PATTERNS IN CIRCULAR MIGRATION:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF RURAL
RETURN MIGRANTS AS A TYPE

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

William Tregea

1968

THESIS

ABSTRACT

PATTERNS IN CIRCULAR MIGRATION: AN EXPLORATORY
STUDY OF RURAL RETURN MIGRANTS AS A TYPE

By

William Tregea

There is lack of research on return migration in rural

youth and a general need for further research on differential

patterns in rural youth migration. This exploratory study

attempts to analyze and categorize significant 1) demographic

indices, 2) career history, and 3) migration patterns found to

be related to the "estimated career outcomes" of rural return-

migrant youth. A ten-year longitudinal study of 1957-58 graduates

from high schools in Ontonagon County, Michigan is the sample.

The data for the study was collected by means of a 20-page mailed

questionnaire and involved several weeks follow-up fieldwork.

That part of the sample used in this exploratory study included those

youth who moved away from Ontonagon County for more than one month

at any time and for any reason during the ten-year period, and

since returned.

We found three broad patterns of migration: "The Forced and

Reluctant," "The Target Training Local Aspirant" and "The Migrational

Experimenter." Neither force, "target" training nor "target" wages

(total N = 36) were considered true migration. We sub-typed the

remaining 34 "Migrational Experimenters" along a two-dimensional

continuum of "success" as migration and "success" as career outcome, with additional descriptive dimensions of family formation, level and type of education and initial reason for leaving.

As we progressively differentiated within this "truly" return migrant group ("The Experimenter's"), it became increasingly clear that the stereotype of return migration as "failure" in economic and career histories was inadequate for the typological task and, in fact, was misleading for fully 62% of this sample sub-type. We established three sub-types within the "Migration Experimenter's" profile: "The Elite", "The Local Aspirant" and "The Returning Failure". Each sub-type evidenced clearly different and distinct meanings in their return migration pattern.

The study underscored the importance of differentiating between various patterns of "two-way" migration, and the need for attention not only toward the location of experimental migration (or "destination" social system), but also toward the community-of-origin as a social system, and particularly as an opportunity structure for many "return migrants." Specifically, this study suggests that there were clear and persuasive incentives for a significant sub-group of return migrants to return: inheritance of the infra-structure of middle and upper-middle class occupations and/or income bearing property. On the other hand a small number, (N = 13), of "truly" unsuccessful return migrants were identified and were described in detail in terms of various demographic, migrational and career outcome dimensions, which description may contribute to the clarification of the underresearched and conceptually vague extant images of "the return migrant."

PATTERNS IN CIRCULAR MIGRATION: AN EXPLORATORY
STUDY OF RURAL RETURN MIGRANTS AS A TYPE

By

William Tregea

A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

1968

INTRODUCTION

A substantial amount of research in American rural sociology has been concerned with the problems of rural youth under the conditions of rapid change in the twentieth century. That there has been a more or less continual labor surplus in rural areas, and a resultant outflow of these young people into urban regions has been well established. Studies have also indicated that, historically, rural migrants to the city have generally done less well in terms of occupational achievement and income than their urban-reared counterparts. These rural migrants presumably enter the urban environment with poorer educational preparation, fewer skills and lower aspirations, and a less sophisticated grasp of the complexities of the urban/industrial/bureaucratic process than the urban-reared.

The literature is not altogether consistent, and by no means complete, in its treatment of such aspects of the situation as the selectivity or the pattern of migration, the occupational experience and levels of achievement (social mobility) of rural migrants, and the sequence of events in the total process of their adjustment. For example, in differential migration, some studies have supported the hypothesis that it is the "superior" young people who leave their rural communities of orientation and migrate to the city, leaving behind the less talented rural youth. Other studies have found no important differences between rural migrants and nonmigrants.

The _pattern_ of migration of rural youth has usually been treated as essentially _a one-way_ _process_; a phenomenon of rural youth leaving an area of marginal or depressed economic activity for the cities, where they are absorbed more or less permanently into the lower skilled and unskilled levels of the urban work force.

Discussion of the Problem Area

This "one-way" notion of the migration and occupational adjust-ment process of rural youth has persisted even in spite of several studies reporting a reverse phenomenon in which some of these migrants, after a few years elsewhere, return to the same depressed rural areas from which they started out. Why do they return? What is the nature of this group and what is the meaning of their "two-way" pattern of migration? What factors of career experience and/or attitude relate to these highly significant and strategic migration decisions? What are their "career outcomes" and do they constitute a stereotypically distinct group? The few studies which mention this return migration phenomenon do not provide us with any illuminating analysis of these rural "migrants" as a specific group. Yet this phenomenon of "return migration" clearly presents some intriguing questions in the overall analysis of occupational adjustment, mobility, and "rural-urban" life cycles. Furthermore, circular migration appears to be frequent enough in certain settings to call for a much closer study than it has thus far received. Of the rural-depressed Michigan county young adults which are the longitudinal sample for this study (N = 265), anywhere from 13% to 26% fall in the RM category, depending on how circular migration is operationally defined (some definitions will be constructed and discussed in this paper).

The apparently oversimple descriptive stereotype of rural migration as a "one-way" process may well have to be set aside in favor of a more complex descriptive and conceptual model: It is becoming increasingly clear that migration of rural youth takes place in stages and that it is more complex than previously believed, characterized by physical and social vacillation in a "back-and-forth" pattern. Careful longitudinal studies of circular migration can add importantly to the adequacy and completeness of our descriptive and analytic models of migration patterns in rural youth.

Indeed, a severe limitation of much of the contemporary research literature on the experience and occupational adjustment and mobility processes of rural youth is that it has involved primarily static or historico-reconstructive analyses of rural-urban migrant cohorts. Studies involving successive measurements of a single cohort over time, providing ongoing longitudinal data, have not been widely performed. Thus, a longitudinal study offers possibilities for new insights into the adjustment and mobility processes, as well as the opportunity to measure certain long-range trends. Longitudinal studies provide important critical checks against information gained largely from static and reconstructive studies, and they offer the opportunity to expand the scope of our knowledge about the many elements of the economic, occupational, social, residential, and other demographic aspects of the adjustment of rural youth.

The prime value of longitudinal studies lies in the effort to understand more about the pattern of migration, and how it fits into the process of occupational adjustment. Where do rural young people first go when they leave home, and why? How much does the exclusively

"economic" affect their decision to move or not move? What is the influence and the role of family and friends in determining where and if an individual migrates? How often do these young people change employment and how is this related to the level of the job and the amount of their education? Where does marriage place in the sequence of events for physically and socially mobile and nonmobile groups? How is the choice of marriage partner and timing of marriage, and timing and number of children related to the pattern of migration? Or, conversely, how is choice of marriage partner, timing of marriage, and number of children affected by migration or nonmigration? Do rural nonmigrants--those left behind--share enough common characteristics to evoke an impression of them as a type? Do the migrants share important traits or experiences sufficient to allow deduction and/or induction of a typical pattern? How are migration, nonmigration, circular migration, and the pattern of migration related to social mobility for rural young people? These are broad and comprehensive questions which are being treated in the Ontonagon Longitudinal Re-Study project described below. This thesis deals with aspects of these broad questions which are relevant to the experience of that segment of the total sample which have been classified as "return migrants."

METHODOLOGY

The Re-Study Sample

The current project, under the direction of J. Allan Beegle and

Jon Rieger, is specifically designed as a longitudinal follow-up to a

1957 study of all high school juniors and seniors in Ontonagon County, a

rural low income out-migration area in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

The general purpose of this project has been precisely that of attempting

to gather and analyze the detailed longitudinal data necessary to shed

further light on the questions elaborated above. The original 1957

sample included 269 persons. Since that time, three have died, leaving

266 persons. In the 1968 Beegle/Rieger re-study, 265 of these have been

located and questionnaires have been sent to them inquiring into their

experience over the past ten years. It is expected that data will be

obtained from approximately 90% of these persons. This Ontonagon cohort

of 1957 juniors and senior high school students has, of course, dispersed

widely throughout Michigan and the midwest, and even as far as California

and beyond. One person is in Aukland, New Zealand. The "return migrants,"

of course, are now right back where they started.

The Return Migrant Sample

What constitutes a "returned" migratory pattern? Answers, at this

time, remain impressionistic. This return migrant pattern has received

so little attention in past research, and in the literature, that a

5

typological construction has never been specifically developed... And the few scattered references in the literature on "the phenomenon" and comments from field researchers themselves evoke the impression of "going out to see what the world looks like" and then homing back, in a more or less straight-line to the point of departure. There is really very little else in the way of concrete and focused empirical data, definitions, typology, or analytic discussion available on this phenomenon.

The returning migrant obviously went somewhere and came back. Our exploratory identification was simple: Any member of the original Ontonagon cohort who was living in Ontonagon County at the time of the fieldwork and who had, at any time, moved away from that county for one month ot more, for whatever reason, since 1957, was classed as a "return migrant" (RM). Clearly this is a very open-ended definition, purposely constructed as an overlarge net. The qualification "for one month or more" was intended to select-out visits to relatives for holidays and other non-moving away travel experience. The RM sample are those who self-selected themselves by completing a section of the questionnaire prefaced by the instruction "If you are presently an Ontonagon County resident, but lived away from Ontonagon County for a month or more any time since 1957, Answer the questions on pages 16-19. All others should proceed to page 20."

Inspection revealed that 66 out of 110 subjects currently living in Ontonagon County completed the RM section. Inspection of the ten-year career history sections of the questionnaires of the 44 remaining Ontonagon County residents revealed 4 more RM cases. It is believed that the corrected sample size of 70 represents nearly 100% of the return migrant group, so defined.

The large net constructed by such an open-ended identification resulted, as expected, in a "mixed lot" sample. Our sample, in short, constituted 70 re-study subjects who returned from living somewhere else, for a variety of reasons.

The Questionnaires

Two research projects are relevant to this study, the original Ontonagon County High School Study of "Initial Migration," by Beegle and Goldsmith, and the current First Decennial Re-Study project by Beegle and Rieger.

The Initial Study of 1957

In this study, a questionnaire was administered to all Ontonagon County High School juniors and seniors in the spring of 1957. The senior researcher and Goldsmith were interested in the development of a model for explaining the initial stage of voluntary migration. The 1957 researchers were also interested in the longer term possibilities of longitudinal follow-up data in the Northwestern Central Regional Area. Ontonagon County, therefore, was chosen as an appropriate out-migration county for the project needs.

Goldsmith was particularly interested in voluntary migration and in the problem of establishing a predictive model utilizing factors existing in "the initial stage of migration." This study is not directly concerned with Goldsmith's thesis, and aside from utilizing the same cohort ten years later as the source of this sample of "return migrants," we will not return to Goldsmith's work until the concluding discussion.

The First Decennial Re-Study 1967-68

The First Decennial Re-Study of this original 1957 sample is seeking longitudinal data on permanent migrants, return migrants, and non-migrants, and will lead to a re-assessment of Goldsmith's thesis.

There is major emphasis on the <u>pattern</u> of migration (e.g., "two-way" processes of migration) and on differential career outcomes of rural youth. This RM study involves the earliest complete sub-sample of returned questionnaires. The Decennial Re-Study is currently in the latter stages of data recovery. This thesis is exploratory in that it constitutes a partial "pilot study" suggesting dimensions that may be relevant to the larger project.

The fact of this thesis having been constructed before the completion of data recovery and analysis in the larger project is important because the exploratory study of "return migration" might be significantly enhanced through a comparative analysis of the three suggested typologies of migration: the non-migrant, the "return" migrant, and the permanent migrant. Such comparisons could aid greatly in any attempted typification and in the attempt to clarify the processural "two-way" aspects of rural youth migration. With complete data being as yet unavailable, the scope and direction of the following exploration must rely solely on the sub-sample of returned migrants.

The exploratory nature of the study has resulted in certain data being gathered that were less fruitful than they at first promised to be. In particular, the RM section of the Decennial Re-Study Questionnaire dealing with reasons for returning proved less interesting and less important than other sections. Specific discussion of the "Reasons for Returning" will be presented in Appendix D.

Principal attention will be paid to certain demographic variables and to the construction of a typology of "return" migrants in terms of 1) their initial reason for migration, 2) their longitudinal patterns of migration, and 3) their career outcomes.

SCOPE OF THE THESIS

Patterns in Circular Migration: An Exploratory Study of Rural Return Migrants as a Type

As the title is meant to indicate, the scope of this study is set initially by its necessarily exploratory nature, and by the limitations of the sub-sample size.

Who Are the Return Migrants And What Happens to Them?

These two questions are related in a conceptual and definitional sense for "who they are" depends on "what happened to them," in terms of migration patterns, career histories, attitudinal, and other dimensions.

Three approaches, each progressively narrowing and conceptually clarifying the various **types** of "return migration" are presented: 1) Demographic profiles based on Family Formation, Level and Type of Education and/or Vocational Training related to "Initial Reason for Leaving" the community-of-origin; 2) Profiles of the Migrational Patterns as related to Orientations to Community, and 3) a Typology of Estimated Career Outcomes. The latter is an attempt to assess the mobility like-lihoods of the "return migrants."

These three approaches are, of necessity, interrelated and complexly interwoven along many dimensions. The patterned interrelationships among Migration, Career Outcomes, and Demographic Factors leads towards a synthesis in the effort to create a researchable typology of "The Return Migrant."

9

The Results: A Typology of Return Migrants

A typology capable of further research in the problem area of the "return migrant" is presented, with additional discussion relating the results of the exploratory study to the questions reviewed in the Introduction.

Summary and Conclusions for Further Research

The problems of such an exploratory study, and several suggestions directed toward future research forms the summary and conclusion of this thesis.

The Appendices

There are 5 appendices providing additional relevant materials. Appendix A provides extended elaboration of the Demographic Factors; Appendix B provides extended elaboration of the Migration Patterns; and Appendix C provides extended elaboration of the Career Outcomes. Appendix D provides summary data on the Questionnaire RM Section ("The Reasons for Returning"), pre-fieldwork reasoning, and a general discussion of the relationships of these and other attitudinal items with the typology. Appendix E is the First Decennial Re-Study Questionnaire.

Appendices A through D provide additional discussion of logical procedures, assumptions, methodological questions, and further details on the thesis typologies. This thesis must necessarily proceed along complex and multi-dimensional lines in dealing with a complex and largely unstudied phenomenon, and these further discussions, filling out many logical and descriptive aspects, should prove helpful and relevant.

THE PATTERNS AND MEANING OF RETURN MIGRATION:
RESULTS OF AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

Who They Are and What Happens To Them

We begin with an overall picture of "the ones who returned" to their
point of origin. As indicated, our image is one of an apparently inex-
plicable pattern of returning home to what is, in fact, a rural depressed
county, which carries with it the implication of economic and occupational
failure.* It is this "unsuccessful migrant" syndrome which this study
seeks to explore.

The initial sorting of the RM sample (N = 70) by "Initial Reason
for Leaving" produced four more or less distinct categories: 1) seeking
education and/or vocational training (19 cases), 2) seeking employment
and/or living with friends or relatives (20 cases), 3) being drafted
or enlisting into military service (17 cases), and 4) following and/or
accompanying spouse (14 cases).

This "Initial Reason for Leaving" typology suggested certain even
more basic elements: 1) leaving for a variety of more or less invol-
untary or compulsory reasons, e.g., military, to be with spouse, and
coming directly back at the termination of such forcing or compulsary
conditions 2) Leaving to obtain further education or vocational training,
and coming directly back at the termination of such program; and 3) leaving

---

*This typification is found in this study to be highly over-
simplified and, in fact, often misleading.

11

to seek work and/or live with friends or relatives, after graduation
and subsequently returning.

