SOCIAL FACTORS AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS OF NON-MIGRATION

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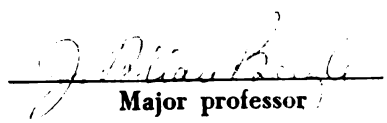

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by

Joanne Bubolz Eicher

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School of Advanced Graduate Studies of Michigan State University of Agriculture and Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Joanne Bubolz Eicher

Why do some people not migrate while their neighbors do? This dissertation investigates the relationship of two social factors, ethnic background and age, with explanations for non-migration, in order to understand better the process of non-migration. The theoretical foundation of the study was a formulation by the Procedures Committee of the North Central Regional Project Concerning Field Studies of Migration. To explain the decision-making process of migration, (and therefore, non-migration), use was made of three components: satisfactions, aspirations, and social costs. The two control variables of ethnic background and age were hypothesized to be instrumental in explaining why some people remained behind in an area of constant out-migration. Three general hypotheses were formulated for each variable associating the controls with the three components, giving a total of six general research hypotheses.

The area selected for study was Ontonagon county in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, a county with constant out-migration for the past thirty years, with a low level of living, and a low proportion of employed workers engaged in manufacturing. The county is typical of the cut-over areas of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. From the eleven townships in the county, two were selected which best represented the rural non-farm and rural farm division for the county, in addition to representing it for the age-sex structure and for ethnicity.

A twenty-five percent sample of household heads or spouses in the townships was drawn, resulting in 168 interviews.

A total of 76 specific associations was used to test the six hypotheses. Twenty were statistically significant. Ethnicity was not proved a discriminating factor in relationship to satisfaction, aspiration, or social cost as explanations of non-migration. Age was not discriminating for the subjective indices of community satisfaction and not for social cost appraisals. Statistical results support only one hypothesis, namely, older age is highly associated with aspirations obtainable within the community, for six of the eight associations were statistically significant and one approached significance. Seven of the eleven objective indices for community satisfaction support association with older age.

Although several associations of age and community satisfaction are non-significant, they approach significance and provide important insights and guides for future research. First, the overwhelming majority of non-migrants of all age and ethnicity groups seem extremely satisfied with the community, for few seriously intend to leave. Second, if the community maintains its status quo and no innovations occur to bring about better schools, recreation, and other improvements, then this same "hard core" of non-migrants will still remain in Ontonagon county. Next, it follows that out-migration will drain off only a handful of the family heads of all ages and ethnicity categories, for they demonstrate a strong preference to remain because of marriage, family and

friendship ties as well as occupational ties. Since this study is restricted to family heads, it is not possible to assess the out-migration potential for young single male and female adults. However, it appears that the young family heads are extremely satisfied with the community.

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CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH DESIGN, AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Background. Explanations for human migration have been linked to environmental conditions, war, population and economic pressure, and desire for freedom.[1] Systematic analysis began with the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe, when increased mechanization created population and economic pressures.[2] This analysis was most often statistical; it was concerned with volume, direction and flow, and differential selectivity in migration.[3] There were also descriptive studies, dealing with the migrants' adjustment to their new environment, their acculturation and assimilation.[4] Both statistical and descriptive studies usually dealt with international movement, emigration and immigration. Not until the 1920's did American scholars become curious about the internal migrant and begin studies of in-migration and out-migration. Dorothy Swaine Thomas attributes this indifference toward

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1 Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems, New York: Random House, 1956, p. 1.

2 Donald R. Taft, Human Migration, New York: Ronald Press Co., 1936, p. 56.

3 An example of a discussion of both volumes and streams of migration may be found in Dudley Kirk, Europe's Population in the Interwar Years, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, Series of League of Nations Publications, II. Economic and Financial, 1949 II.A.S. pp. 72-97.

4 The classic in the field of sociology is the study by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, 5 volumes, Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918. Other books treating the same subject are Maurice R. Davie, World Immigration, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949; and Lawrence Guy Brown, Immigration, Cultural Conflicts and Social Adjustments, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1933.

internal migration in the United States to the vast possibilities of economic and population expansion before World War I.[5] According to her, social scientists' growing interest in internal migration is based on the following factors:

1. World War I reduced immigration when labor demand in northern industry was high. This demand began to be filled by Negro migrants from the South.

2. Immigration restrictions of 1921 and 1924, strictly applied in the depression years, made immigration an historical problem.

3. Rapid declines in the rural and urban birth rates caused concern and provided data for investigating rural-urban differentials as affected by fertility and migration variation.

4. "Stranded" populations of agricultural drought areas and the unemployed masses in the cities, both with their usual migration channels blocked, provoked interest.[6]

Early investigations of internal migration were mainly concerned with migration selection or migration streams.[7] The concern of the present study, reasons for migration and non-migration, has been the subject of many explanations and much theory but little empirical fact-finding.[8]

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5 Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Bulletin 43, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938, p. 2.

