody ever saw them and they--you know--this sort of thing--so I think it is a healthy thing.

I: Ok...that kind of formally concludes our questions unless there is some things that you want to add to any of the questions I have asked that maybe you have had second thoughts on.

JH: No.

I: Thank you for your cooperation.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CHURCH

The rural migrants in this study identify some of the cultural barriers to the church's mission--whether termed cultural snobbery or personal sophistication, the result is that the rural migrant feels "very cold" in the urban church. These barriers to his finding "face-to-face relationships" are part of the social structure of mass society and the institution known as the "church." The rural migrant's background precludes full identification and participation in the urban church--unless urban church leaders discover and employ means of cushioning the cultural shock of the rural migrants effected by migration.

Previous empirical studies demonstrate that there is a "cultural shock" effected by migration from rural to urban environments. Our findings concluded (1) that the church did not seem to act as a cultural cushion, and that (2) it would probably serve the interest of the church to act as a cultural cushion, and (3) it could perform this function if it redefined the church's mission in American culture, focusing on the problems of identification and communication.

This study's implications are based on the assumption of the reciprocity of mission. That is, the assumption is made that the rural migrant can contribute to the urban church life as the urban migrant can contribute to the rural church life. Specifically, the rural migrant can contribute his knowledge and experience of face-to-face relationships to the large urban congregation. And in turn, the urban church member can contribute his knowledge and experience of more impersonal, functional relationships to the rural migrant. In denying or minimizing the indigenous cultural expressions of religion, some urban churches have failed to communicate Christ as effectively as they could have otherwise. As Eugene Nida, missionary anthropologist and linguistic expert, says:

Perhaps in the matter of esthetic culture more than in any other area of life, Christian missions have, usually unintentionally, stifled indigenous practices.¹

What is the approach to this complex problem of identification and communication which is at the heart of the church's mission? Eugene Nida describes four prerequisites in this process.

First, it is necessary that church leaders recognize their own motivations. In other words, Nida states our interests in identification must not be some subtle projection of our unsatisfied desire to dominate, nor must they represent any unconscious attempt to escape from our own cultural milieu. . . we must know ourselves before we can expect to know others or to communicate with them.

The second requirement for identification is to know the rural migrant. To do so, one very effective tool is a familiarity with

¹Eugene Nida, Message and Mission (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), pp. 166-7.

the field of anthropology and the tools whereby different customs and cultures different than our own can be understood. The church will never communicate with any persons unless it knows something about how he looks upon the world and why he responds to it as he does.

Third, church leaders must be willing to expose themselves to being known. Nida states, again, to know others is not enough, if we ourselves are unwilling to be known.

Lastly, the indispensable ingredient in identification is a genuine love for people. Without this ingredient, church leaders cannot really identify with the rural migrant, which precludes any attempt to communicate with the migrant.

There are several means of cushioning the cultural shock of the rural migrants effected by migration.

I. CHURCH LEADERS IDENTIFY AND COMMUNICATE WITH THE MIGRANT

One means of cushioning the shock would be for urban church leaders to experience the rural culture. Only as the church leaders relate their ministry with the migrant's culture can the church leaders effectively identify with, and communicate with, the rural migrant. This means that church leaders might immerse themselves in the life stream of the migrant's culture in an effort to appreciate the value and beauty of indigenous cultural expressions of religion.

II. PROMOTION OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

A second means of cushioning the shock would be to devise programs of cultural exchange--to discover and appreciate the unique heritage of rural and urban church traditions. Such cultural exchanges might include: (a) honest and exploratory visits to rural communities (not sentimental and reminiscent); (b) an abandonment of the myth that there is no difference between "rural" and "urban" church traditions. Or, more positively, recognition of a difference and an honest attempt to discover the quality of the difference; (c) "live-ins" where rural persons share life with the urban persons prior to making the migration.

III. MODIFICATION OF FORMS OF WORSHIP

The focus of the cultural impact felt by the migrant is very much centered in the Sunday worship service, and here, a more conscious awareness of the "language of culture" is a requisite to the migrant's adjustment in the urban church. The rural migrants in this study implied that they did not recognize urban worship as "worship." In this

¹Ibid., p. 169.

respect, Reuel Howe describes some attributes of creative worship which may be helpful replacements for rural "tradition."