What assumptions can be made about possible meanings of these three
migration patterns for the careers of the subjects involved? It might
be assumed that there is an increasing image of the "unsuccessful
migrant" as we move from the more "involuntary" migrants toward the
more voluntary migrants.*

This typology of "Reasons for Leaving" formed our initial approach
to analysis of the RM sample. Thus, three demographic dimensions were
chosen to provide a basic picture of the status of the return migrants:
1) Family Formation, 2) Initial Reason for Leaving, and 3) Level and
Type of Further Education or Vocational Training.

What Happened to Them: Some Demographic Profiles

Family Formation profiles were constructed on the basis of five
specific variables: a) number of siblings, b) number of pregnancies
before marriage, c) date of first child, d) number of children, and
e) divorce. On the basis of date of marriage and date of first child,
compared with national averages, three Family Formation categories were
constructed: "Early," "Average," and "Late."

Aside from some inconsistencies (see Appendix A), the trends
presented in the following tables are clear: Early marriage for both
men and women tends to mean a great many children and, given the fre-
quency of pregnancies before marriage, a high probability of limited or

---

*It is important to keep in mind that this notion of compulsary
migration refers to the leaving and not the returning, although in all
cases these persons did come back after some time elsewhere, and after
at least some amount of exposure to other environments and life-styles
(see Appendix A).

"forced" mate-selectivity exists. Clearly, these conditions should be
expected to have significant influence on opportunities for "successful"
migration. Again, the average number of months before or after gradua-
tion that marriage occurred is as low as the rate of pregnancy is
high: 1.7 months[+]. On closer inspection, we would expect to find that
Early Family Formation and low number of Months before or after Gradua-
tion at Marriage would both tend to confirm the notion of an "unsuccess-
ful" migrant syndrome.

TABLE 1. FAMILY FORMATION; WOMEN

N = 28*	Number of Siblings	Mos. Aver. 1st Child ± Grad.	Months Av. Mar. ± Grad.	Preg. Prior Marriage	Children	Div.%
EARLY (N=14)	4.4	9.0	1.7	64%	3.6	29%
AVERAGE (N=5)	3.2	16.0	26.0	0%	2.8	0%
LATE (N=6)	4.0	36.0	31.0	17%	2.0	0%

TABLE 2. FAMILY FORMATION; MEN

N = 42*	Number of Siblings	Mos. Aver. 1st Child ± Grad.	Months Av. Mar. ± Grad.	Preg. Prior Marriage	Children	Div.%
EARLY (N=10)	3.3	50.0	41.0	70%	3.1	0%
AVERAGE (N=10)	3.6	75.0	61.0	20%	2.6	0%
LATE (N=6)	1.8	82.0	69.0	67%	1.0	0%

*Table 1: There were 3 cases (now shown) in which there were
no children. Table 2: There were 16 cases (not shown) of which 3 in-
cluded no children and 13 were single men.
[+]This is for women only.

The second set of profiles (Tables 3 and 4) displays summary data comparing "initial reason for leaving," level and type of any further education received over the last ten years, and the pattern of family formation.

Table 3.   THE INITIAL REASONS FOR LEAVING, LEVEL AND
            TYPE OF EDUCATION, AND FAMILY FORMATION TABLES

WOMEN
INITIAL REASONS FOR LEAVING

| | N | Level | %Type | | %Family Form | | | |
			Aca.	Voc.	Ear.	Aver.-La.	La.	Single
HUSBAND	14	0.0	.00	.04	.80	.20	.07	.00
EDUCATION	7	2.1	.14	.86	.00	.71	.30	.00
JOB AND/OR RELATIVES	7	0.0	.00	.00	.43	.43	.43	.00

Table 4.   THE INITIAL REASONS FOR LEAVING, LEVEL AND
            TYPE OF EDUCATION, AND FAMILY FORMATION TABLES

MEN
INITIAL REASONS FOR LEAVING

| | N | Level | %Type | | %Family Form | | | |
			Aca.	Voc.	Ear.	Aver.-La.	La.	Single
MILITARY	17	.75	.08	.62	.18	.41	.18	.24
EDUCATION	12	2.00	.58	.33	.08	.32	.16	.50
JOB AND/OR RELATIVES	13	.30	.00	.23	.38	.38	.07	.23

It was expected that, in general, whatever additional education or vocational training the RM group obtained would be directly related to the "initial reason for leaving" the country. Table 4 reveals this to

be an extremely strong pattern for women (this should be expected, given the strong traditional definitions of sex-roles in rural areas). The military serves as an important source of vocational training for the men in this sample group, a fact verified by examination of questionnaire responses dealing with military service experience.

To appreciate the significance of the statistic on getting further academic education, we must examine what it actually represents and where such education was completed. The average level-of-education achieved includes, on the one hand, several who went for six months or a year and failed or dropped out and, on the other, a few who did, in fact, graduate with a bachelor's degree. (All of the latter are now teaching in Ontonagon county schools.) Furthermore, all but two of the entire group (men and women) received their "academic" education in public or private community colleges, junior colleges, or branch state universities in the Upper Peninsula. These institutions might be thought to offer much more gemeinschaft atmospheres and to draw more homogeneously community-of-origin oriented student bodies than the big universities in the Lower Peninsula.

An overall proportion of roughly one-fourth of the RM group leaving initially for educational reasons may seem a comparatively high proportion for rural, depressed areas, but a close examination of the level and type of education obtained somewhat modifies the picture. Only 4 out of 19 who left for educational reasons secured a bachelor's degree; thus, only 5.7% of the entire RM sample (N = 70) have become college graduates. Most of these initial migrations were, in fact, for vocational rather than academic training (of the remaining 15, the average vocational

achievement is 1.4 while the average academic achievement is 2.3 years). Finally, most of this vocational education appears to have consisted in out-dated or rapidly obsolescing types of mechanical, electrical,or secretarial training. Because the questionnaire was not designed to seek highly specific descriptions of the content and meanings of the various vocational training programs, more specific analysis than that provided here is not possible.

It is clear that educational or vocational achievement among women not originally leaving for that purpose is extremely low. Recalling that none of the women are now single, and that approximately 70% were married and had had at least one child by the age of 21, it appears that women's sex roles among this return-migrant cohort are highly traditional.

Summarization of these demographic factors allows us to develop somec contrasting profiles:

Those who initially left for "involuntary" reasons--31 cases; 14 women and 17 men, where 11 women evidence Early Family Formation (with all its attendent vital statistics) and none have received significant further education or training and where 8 men have received some kind of vocational, job-oriented training (obsolescent);

Those who left for jobs--20 cases; 7 women and 13 men, where 3 women evidence Early and 3 women evidence Late Family Formation and none have any further training or education, and where 5 men evidence Early Family Formation while 3 are single and none have any further academic education with 3 having further vocational training (obsolescent);

<u>Those who left for education</u>-- 19 cases; 7 women and 12 men, where <u>no</u> women evidence early Family Formation with <u>no</u> early pregnancy and where one woman received academic while six women received vocational (some semi-professional), and where one man married Early while six are still single, with six men receiving academic and five receiving vocational (4 BA's).

From this evidence, the "initial reason for leaving" the community-of-origin is clearly pivotal in the family and career histories of rural youth. For some, perhaps, it has powerful and even traumatic strategic impact on later life chances and life styles. By studying return migration, we are at the crucial intersection of the human meanings and consequences of these various demographic factors.

What Happened to Them: Some Migration Pattern Profiles

We have presented above a demographic picture of the return migrant constructed solely on the basis of their "initial reasons" for migrating. Yet, limited as that picture remains, these Demographic Profiles indicate the need for a more analytic and longitudinal approach. That is, we must answer the question, "What else happened to them over the last ten years?" Specifically, what kinds of long-term migration do members of this sample evidence? Furthermore, "What kinds of developing career outcomes are part of the return migrant story?"

The Decennial Re-Study questionnaire was specifically designed to recover migrational and a variety of longitudinal career information, and intensive analysis of that data revealed several distinct migration patterns. In the attempt to provide a more analytic conceptualization, the following "Migration History Profiles" are presented: "The Forced

and Reluctant," "The Community-of-Origin Occupational Aspirant," and "The Migration Experimenters."* Each of these profiles attempts to describe and explain a more-or-less distinct pattern of return migration represented in the RM sample. While these profiles remain tentative and exploratory, we believe they provide a possible starting point in the study of return migrant phenomenon.

Migration Profile #1: "The Forced and Reluctant"

These are rural people for whom only force or forcing situatiohal contexts can initiate physical migration out of the county or community-of origin. The theoretical assumption is that they have a very strong community-of-origin orientation and that their community-of-orientation level of aspiration (occupational, status, etc.) is not so strong or of the nature that migration from the community would be necessary for such aspiration-fulfillment. "Force" refers specifically to the military draft.

"Forcing situational contexts" refers to the following structural situations: 1) declining job market combined with large and growing families forcing many with limited skills to temporarily migrate to "substitute communities" for the specific purpose of "target wages" for a short and well-specified time period with the (attitudinal factor of) response patterns indicating no intention of "experimenting" with new (i.e., "substitute") wage rewarding area or community, and/or 2) a community-of-origin occupational structure and subject job domain containing highly unstable and/or strike-shutdown-layoff industries as the major source of employment creating a forcing situational context

---

*A fourth profile is discussed in Appendix B: "The Rural Unsettled and Drifting."

of temporary migration to substitute or known communities for the spec-
ific purpose of "substitute wages," for a short and well-specified time
period (until the strike, shutdown, or layoff period is over), with a
consistent pattern in either case of immediate return to the community-
of-origin and its job-domain opportunity structure.

Migration Profile #2: "The Community-Of-Origin Occupational Aspirant"

These are rural people who "migrate" temporarily with the distinct
pattern of securing some form of community-of-origin oriented and related
or needed "Target Training or Education," either vocational, technical,
semi-professional or professional. The theoretical assumption is that
they have a strong community-of-orientation, but not so strong or of
the level and type of community-of-origin aspiration (occupation/status)
that cannot be fulfilled without temporarily migrating for the specific
purpose of such "target" training. "Target Training" is defined as
acquisition of skill and/or education directly related to the opportunity
structure and job-domains of the community-of-origin, and with a migra-
tion pattern of direct and immediate return to the community-of-origin,
with frequent subsequent entry into a job or job domain for which such
target training is directly relevant.

Migration Profile #3: "The Migration Experimenters"

These are rural people who try migrating, in the full and clear
meaning of "settling" in another community (in a more-or-less permanent
sense) for an extended period of time and/or people who try migrating
and move to several different community areas, with an explicit objective
pattern (and a corresponding attitudinal pattern) of "experimenting" with
living and working in other, strictly non-community-of-origin areas or

communities. This does not necessarily rule out living what otherwise would be called "substitute communities" (i.e., where there are friends or relatives from community-of-origin) <u>given</u> a clear job, career, migration and/or attitudinal pattern evidence of "experimental performance" and "experimental intentions" in such migration patterns. There is also a strong (but not necessary) effort of "career outcome" career/occupational domain "experimentalism" in this group.

The theoretical assumption is that, while there may be a reasonably strong community-of-origin orientation, such orientation is not so strong that these people do not at least <u>try</u> experimental migration with more-or-less serious consideration to (at least extended) living away from the community-of-origin, especially if experimentalism is "successful" (to be defined).[*] The premise, then, is that such people have a Level of Aspiration which includes an orientation toward non-community-of-origin references, in terms of life-style, life-chance, occupational domain, regional opportunities/climates, family security, mobility, or just plain "give it a try" American cultural more of "going out and see the world as a young person" intention/consideration.

These three profiles expand and significantly extend our initial typology. They are based not on <u>first</u> incidences of migration, but rather on the entire ten-year migration <u>patterns</u>. For many sample members, there is complete consistency--the reason for their first migration episode was similar to any and all subsequent such episodes

---

[*]As we shall see in later discussion, in many cases, Profile #3 migration patterns may not be so much a question of "weak" community-of-origin orientation as much as other conflicting values in the context of certain "forcing situational contexts." That is, in declining job markets, <u>some</u> people <u>must</u> leave if they wish to secure wages and/or occupational opportunity structure providing security for a growing family with low-skilled husband (see following discussion).

in which they left the county and then returned. For some, however, there is a changing pattern of reasons for migrating and returning.

Nevertheless, our initial typological consideration would still appear relevant. Directly "forced" migration, in the sense that an individual has no reasonable alternative, as is exemplified in the military draft, is really inconsistent with the concept of "voluntary migration." On the other hand, voluntary migration, in the context of "forcing" structural situations, creates a more ambiguous typological problem, and requires some further discussion.

We have included both "direct force" (e.g., the military draft) and "forcing situational contexts" (e.g., migration in pursuit of employment) as illustrative of migration profile #1. The reasoning here is that a job squeeze and the resultant labor surplus created by technological modernization of the few industries in Ontonagon county results in a "forcing situational context" for the "voluntary" decision to, at least temporarily, migrate. A question could be raised as to how this "temporary" profile #1 can be distinguished from, for example, an "unsuccessful" profile #3 migrational "experimenter," where the individual exhibits a similar pattern of moving to another social system and then returning? It is a question that has not been completely resolved in this exploratory study.[*] However, intensive analysis of the migration and career histories of subject prototypes did provide a successful typological differentiation based on 1) length of stay away from Ontonagon County, 2) the relationship between time of local strikes/shutdowns/layoffs in the county (which, it is expected, encourages migration to temporary "substitute communities") and/or timing and number of children

---

[*]See Appendix B for further discussion.

considered in conjunction with the pattern of wage-earning (which, it is
suggested, leads to "target wage" temporary migration to augment normal
wage-earning potential), 3) the timing and directness of the return
(i.e., returning immediately upon settlement of the strike and/or upon
achievement of "target wage" objectives) and, 4) attitudinal constella-
tions tending to confirm the impression of these patterns. On the basis
of these distinct differentiations and certain additional methodological
measures,* profile #1 was distinguished from other patterns, and this
operationalization was accepted for classifying sample members.

Thus, we may provisionally retain the orienting logic in profile #1
of only "force" or "forcing situational" contexts as capable of initiating
migration. This leads us to some similar logical and descriptive prob-
lems with profile #2. Clearly, we are not dealing with "no other reason-
able alternative" with regard to decisions to seek further education or
vocational training. Again, the major question is how do we distinguish
between this "temporary" profile #2 pattern from certain "unsuccessful"
profile #3 migrational "experimenters" (where the sample member may
evidence a similar pattern of moving with evidence of further education
or vocational training in another social system, and then return)?
This question has not been completely resolved in this exploratory
study.*

However, intensive analysis of the migration and career histories
of this prototype also provided a successful typological differentiation
on the basis of 1) the length of the "stay away," 2) the correlation
between time-span of educational and/or vocational programs involved
and the length of "stay away," 3) the timing and directness of the

_____

*See Appendix B for further discussion.

return (i.e., returning immediately upon either completion or other termination of the "target training"), 4) confirming career history evidence of immediate and/or potential utilization of such training _in_ Ontonagon and/or specific and directly community-of-origin-related types of education or training, with 5) confirming attitudinal constellations tending to confirm the impression of patterns. On the basis of these distinct differentiations, and certain additional methodological measures,[*] profile #2 was distinguished from other migration patterns and this operationalization was accepted for classifying sample members.

Thus, while profile #2 involves voluntary migration, certain attitudinal "sets" were inferred on the basis of the above _pattern-_ differences, to distinguish them from the "experimenters." They (apparently) left only and solely for "target training" with the (apparently) _specific_ intention and career-plan of returning to the county-of-origin, whether such "target training" was completed or otherwise terminated.[**]

Again, we may provisionally retain the orienting logic in profile #2 as strongly community-of-origin oriented, but with a level of aspiration and/or job-domain requiring such temporary migration.