6 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

7 The summary of all migration selection studies to 1938 is presented in ibid. A current example of streams of migration studies is: Donald J. Bogue, Henry S. Shryock, Jr., and Siegfried A. Hoermann, Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40, Vol. I, Streams of Migration Between Subregions, Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1957.

8 One notable exception to this statement is the study done by Clyde V. Kiser, Sea Island to City, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

As a part of the North Central Regional Project 18, the Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Michigan State University undertook a study of reasons for out-migration in the cut-over area of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.[9] The Michigan State University research views the decision-making process of migration from three perspectives: 1) that of people still living where out-migration has been going on; 2) that of high school students there who must soon decide whether to stay or to leave; and 3) that of former residents who have settled elsewhere. This study limits itself to the first phase; it is interested only in those who have "stuck with" the area and its limitations--the non-migrants in an area of out-migration.[10]

Statement of the Problem. Why do some people not migrate while their neighbors do? This dissertation investigates the relationship of two social factors, ethnic background and age, with explanations for non-migration, in order to understand better the process of non-migration. The study is not a traditional demographic analysis. Instead it incorporates the sociological facts of a person's background with social psychological

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[9] The procedures committee report of the North Central Regional Project states that the first two major phases of the regional project centered on estimating net migration by the residual method and analysis of regional population characteristics as related to migration patterns with sources of data for both phases coming mainly from census volumes. The report further states: "While such sources are invaluable, they are not amenable to supplying answers to questions concerning motivation in migration or institutional adjustments in areas of population gain or loss, for example." Report of Procedures Committee of NC-18, North Central Regional Project Concerning Field Studies of Migration, unpublished manuscript, no date, p. 1 . J. Allan Beegle, Chairman; Thomas R. Ford, Roy Francis, Siegfried A. Hoermann and Ward Bauder, committee members.

[10] Phase two is the subject matter for a dissertation in progress by Harold F. Goldsmith, Michigan State University. Phase three at this time is not underway.

reasons for remaining. We need answers to basic questions: Do the residents like the community? Why or why not? Have they thought of moving? What are their aspirations? Can these aspirations be fulfilled within the community? How do the residents view the process of migration?

Significance of this study. Review of relevant literature in the next chapter indicates that people migrate mainly because of economic pressures. The same pressures also affect non-migrants. Understanding of their motives for remaining will help explain population trends, and will be useful in predicting and interpreting future migration. Furthermore, this information may be of practical use when it seems desirable to speed or retard migration in a specific area.

Theoretical Framework of Migration

Migration is defined as "the voluntary movement of individuals beyond and outside their interaction systems in the community of residence."[11] It is recognized that the word "voluntary" is not always used in defining migration. Indeed, the typologies of migration developed by Davis[12] and Peterson[13] distinguish between forced and voluntary migration. In this study, we are concerned only with voluntary movement, for migration is seen as an on-going decision-making process. In a forced movement there is no choice as to whether or not to move, although there may be a choice as to where to move.[14] Pure migration refers to complete severance

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11 Report of Procedures Committee, NC-18, op. cit., p. 2.

12 Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York: Macmillan, 1950.

13 William Peterson, "A General Typology of Migration", American Sociological Review, 23:3, June, 1958, pp. 256-266.

14 Report of the Procedures Committee, NC-18, op. cit., p. 3, states as

of group and patterned relationships in the community of origin. Instances of pure migration are rare, for migrants more often than not, retain some ties with the community of origin.[15]

Non-migration then means the voluntary non-movement of individuals beyond and outside their interaction systems in the community of residence. Like the migrants, these individuals have had a choice. They chose to stay.

Beegle introduces the three major concepts of this decision-making process in the preliminary statement for studies of migration of the Procedures Committee.

> The phenomenon of migration is viewed here as an on-going process of decision-making in which satisfactions with life in the community of residence are weighed against the social costs of leaving the community of residence. This evaluation process occurs in relation to the level of aspirations, rooted in the value orientation, range of knowledge, and experience of groups and individuals.[16]

Satisfactions result from group and structural ties. Cohesiveness with the community which the individuals perceive and/or feel arises from the patterned relations of those ties.[17] The satisfactions may be viewed as the net which binds to the area individuals who like living there, who are secure, integrated. Their meaningful relationships in the community are too important to sever. Conversely, dissatisfaction with the community indicates disagreeable or fragmentary group ties. If satisfactions were the only factor, we could assume that high community satisfaction means preference

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follows: "Voluntary retains its general sociological meaning. It does not reject the idea that one may feel forced by a social situation to move. It asserts that persons who leave because of legal compulsion (deportation, exile, etc.) or 'against his will' are not migrants in our sense."

15 Ibid., p. 2.

16 Ibid., p. 2.

17 Ibid.

not to migrate and low community satisfaction, preference to migrate.