Worship should be the act of the whole man. Conventional worship has become too cerebral, too dehydrated of feelings. There is little in worship that gives us means to express feelings: the words of hymns are strange and alien to contemporary man, and the music is unsingable, at least for male voices; the rest of the service is prescribed and done, for the most part, by the minister. . . . Worship cannot be done only with the mind; the body is the servant of the soul and must be participant in worship. . . . All the senses should be employed in worship: sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch. We should make greater use of physical symbols that stand for inner or hidden meaning. These could be both traditional and contemporary.

IV. STUDY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

As Nida points out a theological imbalance violates the theory of communication which stresses the source, the message, and the receptor. The minister tends to understand the source and message of the Christian religion which he faithfully proclaims, but greater attention needs to be paid to the receptor, e.g., man's physical symbolization, nonverbal and sensory communication. To fail to take these expressions of religion seriously results in preaching to the rural migrant, but not really communicating with him. Darrell Wood emphasizes the importance of this task stating:

All good missionaries are good 'anthropologists' inasmuch as they are sensitive to indigenous cultural expressions and seek to understand and apply the principles of practical missionary anthropology . . . missionaries who limit their proclamation to the use of intellectual or abstract ideas often fail to communicate at all. Thus it becomes imperative to seek to be imaginative 'artists' who think and speak in colorful, dramatic pictures, actions, and symbols.²

The rural migrants in this study implied that the urban church expected them to adjust to its own indigenous forms of religion, and failed to appreciate their own contribution to urban church life, e.g. rural migrants reported: "The minister never talked about 'being saved' but talked about joining the church." It is the investigator's contention that urban congregations might well do some of the adjusting for their own enrichment as well as to keep the rural migrant "in."

¹Reuel L. Howe, Director's Letter, Newsletter, Institute for Advanced Pastoral Studies, October, 1969, pp. 1-2.

²Darrell Wood. "Communicating Christ Through Culture," The Commission (February, 1970), p. 8.

V. IDENTIFY THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Perhaps the crux of any cultural exchange hinges on recognizing that there is a responsibility to identify the Christian Tradition within the various church traditions, e.g., rural or urban. The two uses of the word "tradition" are distinguished for this purpose in the report of the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order which states:

What is transmitted in the process of tradition is the Christian faith, not only as a sum of tenets, but as a living reality transmitted through the operation of the Holy Spirit. We can speak of Christian Tradition (with a capital T), whose content is God's revelation and self-giving in Christ, present in the life of the Church.

But this Tradition which is the work of the Holy Spirit is embodied in traditions (the two senses of the word, both as referring to diversity in forms of expression, and in the sense of separate communions). The traditions in Christian history are distinct from, and yet connected with, the Tradition.¹ (Italics mine)

The church in mission attempts to meet the rural migrant at the level of his cultural expressions of religion, e.g. worship service, identifying its indigenous forms, but also moving beyond the forms to identify the Christian Tradition.

VI. USE MEANINGFUL ASPECTS OF RURAL TRADITION

In conclusion, Harvey Cox has described what white middle-class Protestant religion must look like to the many victims of cultural shock in American society:

Its exceedingly verbal preaching, its aesthetic color blindness, and its emotional tepidity and coldness must make it look to them like no religion at all.²

Though it may be a spurious argument, it makes just enough common sense to argue that the contribution of the rural migrant to the white middle-class Protestant Church is to restore wholeness to the corporate worship experience through a resurgence of emotionality and spirituality. "Perhaps what conventional Protestants have to gain from the more intuitively oriented religious groups is an occasional tongue of fire."³ Unintentionally, white middle class churches tend

¹Peter Day, Tomorrow's Church: Catholic, Evangelical, Reformed (Seabury Press, 1969), pp. 29-30.

²Harvey Cox, The Feast of Fools (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 24.

³Ibid., p. 25.

to stifle the indigenous forms of religion of the rural migrant, and hence, the mission of the church becomes an ethnocentric movement to make churches into "our cultural image."

SUMMARY

(1) It will serve the church's interests to cushion the cultural shock experienced moving from rural to an urban environment through a conscious strategy of cultural exchange among the churches, particularly focussing on the cultural impact of the worship service.

(2) It is the responsibility of church leaders to identify with, and communicate with, the cultural expressions of religion, but also to identify Christian Tradition in any indigenous cultural form.

(3) The adjustment of the rural migrant in the urban church depends on the resolution of the problems of identification and communication.