Each of these Profiles contains enough cases with enough relevant _sub_-patterns to merit some effort at sub-typing, but obviously, it is pattern #3 which should prove most relevant to our exploratory concern

---

[*]See Appendix B.

[**]Throughout this complex and interwoven typological attempt, the patterns of migration, the demographic facts, the pattern of career history, and objective "estimation indicators" of "career outcome" were utilized for the task of establishing the several typologies. Attitudinal factors were used only as confirming inferred "variables." Nevertheless, the attitudinal confirmations were strong in all typological approaches. Further discussion of the methodology and questions involved "non-attitudinal" approaches to migrational pattern typification is found in the following section and also in Appendices B and C.

with the "unsuccessful" syndrome of return migration[*] (Profile #3 is

also the largest migration pattern (N = 34) as well as the most broadly

defined).

"Success": As Demographic, Migration, and Career Outcome Patterns

In our discussion of the demographic description of our RM sample,

we created an implicit definition of "success" in terms of educational

or vocational preparation, "initial reason for leaving," and the nature

of family formation. We expected that certain demographic constella-

tions would relate in certain ways with the "unsuccessful" migrant syn-

drome (thus implicitly suggesting a "successful" combination of such

demographic factors as well).

Again, in our discussion of migration profile.patterns, we have been

implicitly defining "success" in terms of migration (i.e., "did he mig-

rate out of such a rural-depressed county?"). It would seem relevant,

in the discussion of "migration as success," to construct some kind of

continuum of Rural/Urban place and/or pattern of "experimental" migra-

tion (it seems reasonable that a "migrational experimenter" who leaves

the community-of-origin to live in another highly similar rural area

has not "succeeded" $\sqrt{\text{defining success as migration}}$ as well or in the

same sense as another sample member who "tried" migrating and living in

a large Urban complex. We discuss this dimension further in Appendix B).

On the other hand, people not only move, they work.

Careers, of course, have outcomes within the contexts of oppor-

tunity structures. Opportunity structures, in turn, require certain

objective attributes such as level of skill, training, bodies of

_____

[*]Further discussion of profiles #1 and #2 is found in
Appendix B.

knowledge, competencies in personal and interpersonal situations, bureaucratic adeptness. That is, opportunity structures require some such set of attributes in order to achieve, secure, and/or maintain "success" (now defined as "reward" in terms of either security or mobility). This suggests a conceptual approach defining "success" in terms of career outcome. Such an approach suggests, in turn, that the task of describing, assessing, and adequately differentiating a return migrant sample into viable profile #3 sub-types must involve at least four dimensions: 1) the career-outcome opportunity structure where they "experimented," 2) their objective background to "succeed" in such an opportunity structure, and at what likely levels of success so defined, 3) the opportunity structure in the community-of-origin (Ontonagon County in this case), and 4) the sample members' objective background to succeed, so defined, in that opportunity structure.

This reasoning (in addition to other considerations elaborated in Appendix B), leads us to the construction of two broad classifications within the "experimental" migration pattern: 1) "unsuccessful" in other locations and, 2) "more or less successful" in other locations.*

The Unsuccessful Return Migrant

The unsuccessful RM sample member was identified in terms of a pattern of inability to "adjust"/"adapt" and "do well" in respect

---

*It would be possible and fruitful (with a larger sample N) to construct a fairly rigorous multi-dimensional "variable" approach to "success" and "non-success" in terms of demographic, migrational, career-history patterns and career-outcome estimators, all taken in synthesis, in a theoretically "tight" constructed typology of return migration. As an exploratory study, however, we shall stick to one dimension at a time until our progressive narrowing and "crossfirings" allow us some tentative foundation for a more complex perspective.

solely to job skills, wage security, and/or sequencing and pattern of
career and migration episodes. Seven men and six women (none couples)
were so identified, or about 18% of the RM sample.* (Four of these 13
cases are described in detail in Appendix B as prototypical of the
analytic profile of "unsuccessful.")

The Successful Return Migrant

The successful RM sample member was identified, on the other
hand, in terms of a pattern of stability, evidence of "adjustment" or
"adaption," in respect particularly to job skills, wage security, and/or
sequencing and pattern of migration and career history episode(s).
Thirteen men and eight women (three couples) were so identified, or
about 30% of the RM sample. The criterion here was: Would an urban-
based researcher be uncertain or tend to class these cases into "success-
fully" migrating from rural areas categories? Nearly all, it was be-
lieved, would have been so classified at any "slice" of their "stay away."
Yet, they have returned. In many ways, this sub-type is even more
interesting than the "unsuccessful." It is larger, nearly 30% of the
RM sample, which is 12-13% of the entire (N = 265) Re-Study cohort.

---

*While each case is very different in many respects, each
displays similarities threading the theme of "unsuccessful" migration
(and/or career outcome) throughout the mass of idiosyncratic detail.
There is one case of lack of skills and growing family, with inability
to draw sufficient wage to support/security; a second case of several un-
successful (in terms of length of stay or raising wages) moves to large
urban areas and then a return to very low level woods common labor, con-
sistent over ten years with no change in sight; a third case of a large
and growing family where the husband was unable to earn more in the
large city where he migrated than he could back in county-of-origin; and
a fourth case of "unsuccessful" migration via "wrong marriage" and
divorce, with much more successful second (local) spouse providing twice
the level of living/security/mobility potential in local job domain.

(Four of these 21 cases are described in detail in Appendix B as proto-
typical of the analytic profile "successful.")[*]

Close inspection of the prototype cases directs attention toward
the county-of-origin, and particularly its opportunity structure and its
class/status security or mobility potential for these "returning" cases.

As mentioned, careers have outcomes in the context of opportunity
structures. We can discuss "success" defined as a certain migration
pattern (i.e., did the sample member "make it out" of county-of-origin
and more-or-less successfully adapt and adjust in the urban milieu?);
we can also discuss "success" in terms of opportunity structures and
career outcomes. Did the subject "do well"? As we are beginning to
see, the interrelationship between initial reason for leaving, education,
family formation, migration patterns, and career outcome dimensions for
the RM group is complex. The final presentation of this exploratory
study will pay specific attention to the opportunity structure of
Ontonagon county, and will provide an estimated career outcome typology
of the return migrants in terms of that opportunity structure. It may
well be that a good deal of the RM phenomenon is inexplicable only if
the opportunity structure of the community-of-ofigin is ignored.

---

[*] While each case is distinct, each also displays similarities
threading the theme of "successful" migration (and/or career
outcome) throughout the mass of detail. There is one case of a
man who obtained a teaching B.A. and started a construction business
as supplement to teaching, then returned to Ontonagon for full time
business, another man earned no degree but spent several years in a
large Wisconsin city establishing a construction business, then returned
to take managership of large (parental) garage, there was a woman who
went to a large city and obtained the R.N. and then worked a year in that
city at a large hospital, returned to marry executive husband, another
women whose husband began vending business in large urban area and was
successful for several years, they returned to buy Ontonagon motel.

The County-of-Origin

Ontonagon County has a population of 10,000. There are two major
industries, copper mining and pulp wood processing. Fully 80% of the
county consists of National Forest, with additional low-yield and small-
plot farm clearings. The largest city is 2,300, while the remaining
towns and villages rarely exceed 500. The county is large, 30   miles
wide and 42 miles in depth, with a road system following the perimeters
in a large square. It is a low-income and out-migration county classified
as "rural-depressed" by the Presidential Commission on Rural Poverty.

The opportunity structure of this "pocket of poverty" county includes
300 laboring and 60   clerical jobs at the mine, with 80 laboring
and   20 clerical jobs at the pulp mill. As a "scenic area," the county
supports about a dozen motel-resort businesses. The largest community
also supports one oil, one lumber, and one mechanical parts business.
Other than these basic, resort and secondary-support industries, the
county supports only small service-oriented establishments: restaurants,
bars, a bowling alley, service stations. There are four small school
districts.

There is one hospital, no child clinic or health clinic for the
elderly. However, there is no theater, no youth center, no bus service.
There is no institution of higher educational and/or vocational training.

As a whole, the county should be described as a lower-middle-class/
working class area, with unionized mine and pulp mill workers and a
small infrastructure of lower-skilled clerical and entrepreneurial
white-collar workers. Few farms produce significant profits. There is
also a broad lower class: low-skilled, non-unionized, low-security, low-
pay labor force, working in raw wood cutting, logging, and similar

"woodswork" vocations. There is frequent unemployment for many in this lower-class group.

However, even such a rural-depressed county as Ontonagon supports a small structure of middle- and upper-middle class occupations. There is a doctor, a few lawyers and a judge, there are school teachers, principals, superintendents, middle- and upper-level management in the mine and pulp mill, high income secondary-support industries and a few lucrative motel-resort businesses.

This, then, is the opportunity structure of the county-of-origin, and the county our RM sample members are returning to. It seems reasonable that, for the profile #1 and #2 group (the "forced and reluctant" and the "community-of-origin aspirants"), estimating career outcomes is relevant only through assessing the sample member in terms of the opportunity structure of Ontonagon--they have not migrated with any pattern (or inferred intention) indicating permanent or even trial assimilation with any other community. On the other hand, the migration "experimenters" would require career outcome estimation in terms of at least two opportunity structures--wherever they "experimented" and their county-of-origin to which they have returned. We have already (provisionally) described their performance (in terms of career outcome) in other locations: the "successful" and the "unsuccessful." Now, we must turn toward the county-of-origin and assess their "success" within that structure.

An Estimated Career Outcome Typology and Its Relationship to Demographic and Migration Patterns

On the basis of a constructed scale of career outcome "estimation indicators"[*] as applied now to the county-of-origin segments of the

---

[*]See footnote, page 23 and Appendix C.

RM sample group's career histories, we have constructed six estimated

career outcome statuses: 1) the Rural Maladapted Lower Class (MLC),

2) the Working Lower Class (WLC), 3) the Downwardly Mobile Lower Middle

Class (DMLMC), 4) the Frozen Lower Middle Class (FRZLMC), 5) the Upwardly

Mobile Lower Middle Class (UMLMC) and 6) the Middle- and/or Upper-Middle

Middle Class (M/UMC).

These estimated statuses are inducted patterns and do not directly

represent the class/status hierarchy of the county itself. Rather, they

are presented to serve as a dynamic estimation scheme, "predicting" likely

career outcomes, given a continuation of the same overall career history

patterns of the sample members. On the basis of this typological con-

struction, the following table is presented to expand and further refine

our approach to the patterns of circular migration and the meaning of

the return migrant (see diagram, page 35).

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED CAREER OUTCOMES AND THE
SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC INDICES

N	Estim. Career Outcome	FAMILY FORMATION				Av. No. Cld	Av.% Preg. Prior Mar.	Av. Yrs Lev Ed	Educ. as %Initial Reason Leave	MC Fmly. Bus. In. Par/Prop.
		%								
		EA FF	AV FF	LA FF	SG					
11	M/UMC	.36	.36	.18	.09	2.7	.33	1.7	.45	.82
12	UMLMC	.08	.33	.42	.16	1.75	.25	1.7	.33	.00+
36	FRZLMC	.54	.19	.21	.20	2.5	.50	0.4	.25	.00
7	DMLMC	.60	.33	.00	.14	3.0	.66	0.1	.00	.00
66			*		*					

The largest typological grouping of the entire sample falls in the lower middle-class breakdowns. The entire lower middle-class range has a total N = 55, or fully 78.5% of the sample, yet the breakdowns into the upwardly and downwardly types, with N = 12 and N = 7, respectively, holds very strongly along all indices, with the exception of <u>Average</u> Family Formation and Single columns, which do not measure with any consistency among any of the types.

Table 5, it should be remembered, has been constructed with a small N, and is, therefore, incapable of true statistical strength. Nevertheless, as mentioned, the strong ordinal consistency evidenced suggests that, as an exploratory and tentative presentation of estimated career outcomes, this typological approach may serve the purposes of our discussion. And, since inspection of this table leads us to believe it helpful, the complementary joint tables of career outcome and migration patterns have also been established, thus completing and synthesizing our three dimensions: the demographic, migrational, and career outcome-- along multi-level comparisons. Tables 6 and 7, therefore, present comparisons and overlap between the estimated career outcome statuses and the migration pattern profiles.

In fact, because of the small N, these tables would not be presented at all if it were not for the strong ordinal consistency evidenced. It was this result which allowed this third section to be included in the thesis as a defensible exploratory and tentative addition to the problem of the return migrant (the ordinal consistency is strong enough, even with the small N, to suggest in further research and with an adequate N, the utilization and construction of an interval scale, which is discussed in the Appendix C).

TABLE 6.   JOINT TABLE OF MIGRATION PROFILE PATTERN TYPE
AND ESTIMATE CAREER OUTCOME PLACEMENTS,
AS % TOTAL CAREER OUTCOME PLACEMENT STATUSES

N	Est. Career Outcome Status	#3-Unsuc.	#3-Suc.	#2-T.T.	#1-Frc.	
11	M/U MC	.00	.73	.18	.09	1.00
12	UM .LMC	.17	.33	.25	.25	1.00
36	FRZ LMC	.17	.17	.28	.39	1.00
7	DM LMC	.42	.42	.00	.14	1.00

TABLE 7.   JOINT TABLE OF MIGRATION PROFILE PATTERN TYPE
AND ESTIMATED CAREER OUTCOME PLACEMENTS,
AS % TOTAL OF MIGRATION PATTERNS

N*	Migration Pattern	Middle Class	Upwdly Mbl LMC	Frz LMC	Dwnwdly Mbl LMC	
11	#3-UnSuc.	.00	.18	.55	.27	1.00
21	#3-Suc.	.38	.19	.29	.14	1.00
15	#2-T.T.	.13	.20	.67	.00	1.00
19	#1-Frc.	.05	.16	.74	.05	1.00

Inspection of the large lower middle class status group in the career outcome typology reveals clear demographic differentials: "Upwardly" displays the lowest Early family formation, the highest Late family

---

*It was necessary to drop the bottom four cases in the lower two categories of the status typology from these tables also, for the same small N limitation. The total N for each table is 66, rather than 70

family formation, the lowest number of children, the lowest pregnancy-before-marriage average, the highest average years of further education, and the highest Education as reason for leaving; on the other hand, the "Downwardly" displays the highest percentage of Early family formation, the lowest percentage Late family formation, the highest average number of children, the highest average number of pregnancy-before-marriage, the lowest average years of further education, and the lowest average Education as initial reason for leaving; while the "Frozen" fall consistently in between with surprisingly even interval averages on many indices.

These are the kinds of results we might expect, in general, for any class/status system: the "Upwardly" are delaying family formation, avoiding large families, taking care with career/outcome hindrances such as pregnancy before marriage, attaining further education, etc., while the "Downwardly" are handicapped with Early family formation, a large number of children, a high rate of pregnancy-before-marriage, and a low level of further educational achievement. On the other hand, if we compare the "Upwardly" Lower Middle Class status group with the middle or Upper-Middle Class status group, an interesting pattern of unexpected inconsistency appears. The Middle Class group evidences a higher Early family formation, a lower Late family formation, a higher number of children, and a higher rate of pregnancy before marriage, with an equal average level of further education.

In comparing the Lower Middle Class status groups, we would surely be tempted to describe the "Upwardly" pattern as conforming generally

to established Middle Class patterns. Yet our actual Middle Class
status group displays a decidedly more "relaxed" pattern of family
formation than the "Upwardly"! This requires some further discussion.