However, satisfactions are only one facet of the decision-making process. Aspirations too affect personal satisfaction. Aspirations, viewed as desired states or conditions,[18] include desires for material objects, jobs, or places to live. If the aspirations can be fulfilled within the community, they reinforce the satisfactions with the community,[19] and confirm a decision not to migrate. If not obtainable within the community, these wishes may change or influence the satisfactions or offset them; for if the pull of aspiration is stronger or more urgent than community satisfaction, migration might result.

The third component of the decision-making process is the social cost appraisal. When individuals decide to migrate, the affiliations at the community of origin are at least partially severed and must be replaced at the community of destination. "Hence migration is viewed as an [essentially painful] socially costly process."[20] Brackets are placed around the words "essentially painful" because this gives the term social cost an implied, negative tone. To neutralize the term, social cost is here defined as the ease with which a person may leave the community. If an individual perceives moving away as an act disrupting group ties which he cherishes, then the social cost of moving will be appraised as high. If, on the other hand, he perceives that moving will release him from groups he dislikes, or if he has few important group ties, then the social costs of moving will be low. One who views social costs as high will have less

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18 Ibid., p. 3.

19 Ibid., p. 2.

20 Ibid., p. 2.

inclination to leave than one who views social costs as low. This third factor can tip the balance when the other two factors cancel each other out.

Thus, we will designate individuals as having high or low community satisfaction, in or out aspiration, and high or low appraisal of social cost.[21]

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21 The Procedures Committee when preparing the preliminary statement on migration discussed the interrelationship of the three components. They realized the possibility of the three not contributing equal weight in the decision-making process of migration. Since the present study was one of the initial attempts to utilize the framework, it was decided estimate the three variables separately before approaching the problem of their interrelationship. It is acknowledged that the combination of the three factors yields eight possible and logical types; however, this typology will not be dealt with in this dissertation. Using the abbreviations S for satisfaction, A for aspiration, and SC for social cost appraisal, the types are as follows:

1) High S, In A, High SC
2) High S, In A, Low SC
3) High S, Out A, High SC
4) High S, Out A, Low SC
5) Low S, In A, High SC
6) Low S, In A, Low SC
7) Low S, Out A, High SC
8) Low S, Out A, Low SC

Assuming that each of the three factors carries equal weight in the decision-making process, we can divide the eight types into four main categories of orientation to migration: first, three factors favorable to staying in the community gives us the clear-cut non-migrant, Type 1) above; second, two factors favorable to staying and one leaving, gives us the probable non-migrant, Types 2), 3), and 5); two factors favorable to leaving and one staying gives us the probable migrant, Types 4), 6), and 7); and three factors favorable to leaving, the clear-cut migrant, Type 8).

Type 1 represents the satisfied community resident whose aspirations are obtainable within the community and whose estimates of social costs in migrating are high. He is the clear-cut non-migrant.

Type 2 represents a person whose in-aspirations reinforce the satisfactions, but whose appraisal of social costs is low. This resident would no doubt prefer to stay in the community, for there is no indication that he wants to leave. The low social cost estimate indicates

Definition of Terms. For clarification throughout the rest of the dissertation, several terms need now to be defined.

Decision-making. "The process whereby alternative courses of action are reduced."[22] The resident in an area of constant and high out-migration is faced with the alternatives of staying or leaving and with weighing satisfactions, aspirations and social costs.

Migration. "Voluntary movement of individuals beyond and outside their interaction systems in the community of residence."[23]

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21 only that if faced with leaving, he sees few problems connected with the move.

Type 3 individuals prefer the present community, yet have aspirations not obtainable within it. This dilemma is further complicated by their perceptions of high social costs. If the pull of the aspiration is powerful enough, it may overcome the force of the other two factors. Assuming equal weight, however, this is a probable non-migrant.

Type 4, although satisfied, may find that migration seems to provide few problems, and his aspirations can be met only outside of the community; the latter two factors make him the most likely candidate for migration of the first four types.

Type 5, not satisfied with the community but having aspirations obtainable within it and finding social costs high, is a probable non-migrant.

Type 6 dislikes the community and appraises the cost of moving as low although his aspirations are obtainable within it. He is a probable migrant, and if he realizes that his present aspirations are also obtainable outside of the community, he would become Type 8, the clear-cut migrant.

Type 7 has low satisfaction, and out-aspirations despite a high appraisal of social cost; he too, is a probable migrant.

Type 8 is the migration-prone resident who has low community satisfaction, out-aspirations, and low social cost estimates.

It must be understood that these are orientations toward migration or non-migration, based on three categories of theoretically equal weight.

22 Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Sociology, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1957, p. 468.

23 Report of Procedures Committee, NC-18, op. cit., p. 2.

Group. "Any collection of social beings who enter into distinctive social relationships with one another."[24]

Migrant. A person who has voluntarily moved beyond and outside his interaction systems in the initial community of residence.

Non-migrant. A person who voluntary remains in the community of origin, maintaining, more or less, a day-to-day contact and interaction with systems in that community.

Community. "A social system encompassing a territorial unit within which members carry on most of their day-to-day activities necessary to meeting common needs."[25]

Satisfactions. "Feelings of cohesiveness and security rooted in identification with groups and structures (patterned relations through time.)"[26]

Aspiration. "Desired future state of conditions sought."[27]

Social Costs. The perception of the ease with which a person may leave the community.

Research Hypotheses. When studying a community in which out-migration has been constant over a period of time, the sociologist asks: What groups would be most satisfied with the community? What groups have aspirations obtainable within the community?

Valid variables which could be used to investigate the attributes of

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[24] Robert MacIver and Charles H. Page, Society, New York: Rinehart & Company, 1949, p. 14.

[25] Loomis and Beegle, Rural Sociology, op. cit., p. 22.

[26] Report of Procedures Committee, NC-18, op. cit., p. 3.

[27] Ibid., p. 3.

non-migrants include age, sex, education, income, family status, occupation, and ethnic affiliation. The s tudy at hand will focus on two of the above: ethnic affiliation and age.

Ethnic affiliation was selected because in Ontonagon county, the particular community studied, the population is of a predominantly Finnish background.[28] The Finnish immigrants were attracted to the area because of its similarity in appearance to their native land[29] and they have created several Finnish cultural islands in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. The Finnish language is spoken, some Finnish food habits persist, the Finnish sauna steam-bath is used. Therefore, the hypothesis developed that those who exhibit the Finnish ethnic tie will be more oriented toward non migration, whereas other community members are more likely to accept mobility for economic gain. Though many studies of immigrants have shown cleavages between the first and second generation, a study of the Finnish in Minnesota describes second generation Finnish who "have interiorized the culture of their parents so thoroughly that sociologically they should be considered as members of the immigrant generation."[30] In an isolated area like Ontonagon,

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28 J.F. Thaden, "Finnish Farmers in Michigan," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 28, No. 2, November, 1945.

29 Kolehmainen states: "The heavy settlement of Finns in the northern regions of America naturally has invited speculation. Many have seen in it the play of geographical forces; in their opinion the 'indispensable concomitants' of Finnish settlement have been 'cold, snow, boulder strewn areas, lakes typical of a glaciated terrain.' Yet other factors as well persuaded immigrants to set up their households north of the Mason and Dixon's Line. Who, for example, could resist the shrewd land agent's description of Upper Michigan as a veritable Eden that counted among its varied blessings 'a beautiful nature, healthful atmosphere, many lakes rich with fish, streams and rapids'; a domain eternally safe from 'cyclones, snowslides, hail storms, floods, famines...and poisonous snakes." John I. Kolehmainen, The Finns in America: A Bibliographical Guide to Their History, Hancock, Michigan: Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, 1947, pp. 18-19.

this possibility becomes even more likely, for the dominant American culture does not surround the second generation closely as it does the urban immigrants' children. Since this research is dealing with an adult population only, most of the Finnish respondents are first and second generation. On the basis of the above discussion, ethnic affiliation will apply to people with a Finnish background and not just the Finland-born.

Age-grades are another important classification, for age indicates position in the life-cycle and consequent status-roles and obligations.[31] In differential migration studies, younger age proves to be correlated with out-migration and older age with non-migration.[32] Is this correlation borne out by the explanations that respondents offer? We propose to find out whether the older-aged residents consider themselves more satisfied with the community than do the younger-aged ones. If so, the younger "non-migrants" may still be potential migrants. If not, there may be indications that the young who stay are different from the young who leave but more like the old who stay. Individuals under age thirty-five are most easily mobile, often having fewer permanent possessions to dispose of or take along, and fewer ties to and responsibilities within a community. In addition there may

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30 Wolfrid John Jokinen, The Finns in Minnesota: A Sociological Survey, unpublished M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, June, 1953, p. 39.

31 For a general reference discussing the importance of age groups or age-grades, see S.N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956.

32 T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, p. 186 and Conrad Taeuber, "Recent Trends of Rural-Urban Migration in the United States," in Postwar Problems of Migration, New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1947, pp. 129-130.

exist different norms and values regarding migration for different age-grades.

The guiding question for this study may be stated thus:

Are Finnish ethnicity and older age more highly associated with high satisfaction, in-aspiration, and high social cost appraisal than are non-Finnish ethnicity and younger age?

The following research hypotheses are derived:

I. Satisfaction

A. Ethnicity. Finnish ethnic affiliation is associated with a higher community satisfaction than non-Finnish ethnicity.

B. Age-Grade. Older age is associated with a higher community satisfaction than younger age.

II. Aspiration

A. Ethnicity. Persons of Finnish ethnic affiliation are more likely to express aspirations which may be satisfied in the community than are persons of non-Finnish ethnicity.