When we began our initial typological approach with the "initial
reason for leaving" and "vital statistics" discussion, we put forward
some general expectations. We hypothesized that Early family formation,
high number of children, high pregnancy before marriage, and little
further education would tend to confirm the "unsuccessful return migrant
syndrome." Inspection of all three joint tables confirms this expecta-
tion: the highest percentage of "unsuccessful" migration patterns falls
in the Frozen and Downwardly Lower Middle Class (taken either as per-
centage of Migration pattern or as percentage of Career Outcome Status
groups), where both Frozen and Downwardly have the highest Early family
formation averages and the lowest further education achievements.

On the other hand, we implicitly suggested that Late family forma-
tion would be directly related to "successful" migration and further
education or vocational training. But since the sample we are dealing
with are not "successful" in terms of permanent migration out of the
county-of-origin, the only relationship between Late Family Formation
and "success" (defined now as "mobility and/or security") would be within
the opportunity structure of Ontonagon County itself. Therefore, we
would expect that this family formation pattern would be most likely
to evidence middle-class or upwardly-mobile Ontonagon-oriented career
histories. And this expectation is borne out with the example of the
"Upwardly" mobile Ontonagon-oriented career-outcome group.

However, we are left with the anomaly of Middle-Class RM sample
members with lower family formation "delaying" characteristics than the

Figure 1. Diagram of Migration and Career Outcome Patterns

Figure 1. Diagram of Migration and Career Outcome Patterns
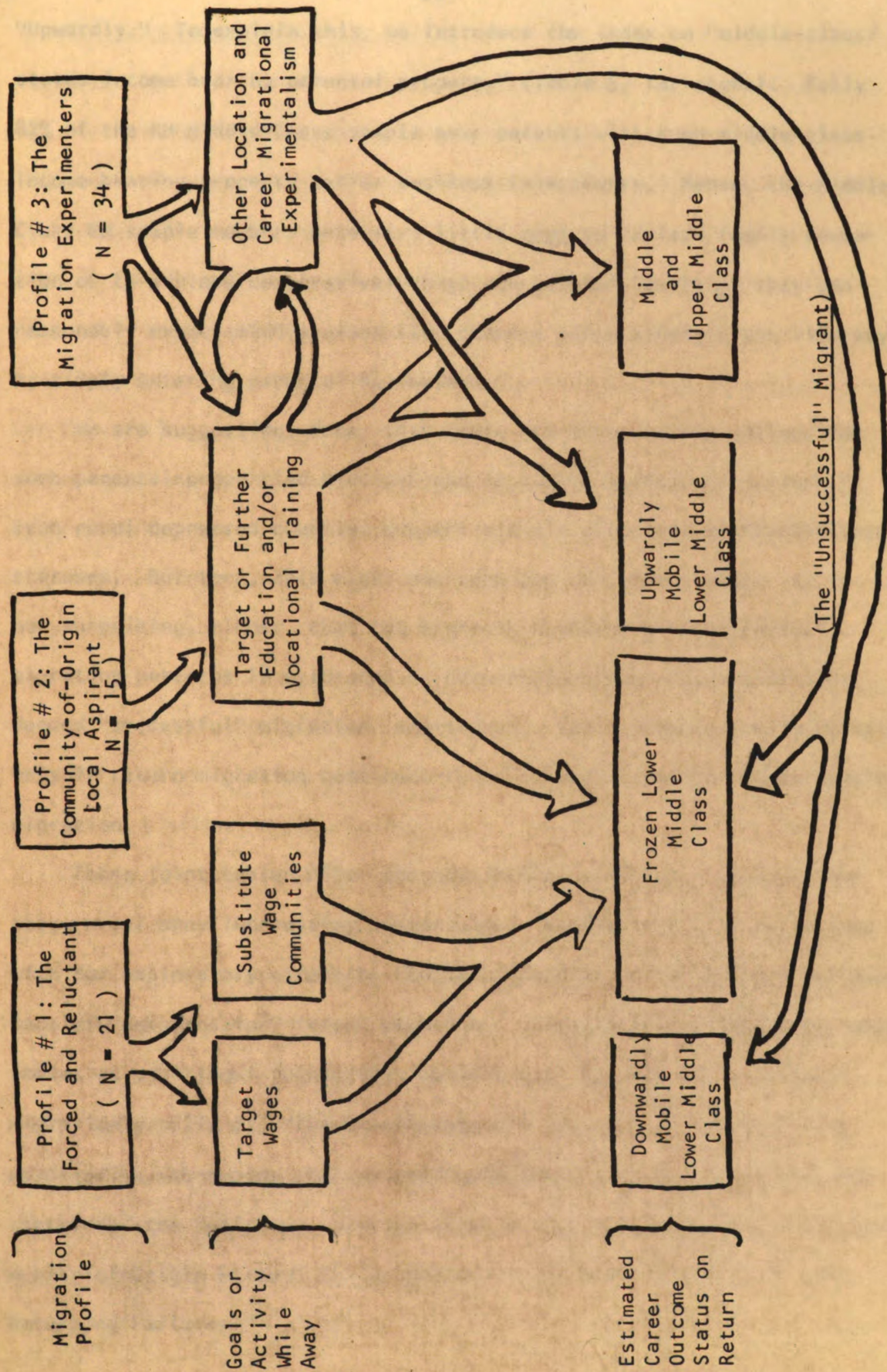
"Upwardly." To explain this, we introduce the index on "middle-class/ status income bearing parental property" (Table 5, far right). Fully 82% of the RM Middle Class sample have parents with such middle-class income bearing property and/or business investments. Hence, the Middle-Class RM sample members have very little _need_ to "delay" family formation or to achieve comparatively high educational levels _if_ they can reasonably expect middle-class life chances and a middle-class life-style by simply entering parental businesses.

We are suggesting, then, that there are very real incentives for such parental-propertied Middle-Class RM sample members to "return." Even rural depressed counties support a small structure of Middle-Class statuses. But then, this might not seem terribly surprising. It is not surprising, either, that the highest incidence of "successful" migration patterns is evidenced by this Middle-Class group (73% evidenced "successful" migration interludes). These results are "surprising" only if return migration continues to be conceptualized as "unsuccessful" migration.

These joint tables offer the possibility of further analysis for they reveal many interesting comparisons. However, we wish to proceed with our exploratory effort by further treatment of the pattern and concept of "unsuccessful" return migration. Consequently, with these joint tables as additional foundation, we will come back to the problem of migration profile #3, "The Experimenters." We want to create a more descriptive sub-typing than merely "successful" or "unsuccessful," and therefore, the following sub-type descriptions are presented: "The Community-of-Origin Elite," 2) "Large Fish in Small Ponds," and 3) "The Returning Failures."

"The Community-of-Origin Elite"

In the colloquial, these are the "county lights." They have
had very successful urban experiences; some were even more successful in
income/status than they might ever be even as "the elite" in Ontonagon.
There are three undertones of "returning" for this group, impression-
istic but perhaps descriptive: a) loyalty--some come back even if
they could do even better elsewhere, from a sense of loyalty to the
community, involving a strong identification with its past, present,
and future; b) serious business--others come back in order to enter and
prosper with expanding businesses (all parental property); and c) easy
life--others return to enjoy a middle-class parental business life and
life-style, allowing them security and money for trips, with many
opportunities for recreational pleasure within the county itself.

This is the Middle- and Upper-Middle Class Status group which does
not need to delay marriage, children, or further education (generally)
in order to live a middle-class life in Ontonagon, although many go to
colleges as a matter of expectation.

"Large Fish in Small Ponds": The Local Aspirant

In the local colloquial, these are the "good people who came back."
They have had moderate success in "experimental migration," although
most of them experimented in similarly rural areas. Theirs' is an
image of "wending one's way back, slowly but inevitably, toward the
community-of-origin." They mostly would remain lower-middle to middle-
middle class in an urban context, but nearly all are now "the supporting
elite" or have such potential in Ontonagon. They are the school teachers
winding back from a teachers' college by way of several small cities or
towns. There is one case where an attempt at a small business was only

moderately successful and after selling out, a return to Ontonagon to teach and coach the star basketball team—and many similar prototypes.

This group has almost guaranteed assurance of being at least near the "top" if they returned. They have credentials for teaching or have operated small businesses and/or have accumulated other highly needed skills related to the county-of-origin. They are the Upwardly Mobile and Middle-class status sample members who have delayed marriage, kept children down, avoided pregnancy before marriage, attained significant further education, and had a high average of "initial reason for leaving" as education or further vocational training. While this pattern may have undertones of the "unsuccessful" migrant, surely it is stretching the descriptive imagination to label this return migrant type as migrational and economic "failures." They have simply chosen to do very well in the county-of-origin, rather than less well (but still adequately well) in "other locations."

"The Returning Failure": The Unsuccessful Migrant

This is a pretty strong sub-type title, and in the local colloquial, the description is modified to "Joe, who tried living in Detroit for a while." Nevertheless, this group is what may most accurately and meaningfully be labeled "migrational failure." These cases experienced "unsuccessful" urban and/or bureaucratic migrational histories, with sometimes just one "try"and, for others, a whole series of "trys"— none, in the end much "better," to the subject and in the estimated trend of career outcome.

On the other hand, in Ontonagon as a "returned" cohort, fully one-half of this constellation of cases evidences what the author calls "Rural Frozen Lower-Middle-Class Status": they didn't do well in the

urban milieu and they will never really do very well in Ontonagon, and most of them know it. There is a strong attitudinal confirmation and "cue" in this group, a "settled," "settling for," "accepting" over-identification-with-the-virtues-of-the-county/community-of-origin orientation toward their situation.* Few evidence any more "get up and go" because, mostly, they've all already "got up and went" and the experience was disappointing.

This group evidences very high Early family formation, high average children, high average pregnancy before marriage and low average years further education; few left for the initial reason of further educa-tion or vocational training.**

The Results: An Exploratory Typology of Return Migration

We have differentiated our RM sample into three broad patterns of migration: "The Forced," "The Target Training Local Aspirant," and "The Migrational Experimenter." We reasoned that forced departure cannot really be dealt with as migration, and that strictly target training, while voluntary, did not involve significant dimensions of "settling" in another community. This reduced our sample group to 34 remaining "Migrational Experimenters," who we have sub-typed along a two-dimension continuum of success as migration and success as career outcome, with additional descriptive dimensions of family formation, level and type of education, and initial reason for leaving. It is this group,

---

*Independent field information (impressionistic) suggests that this group more than all others, consumes immediately in rural-recreational social pleasures most of its income when families are small and pay is large enough to consume any of it.

**Further description and interpretation of the joint tables and these pattern #3 migrational experimental sub-types is found in Appendix C.

"the experimenters," that represent the true _return_ migrant.

However, as progressively differentiated within this broad true return-migration group, it became increasingly clear that the stereotype of return migration as "unsuccessful" migration was inadequate for the typological task, and, in fact, misleading, for fully 21 out of 34 (62%) of this migration profile pattern group. We established, through the three sub-types--"The Elite," "The Local Aspirant," and "The Returning Failure"--that there were several quite distinct sets of reasons for returning, each set implying clearly different _meanings_ for the phenomenon of the "return migrant."

It became clear that an understanding of differential migration and a clearer grasp of specific "two-way" patterns in migration requires attention not only toward the location of experimental migration (or "destination" social system), but also toward the community-of-origin, as a social system and especially as an opportunity structure. This attention toward the community-of-origin suggested that there were clear and persuasive incentives for a significant sub-group of return migrants to return: inheritance of the infra-structure of middle and upper-middle-class occupations and/or income-bearing property.

Nevertheless, though nearly two-thirds of our truly return-migrant sample cannot persuasively be assigned the stereotype "unsuccessful," we did identify one-third (N = 13) who _do_ fit consistently with the "occupational and migrational failure" image. This group was shown to have high Early family formation, high average numbers of children, high average rate of pregnancy before marriage, and low educational and/or vocational training. Furthermore, more than one-half of this "unsuccessful" cohort exhibit rural lower middle class "frozen" career

outcomes, with another one-quarter evidencing "downwardly mobile" lower middle class career outcome trends. This was an "unsuccessful" sub-sample pattern in many ways--demographic in terms of ability to adjust readily to an urban milieu, migrational in terms of length of "experiment" or in terms of "strings" of non-productive attempts, and career-wise in terms of inability to attain security and/or mobility in either "other locations" or in the county-of-origin itself.

This multi-dimensional and thoroughly dismal profile of the migrational, occupational, and demographic RM "failure" suggests that, while as a percentage of the RM sub-sample, this pattern for at least Ontonagon County is small; nevertheless, it is "hard core" and consistently "unsuccessful" enough that, as a social and structual pattern, this profile deserves further research. It is suggested that they represent a broad category of rural and rural-depressed people who initiate voluntary migration, but are "doomed" to failure--a pattern affecting social dynamics in both the "other locations" migrated to and within the rural-depressed county they return to.

CONCLUSION AND
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has been exploratory in many ways, but in particular:
1) there has been virtually no prior focused research or typological
attempts with regard to the return migration phenomenon; 2) the data
recovery for the complete sample of the Decennial Re-Study project is
still in progress, upon which a comparative approach of return migrants
and permanent migrants depends; 3) the sample size is too small for
significant statistical handling; and 4) the Re-Study itself is limited
to one Upper Peninsula rural-depressed county, and within that popula-
tion area, the study is directly relevant only to seniors and juniors
enrolled in the county high schools in 1957.

This exploratory study has been limited in a second sense, in that
tremendous amounts of longitudinal data available in the Re-Study ques-
tionnaire were not directly utilized. This limitation was purposeful,
because it was felt that significant statistical results and a stronger
typological approach would necessarily require the completion of the
data recovery from the entire sample, especially in order to establish
comparisons among return migrants, non-migrants, and permanent migrants.
Therefore, it is anticipated that significant clarifications and improve-
ments in the typological identification and description of return
migrants can be gained at a later date.

Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the exploration has produced some intriguing typological possibilities, and it is believed that some small progress has been achieved in examining the patterns and meanings of circular migration. More importantly, this study has underscored the importance of conceptualizing "success" as a two-dimensional continuum involving both migration and career outcome. This emphasis directed attention to differential opportunity structures, particularly the opportunity structure of the community-of-origin. It was shown that even rural-depressed areas support an infra-structure of middle-class occupations _and_ middle-class income-bearing property, and it was suggested that these two aspects of the opportunity structure of Ontonagon as a community of origin clarify the seemingly "inexplicable" reasons for returning for fully two-thirds of the RM sample "migration experimenter" group. Thus, we have established a basis for considerable modification of the image of "return migration" as categorical occupational and migrational "failure."

We have also identified the _truly_ unsuccessful return migrants and assembled evidence typifying their demographic, migrational, and career outcomes. However, since this sub-group of truly unsuccessful migrants was so small (N = 13), greater detailed analysis has been postponed until complete data recovery from the larger sample. It was felt that specific and intense attention to the attitudinal constellations of this sub-sample should wait until comparisons with permanent migrants were possible. It is believed that such further comparison will indeed result in a descriptively reinforced and researchable typology of the "unsuccessful" return migrant.