B. Age-Grade. Persons of older age are more likely to express aspirations obtainable in the community than are persons of younger age.

III. Social Cost

A. Ethnicity. Persons of Finnish ethnic affiliation are more likely to appraise the social costs of migrating as high than are persons of non-Finnish ethnicity.

B. Age-Grade. Persons of older age are more likely to appraise the social costs of migrating as high than are persons of younger age.

Research Design and Methodology

This research was initiated to test the hypotheses stated above. Since it was carried out in conjunction with the North Central Regional Project on migration, the objectives proposed by the Procedures Committee were kept in mind. It must be understood that the formulation of the

research design occurred in the spring of 1956 and the field work in the summer of 1956, while the committee meetings for the North Central Region were held in May and November, 1956. The initial field studies executed in the summer by the participating universities (including this study by Michigan State University) helped clarify the objectives proposed by the committee in November. They are:

(1) To formulate an integrated conceptual framework for migration studies.
(2) To specify minimum or core items within this framework to be covered by studies contributing to a regional report.
(3) To plan methods, techniques, and instruments for securing specified types of information.[33]

Area Selection. The North Central Regional Committee plans to conduct research on migration in three different types of areas, referred to as 1) in-hi-hi; 2) out-lo-lo; and 3) out-hi-lo. These abbreviated designations refer, in order, to direction of migration, level of living, and proportion employed workers engaged in manufacturing. The cut-over areas of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin fall into Type 2: out-migration, low level of living, and low proportion in manufacturing. Such areas are typified by low incomes, high birth rates, large proportions of foreign-born, and many rural-non-farm residents who depend on income from occupations such as mining.[34] The areas are isolated, and have limited land resources; their small, uneven fields are often badly eroded. The tools of production are simple, life in unhurried, and leisure is not a luxury. Farm work, plowing and planting in the spring and harvesting in the fall,

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[33] Report of Procedures Committee, NC-18, op. cit., p. 6.

[34] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. 277-278. See also, Report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

allows hunting and fishing as favorite pastimes.. Formal organizations or special interest groups are less prevalent than in other areas, relationships in business and politics are personal, and family relationships assume great importance.[35]

In terms of area size, the suggestion was that first, "the unit should have a definable network of systems." Probably a small town or clearly defined multi-service area with definite nucleus would be adequate, for studying a complete economic area or even a county of large population is not feasible.[36] Second, "the unit should be representative of the type area being studied."[37]

To carry out these stipulations, such factors as age, sex, residence, and ethnicity were examined for all counties in the Upper Peninsula. A county was considered the unit for study because:

> 1. The county is a meaningful and readily identifiable unit in all states; 2. Many counties possess more than nominal status in the social system sense; 3. Population data concerning characteristics and components for inter-censal estimates are more readily available; and 4. Historical materials seldom relate to a "community" apart from some larger context.[38]

The committee also suggested that the size of the county should be approximately 10,000 population, a "manageable" size in regard to research funds, sampling, and interviewing. The counties in the western part of the Upper Peninsula comprise Economic Area 1, and in the eastern part,

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35 Ibid., p. 270.

36 Report of Procedures Committee, NC-18, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

37 Ibid., p. 8.

38 Ibid., p. 13.

Economic Area 2. The counties included in the latter were not considered because the counties had experienced either increases in population or minimal decreases. Therefore, only counties in Economic Area 1 were eligible. After counties with populations over 10,000 or with most of their populations clustered in towns had been excluded, the selection narrowed to Keewenaw, Baraga, and Ontonagon counties. Keewenaw was dropped because it was atypical in having a concentration of occupations in the resort industry. Baraga and Ontonagon counties remained. They were similar as to the research requirements, but practical considerations swung the choice to Ontonagon. A contact had been established previously there with the county agent, who had offered to provide introductions into the communities for the fieldwork team. Also, housing for the fieldworkers was available in that area.

Sample Selection. From the eleven townships in the county, two were selected which best represented the rural-non-farm and rural-farm division for the county, in addition to representing it for the age-sex structure and for ethnicity. These two townships were McMillan and Greenland. In McMillan is located the small village of Ewen, with about 500 population. In Greenland are the villages of Greenland with about 340 residents, and Mass with about 500. Both townships were areas of out-migration. The following tabulation shows the population decline from the 1920 peak to 1950, with an increase during the depression years:[39]

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[39] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Michigan, Number of Inhabitants: 1950, p. 20 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Vol. I.

	Greenland Township	McMillan Township
1920	2,606	1,081
1930	1,788	989
1940	1,855	1,016
1950	1,639	872

A ridge separates the villages of Mass and Greenland; at one time it contained two or three active copper mines, and the mining captains lived in homes on the ridge. In 1952, the Caledonia Mine on the ridge was reopened for exploration. It presently employs about twenty-five men.

It was decided to take a one-third random sample of village and farm residents. Informants would be either the head-of-household or spouse. Maps were secured from the Michigan Highway Department, but because they were dated 1940, new maps of each of the three village areas were drawn up during the first week of fieldwork; location of residences were indicated on them and then each residence numbered. A map of the Greenland farm area which had been drawn by the county agent in 1950 was modified and verified by the fieldworkers in consultation with the Greenland postmaster; each residence was numbered. For the McMillan farm area, the county agent supplied a list of the farmers, a map was drawn up, the farms located on it and numbered. A one-third sample from each of the five areas was drawn randomly and the numbers listed in the order drawn. After two weeks of fieldwork, when it appeared impossible to complete interviewing in the alloted time, the sample was reduced from one-third to one-fourth by dropping the numbers selected last. The research project, then, was to gather and analyze 168 schedules.

The following shows the distribution of the sample by residence categories of rural-farm, rural-non-farm and village. The latter category is not

the census designation but indicates a population concentration. According to census categories, it is rural-non-farm.

Residence	Number
McMillan Township	
Ewen Village	33
Rural-non-farm	1
Rural-farm	22 (56)
Greenland Township	
Greenland Village	29
Mass Village	39
Rural-non-farm	7
Rural-farm	37 (112)
Total	168

The sex and household position of the respondents is as follows:

Informant	Number
Male head-of-household	82
Female head-of-household	15
Spouse of head: wife	71
Total	168

The distribution of the heads-of-households of the sample by sex is 153 males and fifteen females. The marital status of the household heads is shown below.

Sex and Marital Status of Head	Number
Single: Male	13
Single: Female	3
Married: Male	128
Married: Female	0
Widowed: Male	10
Widowed: Female	11
Divorced: Male	2
Divorced: Female	1
Total	168

Schedule Construction. The schedule was designed for an area of out-migration, to be answered by a head-of-household or spouse[40] who would provide

[40] At the outset of constructing the schedule, it was intended that if either head-of-household or spouse were unable to be interviewed, the

certain "face-sheet" information in addition to giving responses to open-ended questions about satisfactions, aspirations and social costs. Other requirements for the schedule designated by the North Central Committee were: 1) a migration history (1940 to present), 2) an occupational history (1940 to present), and 3) household composition. Some problems in schedule construction are discussed under "Data Analysis," infra. The complete schedule is found in Appendix B.[41]

Field Work. Five interviewers, including the field director, comprised the field team.[42]

The first week in the field, maps were drawn, samples selected, and contacts made in the communities. The fieldworkers secured a farm house in a township located between Greenland and McMillan; thus by living in, shopping in, and observing the area, they were also participation observers. Contacts and informal interviews were carried out with the county agent, home demonstration agent, a Ewen restaurant-gas station owner, his son and daughter, the school superintendent, postmaster and assistant postmaster in Mass, a variety store owner in Greenland village, a "sauna" stove manufacturer and a dairy co-operative representative.

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40 eldest child, if adult and living with the family, could answer the questions. After attempting a few schedules in the field, it was found that the children were unable to answer some questions for their parents and only heads-of-households or spouses were used.

41 Only selected sections of the schedule are used for this dissertation. Other parts are being analyzed for a report for the North Central Regional research.

42 Dr. J. Allan Beegle was field director; three of the interviewers were sociology graduate students, including the writer, and the fourth a secretary from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

During the month of interviewing, the fieldworkers attended a Finnish dance held in Greenland village for the Greenland township area. They visited the Caledonia mine and informally interviewed one of the surface workers of the mine. They also drove to White Pine mine in the northwest corner of the county.

Within a particular village or open country area, an interviewer was assigned a daily quota of respondents. If the household head or spouse was busy, an appointment was made for a later time; if not at home, another call was made. Interviewers worked alone, except when an interpreter went along. There were three outright refusals, and a few other selected respondents were replaced when repeated calls failed to reach them. Because prior contacts had been made with influential residents, entry into the area was easy. The interviewers carried identification cards from Michigan State University, but were seldom asked for credentials after they had stated their purpose.[43]

Since a few of the older Finnish in the Mass area spoke no English, the team enlisted the help of a second-generation Finnish woman from the area who interpreted for the fieldworkers. In some cases, children (usually adult children) living with parents performed this function for the interviewers.

Data Analysis

A. Control Variables

1. Ethnicity. Ethnic affiliation of the respondent was identified by asking, "Of what nationality background do you consider yourself to be? ____ your spouse? ____" (See Appendix B, p. 9). The answers were

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[43] See frontispiece of interview schedule, Appendix B.

then coded separately for head and spouse, even if deceased, and tallied thus:

Nationality	Head	Spouse
Finnish, "Swedo-Finn", or Finnish-related*	109	89
French	9	5
Swedish	1	1
German	11	9
English	5	6
Other Western European	24	30
Croatian and Slavic	6	2
Other Central and Southern European	2	3
Unclassifiables	1	5
Not ascertainable or query doesn't apply**		18
Total	168	168

* Finnish-related was actually a multiple punch indicating Finnish and other; there were two in this category for head and one for spouse.