The largest contribution of this exploratory study and of the Re-Study in progress may well be in the additional light thrown on the complexity of the longitudinal aspects to migration, career-outcome, and demographic factors--longitudinal data that is severely needed in the study of differential migration. While we have discovered strong leads as to the relationship between "initial reason for leaving" and subsequent migration and career outcome patterns, even greater possibilities have been opened up in the analytic and longitudinal approach to construction of typologies. Where people first go is extremely important, but their _pattern_ of migration and career history over a ten-year period or so is much more important. Finally, we provided further evidence for the already-established importance of structural dynamics and social forces in decisions and patterns of migration (e.g,, technological changes, declining job-markets, and an expanding semi- and professional infra-structure within the context of rural depression.*

A great deal of further research is needed in the entire area of differential and two-way migration. In particular, however, further research of the return migration phenomenon may be aided by several problems and shortcomings experienced in this exploration. For clarity, the research suggestions will be presented in outline form as follows:

1) Extensive questions relating to the special reasons and specific structural contexts for _each_ move as well as for _each_ return should be well operationalized. This exploratory study experienced severe limita-

---

*Further discussion of all of these separate conclusions and contributions is to be found in the various appendices. Extensive Appendices were judged more appropriate for such an exploratory study as this, where involved and multi-dimensional lines of "attack" were attempted and where methodological, theoretical, and detailed descriptive materials were felt to be obfuscating if placed in the body of the text.

tions because of the nature of our original questionnaire approach to "reasons for returning" which forced respondents to give an <u>overall</u> "reason" for their return, rather than a <u>specific</u> and <u>localized</u> reason for <u>each</u> move (see Appendix D).

a) Extensive questions relating to the structural contexts of job and/or educationally-related moves including <u>intentions</u> of moving at that specific time and <u>intentions</u> of returning (e.g., more specific operational item construction to pin down "target wages," "substitute wages," "target training," etc.).

b) More specific detail on content, nature, and <u>intentions</u> connected wity further educational and/or vocational training.

2) Specific questions with regard to military service, such as:

a) "Were you drafted?", "did you enlist?", "did you <u>plan</u> to enlist, to re-enlist?", and "why did you enlist (i.e., for vocational training?)?", etc.

It is expected that further and more rigorously detailed suggestions for further research will be available at the completion of the larger First Decennial Re-Study Project, of which this exploratory thesis has constituted a "pilot study."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Demographic Profiles

The three typological categories presented (complusary, job
and further education) were consistent with our preconceived notions
of reasons for leaving such a county, and, in fact, they just about
exhaust the logical possibilities. It is important to note that
while we have been calling this original self-selected sample "return
migrants", such reasons for leaving as being drafted into the military
may seem more like forced than voluntary migration. While this and
other qualifications are very important, nevertheless, for the initial
discussions, these cases were included as incidences of migration. The
rationale for not throwing out, say, forced migration through military
draft, was that, while they might have been forced to leave the county,
one might expect that after exposure to a "larger world" there would
be opportunities on termination of service for some cases to remain
away from the county of origin. Thus, if they returned after military
service there was reason to think they be labeled "return migrants:"
someone else threw them "out", but no one forced them to come homing
back to the point of origin.

On the other hand, if initial migration was forced, there was a
strong theoretical reasoning (reference group theory) to predict that
few so extricated from their reference group "niche" would be open to

new and contrary life-styles. Therefore a descending continuum of

potential "unsuccessful" migrant image was adopted with "forced"

as least applicable and "migration experimentalism" as most

applicable. Thus, while the drafted male can assert that he never

really wanted to leave, and the wife moving to accompany her spouse

can respond in a similar fashion, the voluntary migration involving

job or occupational "niche" finding carries with it a much stronger

premise, e.g., of attempted migration out of the county of origin.

What Happened To Them

Many things happen to people over a ten-year period, and

particularly in the period roughly 18-28. One of the major concerns

of the Ontonagon Re-Study project is to gather detailed demographic

and migration history data, and orientation of the re-study is

specifically constructed toward questions of migration patterns,

attitudes, and career outcomes. The premise is that nearly all subjects

will have significantly "set" themselves in such demographic,

attitudinal, and career patterns, allowing strong career outcome

estimates: i.e., did they "make it" out of such a rural depressed

county, and if so, what happened to them in the areas they migrated to?.[*]

Exploratory studies must decide "enroute" what landmarks may be

helpful, and for this problem, the family formation, educational

and initial reasons for leaving factors were chosen in the attempt to

isolate significant landmarks in the internal typology of the return

migrant sample.

---

[*] Out of the total N of 265, there were 140 who were currently living
in the Michigan Upper Peninsula, of which 110 were living in the same
county of origin, Ontonagon. This study is concerned with the 70
out of the 110 now living in that county, or the approximately 66% who
are some sort and/or type of "return migrants."

The Family Formation Categories

For women, marriage prior to age 20 was classified Early,

from 20 to 22 as Average and over 22 as Late. For men, under

22 was classified as Early, from 22-24 as Average and over 25

as Late. There were a few inconsistencies in this strictly age-

specific placement procedure. These are cases where, e.g., marriage

took place at an Early stage, but no children were born until much

later, indicating some measure of late family formation on the part

of the couple. These cases were few, and even if these few exceptions

were eliminated, and the placement made on a strictly age-specific

rationale, the broad picture and consistency would hold.

These summary descriptive statistics, as presented in Tables

1 and 2, are clearly consistent with the early, average and late

typification. And this consistency is to be expected given the

26-28 age range of the cohort. (Obviously, pregnancy prior to

marriage for men refers to their marriage dates and the date of their

wife's first child.)

There are some interesting inconsistencies, however, between

groups and sex. For example, while both men and women have the

highest incidence of pregnancy before marriage in the Early family

formation pattern, the Late family formation for men indicates an

unexpectedly disproportionate percentage. And there is also a

striking similarity between Late family formation and Single percentages

of siblings for men, which may add additional mystery to this curiously

out of place pregnancy before marriage rate for this male group. Again,

while for men the pattern of more siblings for Early family formation

and the pattern of progressively less siblings toward later family

is evidenced, this same relationship does not hold for women,
with a higher sibling percentage in the Late family formation
than in the Early group.

Comparing the averages for women with the national 1966 average
for women married before age 20 we get the following results: percentage
of women in Ontonagon circular migrant cohort -- 50%; percentage of
women in U.S.A. -- 10.3% If we use the same age-specification for
men (i.e. 19 or under), we get the following comparison: Ontonagon
circular migrant cohort -- 14%; U.S.A. 2.5%.

Thus, for each sex, the rate of early marriage compared with
the 1965 national estimated averages for the same age breakdowns
is fully 5 times as great, a mighty handicap when translated into
early occupational and career opportunities, and presumably for
"successful" migration. Given the isolated and rural depressed
character of the sample county, and the generally higher rates of
marriage and children for all rural counties in America, these rates
may not seem so surprising.

The strongest confirmation of the strength of the comparison
of family formation as an important category for typing is the
index on average months, plus or minus, that marriage occured
after/before date of high school graduation. This average, for
women 1.7 and for men 41 is strikingly disproportionate with the 26
months for Average and 31 months for Late family formation patterns.
On this basis alone, the categories of Early, and Average-Late
(as a combined second category) strongly describe the sample.

Level and Type of Education

Inspection of the questionnaires revealed overwhelmingly low-level and often outdating, strictly early-industrial or rural-oriented vocational training received. A complementary review of the career histories of these subjects confirms this, revealing little or no observable occupational or career mobility as a consequence of such vocational training. Largely this vocationally trained group has used their training to maintain and secure long-term security and wage-earning capacity, rather than to increase their occupational, career and/or migrational mobility.

Another independent measure of this impressionistic assessment of the nature and meaning of vocational training programs and their usefulness is given by the intense, county and community-wide contemporary concern to establish higher quality and more updated intensive vocational training programs within the county (there are no such institutions, aside from high school programs, in the county, although training/technical schools are "nearby", within 100 miles to the East and North.)

APPENDIX B

The Migration Pattern Profiles

Profile # 1: "Force and Forcing Situational Contexts"

Of the men subject to the draft in our sample we would expect

this migration pattern profile type to return directly to the community-

of-origin upon termination of military service, with no further evidence

of migration, except for the forcing situational contexts described

in the text. For the women in the sample of this profile type, we

would expect most to marry men of the same type (though not necessarily

of the same men in this sample). Thus the equivalent forcing

situational context for women would be the hsuband's need to move

for any of the reasons and/or situations described. Women of this

group-type would, therefore, migrate only in the above "family

migration forcing situational contexts."

From a theoretical perspective we might explain "target wage"

or "substitute community wage" migration as resulting from complementary

community-of-origin values which exist in the context of "strain" or

conflict with the occupational opportunity structure of the community.

Such complementary values might be family and family welfare and/or

parents and parental obligation and welfare.

In this sense family or parental need, "target" or "substitute

community"-wage-migration as temporary migration, may be interpreted

as consistent with this migration and personality profile.

51

Thus, in the context of a limited and/or declining job
market and opportunity structure where the community members have
no, or little control (or sense of control) over their area industries,
the decision to temporarily migrate to "target wage" and/or "substitute
community wage-reward" areas may be seen as fulfilling such complementary
community-of-origin values as family security ("We had 5 kids, and
when the mill shut-down we had to get some wages, so went to Kenosha
until the shutdown was over," etc.)*

Finally, in such "forcing situational contexts" and largely
because of lack of other skills (although in addition because of
work domain identification/reference), we would expect such temporary
migration to involve largely identical or highly similar job domains
and/or to be largely temporary migration to substitute communities where
other members of the community-of-origin are engaged, for similar reasons,
in a small range of group-status consistent occupational domains other
than those found in the opportunity structure of the community of origin.

It may be wondered why such a profile group should be included in
a study of "return _migration_." It is clear that this type of physical
migration or separation from the community-of-origin is not what is usually
meant by the term migration: i.e.,they have not really "moved" in the
sense of "settling" into new (and more or less) permanent communities.
Certainly the military draft is not migration,nor, would we argue, are
such patterns as "target" or "substitute" wage-rewarding moves migration
either. On the other hand, while each of these sub-patterns involve
force or forcing contexts in the decision to leave, none of them
necessarily involve such objective force in the decision to return.

---

* In this sample the opportunity structure is largely controlled from
the "outside", in the sense of national and international corporations
locating and creating, through technological changes, changing job markets.

We believe it is a relevant approach to pay attention to
such patterns, not only to clarify the conceptual model, but also
because, e.g., such patterns as "target" or "substitute" community
wage migration may appear, from an urban-based researcher, as
"migration." It is also a relevant approach to pay attention to
the patterns and explanations of cases where there is no objective
forcing context in the decision to return. Clearly the termination
of military service (often in very different national or regional
locations) offers opportunity for other community reference
"experimentation." Again, the "substitute community" situation
allows measures of exposure and opportunities for other community
reference "experimentation." It is necessary to explain the lack
of such "experimentation" given the objective opportunity for same,
which all of these sub-types of pattern profile #1 provide.

It is precisely in this sense that adopting a community-of-origin
frame of reference for the analysis leads us to complicated questions
on the attitudinal and psychological level. It will be noticed that
all profiles have an important theoretical and analytic premise
of "strength" and "nature" of community-of-origin orientation as
a relevant explanatory and descriptive dimension. Thus the thesis
requires some measure of attention toward the theoretical and
research domain of "the rural personality." However, as mentioned
in our conclusion, since the larger project is still in the latter
stages of data recovery, specific attention to attitudinal dimensions
would be largely fruitless, for we should really consolidate attitudinal
factor analysis with all three suggested migration patterns: the non-

migrant, the "return migrant" and the permanent migrant.

Profile #1 Subtypes

The clearest differentiation would be that between a) those drafted into the military and who made no further move whatsoever, and those b) who were either enlistees and/or moved for the "forcing situational contexts". This breakdown rests on degree and immediacy of force, positing "drafted" as the most forceful, enlistment and "Target Wages", and "Substituee Wage-Rewarding Community" moves as less forceful. After all, a subject could change job-domains in the event of a strike, e.g., and remain working in the county, though fieldwork indicates that the family/individual would have to live at nearly subsistence level if they could find a job at all.*

Profile # 2:"Target Training"

For both the men and women in our sample we would expect this migration pattern profile type to return directly to the community-of-origin upon completion (or other termination) of such "target training." We would also expect a high proportion to enter job-domains for which such target training was relevant.

From a theoretical perspective we might explain such "target training" migration decisions as resulting from complementary community-of-origin values which exist in a context of "strain" or conflict with the occupational (and perhaps class/status) opportunity structure of the community. Again, such complementary values might be family and/or

---

* Of course, rather than "migrate" temporarily to wage-rewarding jobs and/or substitute communities, a subject could go on welfare. He would have to drive 70 miles round-trip to pick-up, cash-in and check-in/consult at the Welfare office, its a large county and notvvery easy to travel in the winter, assuming the subject can afford to travel by car every two weeks, since there is no bus service anywhere in the county. . .etc.

future family welfare, parental and/or future parental obligations,

in addition to community status aspirations.

Thus, in the context of a limited and/or declining (and changing)

job mabket and opportunity structure, the decision to temporarily

migrate in order to secure such target training may be seen as fulfilling

such complementary community-of-origin values as family security

("Wanted to have a decent job, didn't want to work in the mind, and

so decided to be a teacher , so <u>had</u> to go away to college .")[*]

Profile # 2 Subtypes

The clearest differentials in this profile would be based

on a) distance and type of institution from community-of-origin, and

b) level and type training and potential non-community of origin

related education. Thus clearly the one subject who made it to the

University of Michigan, located betwee two of the largest industrial

urban areas in the U.S., and with an urban (and urbane) student

body, had a different level, intensity and degree of exposure to

other life-styles/life-chances, value-references, than,e.g., the other

subjects who àll went to locàl Upper Peninsula community, junior or

state branch colleges, small gemienschaft-like institutions. Again,

a subject taking a curricula, such as teaching certificate versus a

strictly Ontonagon-oriented, mine-related heavy equipment operation

vocational training program, has more potential mobility out of

Ontonagon, should know it, and would also have greater contact with

professional and professionalizing mileu creating the potential for

---

* Again, where residents have little control over the dynamics of such
opportunity structure and,e.g., must "abide" with the "changing times"
and secure bureaucratic, industrial and/or post-industrial knowledge-
intensive skills and training simply in order to <u>remain</u> in the
community at all and be able to draw a wage.

"strain" when they get back to Ontonagon with, e.g. an M.A.

Again, it may be wondered why such a profile group should
be included in a study of return <u>migration</u> . It is clear that
while the decision to seek "target training" is not a forced situation,
nevertheless the pattern of returning directly back to the community-
of-origin and the frequent taking of jobs directly related to such
"target" training indicates, at least as a pattern, a lack of
"migration" in the usual sense of "settling" in a new community of
reference. On the other hand, there is significant (presumed)opportunity
for community and value reference "experimentalism" in the context of
such prolonged and "removed-from-the-community-of-origin" training
or educationⱼ * That is, there is no force involved in returning
upon termination and/or completion of such training.

Again, we believe it is a relevant research approach to pay
attention to such patterns, not only to clarify the conceptual model,
but also because such patterns as "target training" may be seen by
an urban or university based researcher as "migration" or "potential
migration." It is also relevant to examine patterns where there is no
objective forcing situational context in the decision to directly return.
Clearly the context of a vocational or educational institution offers
opportunities for other community or value reference "experimentalism,"
and it is necessary to explain such lack of "experimentation."

From a broader frame of reference, however, this particular patter
of migration is clearly of great importance. For in this and other similar

---

* The county studied has no institutions for the purpose of higher
education and/or further vocational training.

rural-depressed counties in America the nature and dynamic of
stratification and techoological/economic change is creating rapid
and disruptive social forces. The introduction of automation (and
in other rural areas, agri-business), has lead, and is leading
toward a decreasing job market for low skills in rural-placed heavy
industry counties like Ontonagon. The job market is decreasing in all
skill areas except the highly skilled, semi-technical or professional
domains.* Increasingly, young residents are put in a threatening
job-skill squeeze, with a decline in lower skilled and an increase in
higher/professional skilled jobs. This dynamic forces many young people
who may not have otherwise left, to, in fact, leave the county to
seek "target training" in order to come back and maintain income-
bearing community status and/or mobility through post-industrial
knowledge intensive occupational domains. This is necessary just
to remain in the community-of-origin, just to "return" at all.
Rural depression, at least in our study, is accompanied by a comparatively
dramatic increase in clerical/semi-professional job market, and this
will either force residents out for "target training" or force them out
completely, substituting non-residents drawn from such training
institutions to fill the newly created needs.