** Indicates head-of-household was single; nationality background for deceased spouse was included.

It was decided to dichotomize background into Finnish or non-Finnish, and then to use a three-way classification for nationality background combining the head and spouse categories. It was assumed that in an area where ethnicity is a strong bond, the ethnic background of one spouse may influence the mate, attaching both to the dominant ethnic group. The differences between first and second generations purposely were ignored on the assumption that any tie to Finnish ethnicity would be important. The three-way classification tallies thus:

	Number
Both head and spouse (if married) Finnish	90
Either head or spouse Finnish	26
Both head and spouse (if married) non-Finnish	52
Total	168

2. Age-Grade. The respondent was asked, in the Family and Household Composition section (see Appendix B, p. 5a), "Year born?" for self and spouse. These ages were coded by five-year categories thus:

Age Category	Head	Spouse
20-24	3	11
25-29	11	9
30-34	8	18
35-39	16	12
40-44	27	23
45-49	24	15
50-54	15	13
55-59	15	11
60-64	15	10
65-69	16	4
70-74	7	2
75 up	11	1
Query doesn't apply		38
Not ascertainable		1
Total	168	168

Sociologically, age is an important variable for it indicates the stage of the life-cycle to child-bearing, work positions, and productivity, etc. It was decided to use age of only the family head-of-household as the control variable for age grade. Because the respondents were either family heads or spouses, to use the age of respondent as the variable would give no consistency to the category. The category of "young" includes all family heads under thirty-five years of age, for according to previous studies,[44] most individuals have migrated before they reach thirty-five. The married persons with families in this age-group have young children, while most of the middle-aged have children in school and some who are in the work world. The older group consists of families whose children have married and left home. Clearly, compared to the nation as a whole this is an old population:

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[44] Smith, op. cit., p. 186.

Age of Family Head	Number
20-34 (young)	22
35-54 (middle)	82
55 and up (older)	64
Total	168

3. Independence of the Control Variables. The independence of the control variables was investigated by cross-tabulating them and running a chi-square test of significance. The results are presented below:

	Both Head and Spouse Finn	Either Head or Spouse Finn	Both Head and Spouse non-Finn	Total
Head-Age 20-34	7	7	8	22
Head-Age 35-54	46	13	23	82
Head-Age 55 up	37	6	21	64
Total	90	26	52	168

$X^2 = 8.102$ $.1 \quad p \quad .05$

According to the criteria of significance which are discussed on page 24, this table demonstrates the independence of the two control variables. If anything, the magnitude of the chi-square, insignificant though it is, is contributed by the unstable cell having seven observed frequencies in the cross-tabulation of Head-Age 20-34 with Either Head or Spouse Finnish. Since the expected frequency is only three, this cell contributes almost half of the significance.

B. Decision-Making Components. In constructing the field schedule, the researchers tried to include questions which investigated separately the three components: satisfaction, social cost, aspiration. In certain instances, this proved difficult. Some questions focus on both aspiration and satisfaction, or social cost and satisfaction as, for example, the question, "Can you remember any specific occasions when you seriously con-

sidered moving? Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____. If yes, what were the occasions? _____" (See Appendix B, p. 8). The response to such open-ended questions may be appropriate to more than one category.

In addition, for the satisfaction component, there are both objective and subjective "measures." This means that a question like "Of what organizations are you and your spouse members?" elicits answers of kind and amount. The answers of one respondent may be compared with those of other respondents. The response here gives an objective index of the extent of organizational ties with the community. When, however, an opinion is requested, such as "What do you like about your community?" (See Appendix B, p. 7), the respondent is asked for a subjective appraisal. Either type of answer can be analyzed statistically by the social scientist.

C. Statistical Techniques. The statistical test used to analyze the data is the chi-square test of significance, for the two control variables and the three components in the decision-making process are qualitative,[45] and do not fulfill the requirements for more refined statistical treatment. The fact that chi-square allows combining of cells also made it helpful in some instances, for the total N of the sample was too small to allow analysis of many-celled contingency tables. The researcher attempted to have as few tables as possible with any cell having a theoretical frequency less than five. In some cases, categories with few and scattered responses were dropped from the analysis. In the tables where a theoretical frequency less

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[45] With ages combined into three classes, the control variable of age is more qualitative than quantitative because the three categories stand for "young," "middle," and "older", groups, respectively, and not as a continuous, metric variable.

than five existed and where significance occurred, the table was inspected to see if that cell contributed the significance. Often the tables had either three or more degrees of freedom which therefore minimized possible error. In this research chi-square is called significant if it reached a probability of .05 or less.