A prediction of this group, therefore, is that a) they will return
directly to the county of origin upon completion (or termination) of
such training and also, b) that some of them may be more likely to
evidence decreasing community satisfaction coupled with increased

---

* For example, the county needs more teachers, more automated/rural and
rural-placed advanced industrial clerical and technical jobs skills, jobs
 such as "E.D.P.Programmer" are being newly created at the Ontonagon
White Pine Copper Company.

likelihood of future migration, explained, in part, from the
(presumed) exposure to other life-styles and life-chances during
such training. There is a potential built-in dynamic in the "job
squeeze" which may begin increasing out-migration even by the
"return migrant" type.

Profiles #1 and # 2 have been subtyped along continuums
easily researched, accesable by ordinary research or questionnaire
methods, and conceptually simple in rationale and defense. We have
been dealing with sub-sample patterns more or less "non-migrational"
in their ten year histories. They have been important patterns
and subtypes in our effort at constructing definitions and
classifications of the return migrant. As we come to profile # 3,
however, the patterns become more migrational, and the conceptual,
definitional and classification problems become less capable of such
straightforward handling, and (not incidentally) less accessible by
ordinary research or questionnaire methods, including the Ontonagon
Re-Study Quesionnaire forming the data source for this thesis.

Profile # 3: "The Migration Experimenter's"

Of the men and women in our sample of this profile type we would
expect that here would be the cases where they did not return directly
foom any of the previous initial reasons for leaving. Indeed, it is
not even necessarily assumed that original migration was due to these
already discussed initial reasons of a forced, forcing situational
or target training/status aspriation local orientation contexts.
Although, on the other hand, such original reasons and/or contexts
are not ruled out either, for the "experimental" decision may well
have come somewhat after these initial experiences and later in the
migration and career history of the sample member.

Profile # 3 Subtypes

Most logically, this profile group needs a differential
breakdown in terms of "success" and nature of the "experimental"
location and experiences in such circular migration as this pattern
definition indicates, as discussed in the text.

Thus, in this profile, we are interested in a continuum of
"success" of migration experience,and also a continuum of "nature"
or "pattern" of migration history. The first continuum would
necessarily involve several dimensions and definitions of 'success',
the second continuum might involve a dimension of degree or extent
of "experimentalism." The first continuum might be a combined
migration-history and career-outcome typology, while the second
might be a rural-interlude -- urban-interlude, or similarly
structural approach to the nature of the migration pattern itself.
Clearly these are complicated conceptual and empirical-research
problems, involving complex and multi-dimensional theoretical
approaches combined with equally complex and multi-dimensional
research methods.

While the Rural/Urban degree of experimentalism dimension would
require some well constructed structural continuum/typology estimating
a measurable degree of rural-urban integration, the estimated career
outcome status placements would necessitate a similar discussion and
construction of operationalized ways of assessing career outcome as
success. If we are going to locate and define adequately this
"unsuccessful" return migrant, then these approaches will be necessary.
But the author knows of no well conceptualized and operationalized
typology of either Rural/Urban degree of Experimentalism or Estimate
Career Outcome placement scale for such a cohort and for such an age group.

As indicated in the text, and in Appendix C, the constructions offered

in this study are purely **exploratory**, for there is insufficient N and

incomplete data for any more depthful approach than offered here. Still,

the problematics of such an approach toward return migration need be

aired, and this we have done, in a very intial sketch.

"Going out to See the World" and Experimental Migration: Some
Problems in Interpretation.

What is the difference between "going out to see the world"

via enlistment in the services, enrollment in a institution of

higher education and moving to make a livelihood and establish

oneself in a new community? That is, surely there is an undertone

of "seeing the world" for profiles # 1 and # 2, and granting this,

then how does such "experimentalism" differ from profile # 3? The

difference lies in the structural contexts.

For example, while one may "see the world" via the military,

the experience itself is a completely controlled, bureaucratically

confined, role-defined, predictable and secure expectation. One's

income, status, role and "outcome" (assuming one avoids a hot war)

are predictable. Again, education and/or vocational training, away

from "home" may involve aspects of "experimentalism", but nevertheless

they have similarly bureaucratic, controlled expectations, and are

comparatively "safe" forms of stepping out of the community-of-origin.

Surely 12 years of conditioning for the student role cannot compare

with the unknowable outcomes and contexts that living on one's own

trying to establish a new home and job holds in store. Consequently

the meaning of going out to "see the world" in profile # 3 is quite

different from profiles # 1 and # 2.

Profile #4: "The Rural Drifters and Unsettled"

These are rural people who are likely to be in the next county or
the next state by tomorrow as not, rural-oriented, but not community-
specific. Some of the students taking Goldsmith's questionnaire were
"traveling through, only stayed a year or two"; perhaps this typological
pattern, as reported by school teachers. Perhaps a few stayed a while
and are now drifting themselves. In the sense that Goldsmith's study
was concerned with "community-of-orientation," his study should have
revealed this "type." They are not really "return" migrants in the
sense of returning "home" anywhere, although they may not be well adapted
to adjust to urban contexts, they should not be counted as "unsuccessful"
migrants either. The problem here is that there is no way to identify
this pattern without 1) the now "permanent" migrants from the original
cohort, for whom data is still being recovered, and 2) information on
their parents' migration history, which is not available from either
Goldsmith's questionnaire or the Decennial Re-Study. Further research
would be necessary to verify and descriptively pin down this potential
(even probable) migration profile type.

APPENDIX C

Career Outcome Typology

Estimation Indicators

"Career outcome" means different things at different stages of
occupational history, and at different ages. Thus, it is one thing to
discuss the "career outcome" of a man 55 years of age, but quite another
thing to attempt such an assessment for an 18-year-old. The sample
group, of course, is roughly 27 to 29 years of age. The question, there-
fore, is not "Can we construct a viable career outcome?", but rather,
"Are viable estimated career outcomes possible?"

The possibility of constructing such estimated career outcomes
depends on the possibility of locating, identifying, and making a work-
able typology of theoretical defended and viable estimation indicators.
That is, can we convincingly present career history indicators which
would allow reasonably accurate estimates of likely career outcomes?
This problem is complicated by the fact that well-constructed, high
quality data and high rate return longitudinal studies of rural depressed
areas are very few. Thus, there has been very little career outcome
work done with an age group cohort as the Ontonagon study group. Finally,
neither longitudinal studies, nor career outcome estimation have ever
been attempted with an identified "boomerang" migration-pattern sample.
Therefore, without any further background or qualifications, we will

proceed with this _exploratory_ discussion and presentation of tentative "estimated career outcome typology" for the sample.

On the basis of a detailed and thorough examination of each returned questionnaire, paying special attention to the ten-year migration and career/occupation/job history and income _patterns_, the following constructed typological profile of _estimation indicators_ was created:

Pattern 1: "The Maladapted Lower Class"

a) A consistent pattern of low pay (below $4,000), low security job domain, unskilled, a consistent history of job instability, low mobility potential job domain, and a migrational pattern evidencing repeated lack of occupational/career improvement; b) a consistent attitudinal pattern indicative of continued low pay, low stability, low security (e.g., frequent "don't know"-"don't care"—no indication of "self-help" concern, along with other "cues" such as field information on mental imbalance, criminal or town "failure" characteristics, also length of time and number of children on ADC).

Pattern 2: "The Rural Lower Working Class"

a) A consistent demographic pattern of low pay (below $4,000), medium security job domain, unskilled or semi-skilled manual labor (rural or rural-industrial), a consistent history of job stability, low mobility potential job domain, and a migrational pattern evidencing little attempt to raise wages and/or occupational potential; b) a consistent attitudinal pattern indicative of a continuation of this pattern (e.g., high community satisfaction, a "settled" and "no change" image).

Pattern 3: "The Downwardly Mobile Lower Middle Class"

a) A consistent demographic pattern of medium to low pay ($5,500-

3,000), medium security job domain, unskilled or semi-skilled manual

and manual-machine labor (e.g., heavy industrial), a consistent

history of either job instability and occupational direction tending

downward in pay or relative job stability, but with a rapidly increasing

family with a wife incapable (or unskilled) of adding to income, in

a low mobility potential job domain, and with a migrational pattern

evidencing either a single "unsuccessful" migrational work move, or a

series of moves, none of which significantly raise income or occupational

potential; b) a consistent attitudinal pattern indicative of a continua-

tion of this pattern (e.g., several years on ADC, but little indication

of any change in job in next ten years, bars, hunting, "don't care,"

"don't know" . . . this group similar to Pattern 1, with large family,

but increased income and different (unused) potential, through more

vocation/academic training).

Pattern 4: "The Frozen Lower Middle Class"

a) A consistent demographic pattern of medium pay (4,000-6,000)

with some cases of both spouses working and/or male high skill level

heavy industrial drawing high-medium to high pay (4,000-8,000), high

security job domain, skilled heavy industrial or lower level white-collar/

clerical, a consistent history of high occupational stability, but already

hit limits of job domain mobility, a migrational pattern evidencing

little attempt and/or "success" at raising wages above medium-medium

high range, and/or to raise career potential above such skilled heavy

industrial or clerical jobs: a "frozen" or "hit the limits" impression;

b) a consistent attitudinal pattern indicating same job domain and/or same job (ten years later, high community satisfaction, if wives work, only to maintain status (impression), low-medium skilled wives, "no change," "settled," and will "settle for" orientation toward situation, etc.

Pattern 5: "The Upwardly Mobile Lower Middle Class"

a) A consistent demographic pattern of medium to high-medium pay ($5,000-9,000), with some cases of wives working at medium to high-skilled jobs (e.g., teacher), high security but with some low-security/ high gain cases (e.g., single student near completion of B.A.), medium to high skilled, high security or high potential security, high stability or high potential stability, high mobility job/career and/or educational domain, and a migrational pattern evidencing attempted, but limited improvement in career/wage enhancement and/or high wage improvement but little career improvement; b) a consistent attitudinal "set" of determination to improve situation, but with a set of attitudinal responses toward migration pattern like "see future in Ontonagon, see no future I want" and/or "can make it into an urban experience/opportunity structure"--strong impression that some will be highly mobile in next few years, other over a longer time period, "we're changing," "improving our lot," "achieving," "will not settle for what we've got/are at now," image, upwardly mobile but high community satisfaction.

Pattern 6: "The Middle and Upper-Middle Class"

a) A consistent demographic pattern of high-medium to very high pay ($5,500-10,000+), few working wives, very high security, very high

skilled (white collar, resort, entrepreneurial and/or industrial/auto-

motive equipment business), very high security (e.g., high income property

ownership), very high stability, medium to high job domain mobility,

and one of two migrational patterns: 1) moderately to very "success-

ful," in terms of occupational and income achievement (urban/bureaucratic

integration), or 2) unhappy forced migration (e.g., military) and/or

"not so successful" occupational mobility (but a medium to high job/income

level); b) a consistent attitudinal pattern of high community satisfac-

tion, an "I got no problems," "same job ten years later," "Ontonagon is

for me" and "I am successful" impression, with a few indications of

some degree of "even further" experimentation with high mobility poten-

tial, but still within Ontonagon County.

These six patterns a) exhausted the sample, and b) seemed to be

descripptive, as <u>defendable career outcome estimation indicators</u>. The

patterns are very close to a class/status identification in a traditional

"textbook" manner, <u>but</u> it is important to remember that they have been

inducted from the career histories and are meant to serve as <u>dynamic</u>

(i.e., historically probable) <u>estimation</u> indications for <u>likely</u> career

<u>outcomes</u>. Of course, by the age of 27, 28, or 29, <u>most</u> persons are

likely to have established fairly crystallized <u>career potential patterns</u>,

and many will have already "come out" as much as they ever will. But

for such an age group, there will always be some individuals who will

"blossom late" and surprise everybody, with either upward or downward

(or unexpectedly "frozen") overall career histories.

Understanding the inherent difficulties in estimation of such an

age group's career history likely outcome, nevertheless we acted on the

assumption that, regardless of such reservations, this profile of

sample patterns did indeed constitute a viable constructed typology of likely career outcomes for this Ontonagon RM migration-pattern cohort.

Coming back to the context of the profiles themselves, it can be seen that two different approaches were used: demographic-occupational and specifically career migration patterns, and secondly (secondarily), attitudinal items and impressions of item-responses constructed to elicit such attitudes. The first approach is much more objectively constructed, as profile estimation indicators, while the assessment of attitudinal factors, without additional statistical collating and verification is to be suspect. Nevertheless, this _exploratory_ profile outline of the constructed typology was presented to an independent trial sorter. This procedure produced 5-15% inconsistencies, which gave some indication of the strength of the typology.

However, independent trial sortings, even if done many times with high consistency, is less desirable than some form of statistical "strength of association" measures. The problem with approaching such a statistical confirmation was the overall small N = 70, and the particularly small breakdowns in patterns 1 and 2 (the "lowers"). Nevertheless, since the other 4 types had at least 7 cases or more, we took the most frequent pattern of breakdown in the independent sorting trial. The sample group individuals (identification numbers) were placed on a joint-table displaying 1) their "estimated career outcome" and 2) a series of demographic data from the previously presented summary data tables, namely a) family formation, b) number of children, c) pregnancy prior marriage, d) level and type of education, e) reason for initial migration, and f) parental property/investment income larger or producing more income than small farms, small woodlots, or small lake cottages (i.e., LMC to

MC to UPMC income-bearing property and/or businesses.")* This summary

status data is displayed in the text.

The career outcome joint table display in the text reveals very

strong ordinal consistency among and between the selected demographic

variable indices. This suggests that a very rough Ordinal Scale Code,

as an exploratory suggestion, may be possible, which could lead toward

interval scaling. Below is presented a very simple scale, based on the

"predictive" power of the demographic factors for migration pattern and

career outcome. It is constructed by simply taking each of six indices,

weighting evenly and transforming the percentage of the status group

into a scaled score, cumulative for each status group along the six

dimensions. Thus, we took early family formation and hypothesized

it negative for successful migration, late family formation as positive,

average number of children as negative, average years education positive,

and education as initial reason for leaving positive. Transforming the

percentages for each demographic factor by career outcome status, we

would get the following for the "Upwardlys": .08 Early is "good," so

give .92 "points,"; .42 Late is "good," so give .42 "points" for that;

Av. No. Child. is low and that's "good," so subtract from "worst" (which

---

*The information on parental property bearing middle-class, upper-middle-class income was not obtained directly in the questionnaire data recovery. The author spent two weeks full-time in the field and travelled greatly around the county. Several interviews were made. The information on property holdings and property "income bearing worth" was anthropological and impressionistic in a few cases. What appears in the table is what is known with a very good deal of estimated certainty, but should not be taken as rigorously descriptive. This property-income variable would not be introduced if, a) the author did not seriously believe that there was at least some accuracy in his field observations and the field responses of "natives" with respect to who owns what, and roughly what it's worth, and b) if it were not important in clarifying our conceptual understanding of the "return" migrant phenomenon.

is Dwnly at 3.0), which makes 1.25 "points" for children, then .25 is nice and low for pregnancy prior to marriage, so give .75 "points," add years of education on just as it is--1.7, and add % education initial reason for leaving on too as .33; you get a grand total of 4.95. Now, "good" is defined theoretically and empirically as ability and "likelihood" of "successful" migration and successful career outcome, given the rural background, lack of skills, etc., these kinds of demographic "delays" and self-controls (presumably) would aid in adapting/succeeding in an urban milieu without undue handicap. Now, if we proceed in this fashion for all career outcome status groups, we can "see" strong ordinal consistency in the "interval scale" intervals between groups, as displayed below.

"ESTIMATED CAREER OUTCOMES AND A SIMPLE WEIGHTED
EXPLORATORY ORDINAL SCALE CODE SUMMATING THE
DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES INTO COMPARATIVE INTERVALS"

	Middle to Upper Middle Class	UpWdLyMbl Low MC	Frozen Low MC	DwWdly Low MC
E.F.F.	.64	.92	.46	.40
N.C.	.30	1.25	.50	.00
% P.	.61	.75	.50	.34
L.E.	1.70	1.70	.40	.10
I.M.	.45	.33	.25	.00
	3.70	4.95	2.11	.84

Now, this is a very naive and simplistic approach to a highly problematic methodological sub-field; however, we are not seriously

forwarding this "interval" scale as a rigorous scientific presentation, but rather as suggestive of a) the strong typological differences between status groups in terms of these demographic factors, and b) the correlation between the three lower middle class groups, in "interval" consistency and "spread," indicating that perhaps the typological approach itself is fairly strong, c) that with larger N and comparative matrix approach, such interval "weights" could be established and this small heuristic model may, in fact, be capable of correlational "prediction" (not causal), which would offer a strong typological construction instrument indeed. A suggestion for further research.

APPENDIX D

Reasons for Returning

Why do return migrants return? This was the guiding question in the pre-field work questionnaire design. As inspection of pages 16 through 19 will reveal, a good deal of prior thought was given to the question. However, upon analysis of the returned questionnaire, it became clear that the approach constructed in these "Reasons for Returning" pages was severely limited, and limiting in the task of typological construction. Mainly, these kinds of questions, couched in the general sense of "Why did you return?", force the respondents to generalize why they returned in general, and thus the most cliche items resulted as the most frequent responses.

The problem was to elicit some attitudinal responses from the sample members about why they returned, but this approach ignored entirely the longitudinal and "back and forth" nature of the "returning migrant" pattern, (i.e., there were many respondents who were obviously forced to generalize on why they came back when, in actuality, they had made several moves and several had come back, left and returned more than twice). Table 9 displays the "Reasons for Returning" and their frequency as responses by sample members, and clearly reveals the cliche nature of such an approach.

TABLE 9.   REASONS FOR RETURNING
                         A combined frequency table showing
                         total frequency of reasons listed
                    as among the three most important reasons
                              for returning

Frequency	Reason	Questionnaire Item Text
28	45	This has always seemed like home to me.
24	3	I like the outdoor recreational opportunities such as hunting and fishing.
13	40	I like to live in a smaller size community where there is plenty of space and scenery.
12	10	I found I just didn't like the city (or other areas.
7	17	I wanted to raise my family here.
7	24	There was a specific job here that I wanted to look into.
6	5	I enjoy being near my relatives and wanted to remain close to them.
4	42	I don't like city traffic and commuting.
4	36	I prefer the kind of residential housing in a small community.
3	6	I had no special reason for returning, it was just happenstance.
3	11	I felt the children could get a good education here.
3	32	This is a good place for me to engage in the kind of work I want to do.

The 45 questionnaire item response section for "Reasons for Return-
ing" also had some scaling into it. It was hoped to elicit some compara-
tive frequencies of "rural choice" and "rural forced" typologies. The
reasoning here was that people who had been successful in migrational
histories, but who had returned, would be "rural choice" and those who
had been "unsuccessful" would be "rural forced," in the sense of failure
and retreat versus life-style preference. Of course, the scale was to
be checked closely with actual career history and migration patterns to
counter the tendency for "overidentification" of rural advantages by

by the "unsuccessful." Generally, it is felt, that such a scaling is fruitful, but no furthertesting of it or analysis was performed, given the overall general frequencies of cliche responses obtained in the "First three most important reasons . . ." The questionnaire approach was deficient, though the author would like to try the scaling approach again, with a larger N and a reworked questionnaire, emphasizing reasons for returning and leaving each episode of migration, with fuller elaboration of situational contexts, intentions, etc. No more analysis of this section of the study is presented here.

FIRST DECENNIAL RE-STUDY

ONTONAGON COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

WHAT THIS STUDY IS ABOUT

In May 1957 you and your classmates participated in the first phase of a study of the problems faced by young people in preparing for the world of work and in selecting an area where they would like to live. This second phase of the study inquires into events since high school. We would like to learn of the experiences you have had, the problems you have faced, your successes and frustrations, and your thoughts concerning the past ten years and the future. This information will be of great value in developing better counseling programs for high school students from rural areas. Obviously, only you can help us, by being as frank as possible in completing this questionnaire. Your answers will be kept in strict confidence and your name will not be linked to the findings.

PLEASE FOLLOW THE DIRECTIONS

1. Read each item carefully. Then answer it to the best of your knowledge. This is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers.

2. Be sure to answer each question completely. The outcome of the study will be successful only if you are careful to provide accurate and complete information. Special "guides," indicated by the symbol ✿, are included to help you interpret some questions.

3. If you are in doubt, or do not understand an item, make a note of it in the margin, and complete the rest of the questions. Upon return of the questionnaire, a member of the project staff will then contact you and complete it by phone conversation or personal interview, at your convenience.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

I.1. We would like to know a little bit about yourself:

a. What is your name?   ☐ Mr.
                         ☐ Mrs. _____
                         ☐ Miss   (First)   (Initial)   (Maiden)   (Last)

b. What is your current mailing address? ➡   _____

c. Your birth date? _____   _____
                    (Month) (Day) (Year)
                                                                    Zip: _____

d. Your present age? _____   ☐ Single
                                ☐ Married   Local phone: _____
                                ☐ Widowed
e. Your present marital status? ☐ Separated or divorced

f. Your high school and graduation class? _____ _____
                                                    (School)   (Year)

g. Have you served on active duty in any branch of the armed forces?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

    1. If "Yes": What branch   2. Period on
       of service? _____   active duty: From:_____
                                                                       (Month)   (Year)
    3. Highest rank and pay grade
       held while on active duty: _____ _____   To:_____
                                              (Rank)   (Pay grade)   (Month)   (Year)

h. How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____

    1. Please indicate age, sex, and occupation of all brothers and sisters 18 years old and older:

Age	Sex	Job (What does he/she do?)	Age	Sex	Job (What does he/she do?)

I.2. If you are now married, we would like to know something of your marriage and family:

a. What is your ☐ wife's ☐ husband's name? _____
                                              (First)   (Initial)   (Last)

b. What was her/his hometown and state? _____ _____
                                              (Town)   (State)

c. Where did you first get to know her/him? _____ _____
                                                  (Town)   (State)

d. What was the highest grade   e. On what date did
   she/he completed in school? _____   you get married? _____
                                                                   (Month) (Day) (Year)

f. Have you had children?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

    1. If "Yes": List the date of birth for each child (month and year): _____

_____ _____ _____ _____ _____

I.3. **We would like to learn about any further educational experience you have had since high school:**

a. **Have you obtained further qualification by APPRENTICESHIP OR ON-THE-JOB TRAINING?** ☐ Yes ☐ No

If "Yes," please give details:

Organization or Firm		Type of Job or Apprenticeship (Specific skills in which you were trained)	Inclusive Dates of the Training		Certification earned, if any
City	State		From	To	

b. **Have you attended a TRADE, VOCATIONAL, OR TECHNICAL SCHOOL?** ☐ Yes ☐ No

If "Yes," please give details:

Name of School		Specific Program of Training (Course of training in which you were enrolled)	Inclusive Dates of the Training		Diploma earned, if any
City	State		From	To	

c. **Have you obtained further ACADEMIC EDUCATION since leaving high school?** ☐ Yes ☐ No

If "Yes," please give details:

Institution		Academic Major	Inclusive Dates of Attendance		Degree earned, if any
City	State		From	To	

3

C.1. We would like to learn about your experiences since leaving high school:

a. Starting with your residence at the time you were completing high school, list each of the places you have lived since that time. ❀ List addresses as nearly as you can remember them for each place lived at for a month or more. Do NOT include changes of house within the same town or community.	b. What month and year did you move to this place?	c. Why did you move? ❀ We are interested not only in why you decided to leave, but also why you chose to go where you did.
1. (Residence at time of high school)		
2. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	
3. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	
4. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	
5. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	
6. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	
7. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	
8. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	
9. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	
10. (P.O.) (City) (State)	(Mo.) (Yr.)	

you have friends relatives living near this place who were thinking oving here) at the you were consid- moving here?			e. If you had friends or relatives living in or near this place (or who were thinking of moving here) how much do you think that fact affected your decision to move to this place? Would you say it had:			f. Looking back over your social participation while living in this place: 1. On the whole, how much would you say you became involved in affairs and activities in the local community?				2. Did you participate in any local organiza- tions?		3. Did you make any friend- ships with other resi- dents which you consider important?	
nds	**Relatives**		a major affect?	some affect?	little or no affect?	to a consid- erable degree	to a moder- ate degree	to only a slight degree	not at all				
No	**Yes**	**No**								Yes	No	Yes	No

III.1. <u>This question deals with your work experience and income over the period since May 1957:</u>

❀ Look over the question carefully to be sure you understand what to do, and then fill in each section, working across the page.

a. YOUR RESIDENCE:

Mark in your residences, and draw vertical lines between them indicating the approximate date you moved from one to another. (You may, of course, copy this information from the previous page).

❀ When filled in, this section shows where you lived 1957-1967, and should help to pinpoint your jobs during that time.

b. YOUR WORK EXPERIENCE:

1. FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT. In this section mark in the <u>full-time</u> jobs you have had (tell what you did at your job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates you began and quit each full-time job.

❀ When filled in, this section shows your full-time employment 1957-1967.

2. PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT. In this section mark in the <u>part-time</u> jobs you have had (tell what you did at your job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates you began and quit each part-time job.

❀ When filled in, this section shows all part-time work 1957-1967.

c. YOUR WIFE'S/HUSBAND'S WORK EXPERIENCE:

Mark in the <u>full-time</u> jobs your wife/husband has had (tell what she/he did at the job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates she/he began and quit each job.

❀ When filled in, this section shows your wife's/husband's work experience 1957-1967.

d. YOUR ESTIMATED TOTAL FAMILY INCOME (BEFORE TAXES):
(or your own personal income if not married)

Mark the box which represents the closest estimate of your family/personal income for the years indicated. (Do not include support from parents or other relatives). Looking over the jobs held during each year may help you in estimating your income.

❀ When filled in, this section shows your estimated income 1957-1967.

1957 | **1958**
May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec | Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug

1958

☐ Under $2,500
☐ 2,500 - 3,999
☐ 4,000 - 4,999
☐ 5,000 - 5,999

☐ 6,000 - 6,999
☐ 7,000 - 7,999
☐ 8,000 - 10,000
☐ Over $10,000

1959												**1960**												**1961**											
Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec

sure to include not only where you worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB YOU DID.)

sure to include not only where you worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB YOU DID.)

sure to include not only where she/he worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB SHE/HE DID.)

1959
- ☐ Under $2,500
- ☐ 2,500 - 3,999
- ☐ 4,000 - 4,999
- ☐ 5,000 - 5,999

- ☐ 6,000 - 6,999
- ☐ 7,000 - 7,999
- ☐ 8,000 - 10,000
- ☐ Over $10,000

1960
- ☐ Under $2,500
- ☐ 2,500 - 3,999
- ☐ 4,000 - 4,999
- ☐ 5,000 - 5,999

- ☐ 6,000 - 6,999
- ☐ 7,000 - 7,999
- ☐ 8,000 - 10,000
- ☐ Over $10,000

1961
- ☐ Under $2,500
- ☐ 2,500 - 3,999
- ☐ 4,000 - 4,999
- ☐ 5,000 - 5,999

- ☐ 6,000 - 6,999
- ☐ 7,000 - 7,999
- ☐ 8,000 - 10,000
- ☐ Over $10,000

.1   EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME 1957-1967 (Continued)

	1962	1963	1964
	Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec	Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec	Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul

. YOUR RESIDENCE:

  (Continued)

b. YOUR WORK
   EXPERIENCE:

  (Continued)

  1. FULL-TIME
     EMPLOYMENT:

  2. PART-TIME
     EMPLOYMENT:

c. YOUR WIFE'S/
   HUSBAND'S
   WORK
   EXPERIENCE:

  (Continued)

	1962	1963	1964

d. YOUR ESTIMATED
   TOTAL FAMILY/
   PERSONAL
   INCOME:

  (Continued)

1962	1963	1964
☐ Under $2,500	☐ Under $2,500	☐ Under $2,500
☐ 2,500 - 3,999	☐ 2,500 - 3,999	☐ 2,500 - 3,999
☐ 4,000 - 4,999	☐ 4,000 - 4,999	☐ 4,000 - 4,999
☐ 5,000 - 5,999	☐ 5,000 - 5,999	☐ 5,000 - 5,999
☐ 6,000 - 6,999	☐ 6,000 - 6,999	☐ 6,000 - 6,999
☐ 7,000 - 7,999	☐ 7,000 - 7,999	☐ 7,000 - 7,999
☐ 8,000 - 10,000	☐ 8,000 - 10,000	☐ 8,000 - 10,000
☐ Over $10,000	☐ Over $10,000	☐ Over $10,000

1965   **1966**   **1967**

Nov Dec | Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec | Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec | Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec

sure to include not only where you worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB YOU DID.)

sure to include not only where you worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB YOU DID.)

sure to include not only where she/he worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB SHE/HE DID.)

1965

- [ ] Under $2,500
- [ ] 2,500 - 3,999
- [ ] 4,000 - 4,999
- [ ] 5,000 - 5,999

- [ ] 6,000 - 6,999
- [ ] 7,000 - 7,999
- [ ] 8,000 - 10,000
- [ ] Over $10,000

1966

- [ ] Under $2,500
- [ ] 2,500 - 3,999
- [ ] 4,000 - 4,999
- [ ] 5,000 - 5,999

- [ ] 6,000 - 6,999
- [ ] 7,000 - 7,999
- [ ] 8,000 - 10,000
- [ ] Over $10,000

1967

- [ ] Under $2,500
- [ ] 2,500 - 3,999
- [ ] 4,000 - 4,999
- [ ] 5,000 - 5,999

- [ ] 6,000 - 6,999
- [ ] 7,000 - 7,999
- [ ] 8,000 - 10,000
- [ ] Over $10,000

III.2. <u>We would like to learn of your experience and opinions concerning education, work, and income</u>:

  a. In the period since high school, what have been the greatest handicaps to getting ahead?

  _____

  _____

  b. Looking back over the period since high school, what would you do differently if you had it to do all over again?

  _____

  _____

  c. Based on your experience since high school, what changes in content or in emphasis would you recommend for rural high schools (such as the one you attended) to better prepare young people for the future?

  _____

  _____

  d. In general, have things turned out as you expected them to while you were still in high school?

> ☐ Things have turned out less well than I expected
> ☐ Things have turned out about as I expected
> ☐ Things have turned out better than I expected
> ☐ Don't know

  e. In general, how much education do you think a young person should have nowadays?

> ☐ Some high school   ☐ Some college
> ☐ Complete high school   ☐ Complete college
> ☐ Business, vocational, or trade school   ☐ Graduate or professional training

  f. How many hours did YOU work last week outside the home?

> ☐ Some, but less than 15 hours   ☐ 40 - 50 hours
> ☐ 15 - 30 hours   ☐ More than 50 hours
> ☐ 30 - 40 hours   ☐ None

    1. Is your work seasonal?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

  g. Some people would like to work more hours per week if they could get paid for it. Others would prefer to work fewer hours a week even if they earned less. What would you do if you could?

> ☐ Work more hours   ☐ Work less hours   ☐ Don't know

    1. Why do you say this? _____

  h. What was your approximate family income (personal income, if unmarried) last month? $ _____

    1. Was last month a typical month?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

    2. How would you compare your income to what it was a year ago?
   ☐ It is higher now
   ☐ It is lower now
   ☐ It is about the same now

✤ Answer Questions i, j, k, and l, if you are usually employed part- or full-time.

   i. How do you usually go about looking for a job? (Check as many as apply)

     A ☐ Check the newspaper
     B ☐ Get leads from friends and relatives
     C ☐ Go to the union
     D ☐ Go to the public employment office
     E ☐ Go to a private employment office
     F ☐ Go to employers directly
     G ☐ Other (specify) _____

     1. Write the letter of the **most** useful: _____

   j. How sure are you that you have identified the kind of job you want to make your life's work?

     ☐ Very sure   ☐ Fairly sure   ☐ Unsure

   k. What features do you think are important in a job? (Check as many as apply)

     A ☐ Freedom of behavior   G ☐ Money
     B ☐ Chance for advancement   H ☐ Security
     C ☐ Friendship with fellow employees I ☐ Public recognition
     D ☐ Power and authority   J ☐ Benefit to humanity
     E ☐ Intellectual challenge   K ☐ Enjoyment of the work
     F ☐ Prestige and respect   L ☐ Time to enjoy myself
                                     M ☐ Other (specify) _____

     1. Write the letter of the **most** important: _____

   l. Ten years from now what job do you expect you will have? _____

IV. YOUR COMMUNITY AND PARTICIPATION

IV.1. **We would like to learn about your participation, if any, in organizations and in political affairs:**

   a. What kinds of clubs, associations, unions, church groups, or other organizations, if any, do you participate in?

Name of Organization	Do you attend meetings?		Are you a member of a committee?		Are you, or have you ever been, an officer in this organization?		Do your FRIENDS belong?		Do your RELATIVES belong?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										

b. Other than organisations (as mentioned on the previous page), what other kinds of activities, if any, do you engage in during your free time?

_____

c. Are you a registered voter?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

d. Did you vote in the last presidential election (1964)?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

e. Have you voted in: 1. State elections?   ☐ Regularly   ☐ Sometimes   ☐ Never

               2. City or local elections and referendums?   ☐ Regularly   ☐ Sometimes   ☐ Never

f. Have you ever actively participated in a political party?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

g. Have you ever held, or are you now holding, a political or civic office?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

   1. If "Yes," please name the positions or offices: _____

     _____

h. Has the amount of your community participation varied greatly? That is, was there ever a time in the last 10 years that you participated a great deal more or a great deal less than you do at the present time?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

   1. If "Yes," why do you feel you participated differently then? _____

     _____

   2. Were you living then in the same community that you are living in now?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

IV.2. **We would like to learn of the facilities and services in your community:**

a. Below is a list of facilities and services often found in communities. Please check how often you and/or your family use each:

Facility or service	Not available here	Frequency of use				
		never	seldom	sometimes	often	very often
A. Neighborhood Centers						
B. Restaurants						
C. Gymnasiums						
D. Adult education programs						
E. Pre-school programs						
F. Employment services						
G. Bars						
H. Day-care services						
I. Health clinics						
J. Welfare Department						
K. Pool hall (billiards)						
L. Family counseling/Guidance						
M. Church						
N. Job training programs						
O. Movie theatres						
P. Parks and playgrounds						
Q. Legal advice services						

   1. Write the letters of those you consider _most_ _important_: First: _____   Second: _____   Third: _____

b. Have you had contact with one or more community agencies in the past two years? ☐ Yes ☐ No

    1. If "Yes": With what agency have you had the <u>most</u> contact? _____

    2. Did you receive aid or assistance from this agency? ☐ Yes ☐ No

        a. If "Yes": What exactly did this agency do for you? _____

        _____

        b. Did you feel that the service of this agency was difficult to get? ☐ Yes ☐ No

        Explain: _____

IV.3. We would like to know your opinions concerning your present community:

a. Below is a series of statements that express various opinions about any given community. Read each statement carefully and quietly check the column to the right which most nearly represents <u>your own personal belief about the community in or near which you live</u>:

Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. Anything of a progressive nature is generally approved.					
2. With few exceptions the leaders are capable and ambitious.					
3. It is difficult for the people to get together on anything.					
4. The people, as a whole, mind their own business.					
5. The future of the community looks bright.					
6. No one seems to care how the community looks.					
7. It will never seem like home to me.					
8. Not much can be said for a place this size.					
9. The community is not located in a very desirable place.					
10. Few if any of the neighboring towns are able to surpass it.					
11. People have to do without adequate shopping facilities.					
12. Persons with real ability are usually given recognition.					

b. What do you think people in your community need most? _____

    1. How do you think they should go about getting this? _____

_____

IV.4. __We would like to know something of your relations with your neighbors:__

    a. About how many people who live in your present community do you think you would recognize by sight if you saw them in a large crowd?

       ☐ Almost all   ☐ Many   ☐ Some   ☐ Very few   ☐ None

    b. About how often would you say you __chat__ or __visit__ with your neighbors?

       ☐ Very often   ☐ Often   ☐ Sometimes   ☐ Seldom   ☐ Never

    c. Do you or your neighbors ever take care of each other's family when you or they are sick or busy?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

       1. If "Yes," about how often does this occur?

          ☐ Very often   ☐ Often   ☐ Sometimes   ☐ Seldom

    d. Do you and your neighbors ever talk over problems with each other?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

       1. If "Yes," about how often does this occur?

          ☐ Very often   ☐ Often   ☐ Sometimes   ☐ Seldom

    e. Do you have relatives who are living in this community, but who are not living with you?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

       1. If "Yes," about how often do you visit with them?

          ☐ Very often   ☐ Often   ☐ Sometimes   ☐ Seldom

IV.5. __We are interested in your thoughts about the possibility of moving away from your present community:__

    a. Would you like to move to some other place?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

       1. If "Yes," where would you like to move? _____
                                     (Neighborhood, city, state, etc.)

       2. What would be better there? _____ _____

          _____

       3. Why would you like to move away from here (present community)? _____

          _____

    b. Is there anybody you would miss so much that you would prefer not to move away from your present community?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

       1. If "Yes," would you leave anyway if you had a good job opportunity?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

    c. Which of the following best indicates the kind of community you would __most prefer__ to live in?

          ☐ On a farm in the open country
          ☐ In the open country but not on a farm
          ☐ In a village under 2,500 people
          ☐ In a town or city of 2,500 to 10,000
          ☐ In a city of 10,000 to 100,000
          ☐ In a city over 100,000
          ☐ In a suburb outside a large city

✱ Depending on where you presently live, answer the questions in the appropriate column below:

PERSONS NOW LIVING WITHIN ONTONAGON COUNTY	PERSONS NOW LIVING OUTSIDE ONTONAGON COUNTY
⬇	⬇

WITHIN column	OUTSIDE column
d. How would you estimate the chance that you will move out of Ontonagon County?	d. How would you estimate the chance that you will move back to Ontonagon County?
☐ Better than 75% ☐ 50 to 75% ☐ About 50-50 ☐ 25 to 50% ☐ Less than 25%	☐ Better than 75% ☐ 50 to 75% ☐ About 50-50 ☐ 25 to 50% ☐ Less than 25%
e. During the past twelve months, how often did you visit relatives outside Ontonagon County?	e. During the past twelve months, how often did you visit relatives in Ontonagon County?
☐ More than once ☐ Once ☐ Not at all ☐ No relatives living outside the county	☐ More than once ☐ Once ☐ Not at all ☐ No relatives living there
f. During the past twelve months, how often did you visit friends outside Ontonagon County?	f. During the past twelve months, how often did you visit friends in Ontonagon County?
☐ More than once ☐ Once ☐ Not at all ☐ No friends living outside the county	☐ More than once ☐ Once ☐ Not at all ☐ No friends living there
g. Do you subscribe to the ONTONAGON HERALD?	g. Do you subscribe to the ONTONAGON HERALD?
☐ Yes ☐ No	☐ Yes ☐ No
h. Overall, how would you describe your ties to the Ontonagon County area?	h. Overall, how would you describe your ties to the Ontonagon County area?
☐ Very strong ☐ Moderately strong ☐ Average ☐ Moderately weak ☐ Little or no ties at all	☐ Very strong ☐ Moderately strong ☐ Average ☐ Moderately weak ☐ Little or no ties at all

✱ IF YOU ARE PRESENTLY AN ONTONAGON COUNTY RESIDENT, BUT LIVED AWAY FROM ONTONAGON COUNTY FOR A MONTH OR MORE ANY TIME SINCE 1957, ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ON PAGES 16 - 19. ALL OTHERS SHOULD PROCEED TO PAGE 20.

❋ Answer the questions on pages 16, 17, 18, and 19 only if you are now living in Ontonagon County and lived away from the area for a period of one month or more sometime since May 1957. ALL OTHERS SHOULD PROCEED TO PAGE 20. ●

V. RETURNING TO ONTONAGON COUNTY

V.1. **RETURNING TO ONTONAGON COUNTY**: Some of your classmates moved away after high school, either to other rural areas or to cities, and have since returned to live in Ontonagon County. There are many reasons why people leave and then return to their original community. We are interested in why you returned:

a. Below is a series of statements which express various reasons given by people for moving away and then returning. Read each statement carefully and quickly check the column to the right which most nearly represents its importance as a reason for your returning to Ontonagon County.

Statements	Importance as a reason for my returning			
	Great importance	Some importance	A little importance	No importance or doesn't apply
1. I like the climate here.				
2. I felt I could make a better living here.				
3. I like the outdoor recreational opportunities such as hunting and fishing.				
4. I couldn't find the specific type of work I like elsewhere.				
5. I enjoy being near my relatives and wanted to remain close to them.				
6. I had no special reason for returning, it was just happenstance.				
7. I felt this is a good place to enjoy being a member of adult organizations like Veterans, PTA, church or women's clubs.				
8. I felt I wanted to return and enter another line of work.				
9. It seemed others were prejudiced against me, I just didn't fit in.				
10. I found I just didn't like the city (or other areas).				
11. I felt the children could get a good education here.				
12. Finding a job in the other place(s) was difficult.				
13. I didn't have enough education to get anywhere in the city.				
14. I just wanted a change of scenery and the chance to travel, or to work in different places before settling down.				

	Importance as a reason for my returning			
	Great importance	Some importance	A little importance	No importance or doesn't apply
15. I felt the people in the other places were less friendly.				
16. While my present location in Ontonagon has a lot of disadvantages, other places I had lived seemed even worse.				
17. I wanted to raise my family here.				
18. While the people in other areas seemed friendly enough, I just didn't feel comfortable with them.				
19. I found I didn't have enough vocational training for the job I would have liked.				
20. I felt my parents would like to have me near them.				
21. I think, all in all, the cost of living is lower here.				
22. I feel I have more say in my own and/or community life.				
23. This is a good place to have fun with people your own age.				
24. There was a specific job here that I wanted to look into.				
25. My career plans changed.				
26. I felt it was a good place to find someone I would like to marry.				
27. I went away to attend (college, work training or military duty).				
28. I feel that here I can show more initiative in things I do.				
29. Life just wasn't very interesting to me in the other area(s).				
30. After a while I became rather lonely for the people I had known here.				
31. There are more opportunities here for such things as visiting, going to movies, sports or other social activities.				
32. This is a good place for me to engage in the kind of work I want to do.				
33. I felt I had to return to help support parents or relatives.				
34. Life seemed more interesting to me here than anywhere else I had been.				

RETURNING TO ONTONAGON COUNTY (Continued)	Importance as a reason for my returning			
	Great importance	Some importance	A little importance	No importance or doesn't apply
35. I feel like I am a person of more importance in this community.				
36. I prefer the kind of residential housing in a small community.				
37. I just assumed I would always come back and after a while I did.				
38. My (husband) (wife) had been urging that we return here.				
39. A (man)(woman) is more (his)(her) own boss here.				
40. I like to live in a smaller size community where there is plenty of space and scenery.				
41. I felt a lack of security in other area(s).				
42. I don't like city traffic and commuting.				
43. I had always wanted to be away from my parents and community for a while after high school.				
44. I decided to sacrifice some potential income in order to live here.				
45. This has always seemed like home to me.				

b. In general, which of the reasons you have indicated above do you consider the **most important** in your returning to Ontonagon County?

Write the numbers of the **three** most important reasons: First: _____ Second: _____ Third: _____

Those statements listed above are, of course, only some of the possible reasons for returning:

1. What other reasons, if any, did you have for returning? (Please discuss)

_____

_____

e. Which of the following combinations best describes your situation at the time you first left Ontonagon County subsequent to May 1957?

(Check one)   (Check one)

☐ I left for a specific purpose or purposes   ☐ thought I would return one day.
☐ I left for unspecific or rather   } and {   ☐ did not think it was likely that I would return.
   general reasons   ☐ didn't really know whether I'd return or not.

d. Many people who have left an area and then returned have had similar experiences. We would like to learn of the experiences you have had. Check the column which best represents the amount of your agreement or disagreement with each statement as it applies to your experience:

Statements	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Undecided	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
1. I liked it, generally, in the other place(s).	——	——	——	——	——
2. I found I really preferred the kind of living here.	——	——	——	——	——
3. The other place(s) had little to do with my returning.	——	——	——	——	——
4. I was rather unsure how successful I would be in the other place(s).	——	——	——	——	——
5. I really had little preference one way or the other for the other place(s).	——	——	——	——	——
6. I felt I had to return for certain obligatory reasons.	——	——	——	——	——
7. I didn't particularly like the other place(s).	——	——	——	——	——
8. It is just chance circumstance that I happen to be here.	——	——	——	——	——

e. We would like to know something of your own, your family's, and your community's expectations at the time you first left Ontonagon County to live elsewhere:

(Complete the sentence)

1. I . . . .
☐ expected that I would settle down in this community.
☐ expected that I would settle down somewhere else.
☐ really didn't know whether I would settle here or elsewhere.

2. My family . . . .
☐ expected that I would settle down in this community.
☐ expected that I would settle down somewhere else.
☐ wasn't much concerned where I settled.

3. My family and I . . . .
☐ discussed where I would settle and we were in agreement.
☐ discussed where I would settle and we were in disagreement.
☐ discussed where I would settle but we never reached any particular conclusion.
☐ did not discuss the matter of where I would settle.

4. Others in the community . . .
☐ expected that I would settle down in this community.
☐ expected that I would settle down somewhere else.
☐ weren't much concerned where I settled.
☐ don't know

PROCEED TO THE LAST PAGE ➡

VI. DISCUSSION

VI.1 We would like to have your thoughts about the Ontonagon County area as a place to live:

a. How would you feel if your children were to eventually settle in Ontonagon County?

- ☐ Very pleased
- ☐ Somewhat pleased
- ☐ Indifferent
- ☐ Somewhat displeased
- ☐ Very displeased

   1. Why would you feel that way? _____

_____

b. If you were advising a high school student now enrolled in school in Ontonagon County, what advice would you give him regarding staying or moving away subsequent to his completing high school?

_____

_____

VI.2 What we have tried to do in this questionnaire is to get as accurate and complete a picture as possible of your present situation and your experiences since high school.

As you look back over these pages, reflecting on your experience in the past ten years, please make some judgment as to how adequate a picture is given by this questionnaire. The space below is provided for you to discuss those aspects you feel we should be more fully aware of to understand your experience and what it has meant. Please feel free to discuss any aspect you wish.

✿ THANK YOU VERY MUCH ✿

8/16/68