The following terms are used in the dissertation to describe probability values. They do not imply intensity.

1) When probability is greater than .05 .. "not significant". (NS)

2) When probability is .05 or less but greater than .01 ... "moderately significant". (P .05)

3) When probability is .01 or less but greater than .001 ... "highly significant". (P .01)

4) When probability is .001 or less ... "extremely significant". (P .001)[46]

Only two indices were constructed out of the questions in the field schedule: One was an index of job satisfaction and another an index of community satisfaction. There was no attempt to design or use questions which fit the theoretical requirements of a scale analysis such as Guttman's.

Dissertation Outline

With the theoretical framework articulated and the methods of research explained, it is now appropriate to outline the rest of the dissertation. Chapter II will review the relevant literature in light of the research hypotheses. It will not attempt a complete review of literature on migration,

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46 The last three of these qualifying adjectives were originally used by George W. Snedecor, Statistical Methods: Applied to Experiments in Agriculture and Biology, Ames, Iowa: State College Press, 4th ed., 1946. Reproduced in Margaret J. Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952, p. 325.

but will single out material connected with non-migration in an area of out-migration. Chapter III is the substantive report of the association of the two control variables, ethnicity and age, with community satisfaction, aspirations, and social costs. A summary and discussion comprise Chapter IV.

CHAPTER TWO

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

This survey deals with the theories and empirical studies pertaining to motivation in or explanations of the decision to migrate (and therefore not to migrate). It is more a bibliographical essay based upon selected studies than a traditional review of the literature, for there have been few investigations of non-migration as such.

Three major categories of studies yield background on motivations for migration and non-migration. The first are studies of selective or differential migration. Second are studies of low-income farm areas. Third are community studies in which out-migration is mentioned as a problem.

Selective Migration Studies

The most definitive statement on selective or differential migration is by Dorothy Swaine Thomas.[1] She states:

> The problem of migration differentials is essentially the same as the problem of selective migration for the very question of whether persons who migrate are differentiated from those who do not implies a process of selection. It does not, however, imply anything at all about the extent to which the selected qualities are innate predispositions or environmentally modified characteristics.[2]

It is of sociological significance if age, sex, family status, occupation and income level, intellectual ability and performance, and psychophysical status differentiate the migrant from the non-migrant. Any study of migration

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[1] Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Bulletin 43, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938.

[2] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

differentials implies these two groups, the migrants and the non-migrants. At three points in time they may be differentiated: 1) upon migration; 2) during migrating; and 3) while assimilating. In addition, three other factors should be considered: 1) structure of the community of origin and destination, 2) phase of the business cycle in which migration takes place, and 3) distance involved.[3]

Thomas' annotated bibliography includes all studies of selective migration up to 1938. She states, however that:

> Variations in the statement of the problem, in the definition of migrant, in the type of data used, in the technique of analysis, and in the control of disturbing variables, render many of the studies incomparable with one another, and the net result has led to few acceptable generalizations.[4]

The conclusion of the Memorandum is that the only acceptable generalization about strength and direction of selective migration concerns age. "There is an excess of adolescents and young adults among migrants, particularly migrants from rural areas to towns, compared with the non-migrating or general population."[5] For the present study, this generalization is important since we expect the motivation of different age-groups to vary.

Thomas asks the following of further research investigating motivations:

(1) What grievances do migrants have against the environment of origin that are not shared by non-migrants in the same environment?
(2) What goals do they hope to reach through migration?

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3 Ibid., pp. 5-7.

4 Ibid., p. 8.

5 Ibid., p. 11.

(3) How realistic are these goals in terms of the conditions actually existing in the chosen destination, and how successful are the migrants in goal attainment in the environment of destination, compared with the settled population in this same environment?[6]

Of all studies executed by 1938, only five met Thomas' requirements for adequate research and merited extensive discussion in the Memorandum. One pertains to our present research: a study by Kiser on motivations to migrate and subsequent assimilation of Negroes from a South Carolina island to New York and other cities.[7] Since her Memorandum was published, especially pertinent to the present research are three studies: Puerto Ricans in New York City;[8] urban residential mobility in Philadelphia;[9] and a low-income Southern Appalachian community.[10] These four studies imply that selectivity occurs in moving, and they include concepts similar to the three facets of the decision-making process, as outlined in the theoretical framework. These studies assume that the "push" out of a community is based on a dissatisfaction, usually economic or social. The "pull" involves the attractions, usually economic, of the beckoning community.

Sea Island to City.[11] Off the South Carolina coast lies St. Helena with a preponderantly Negro population. Early development included land

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6 Ibid., p. 187.

7 Clyde V. Kiser, Sea Island to City, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

8 C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior and Rose Kohn Goldsen, The Puerto Rican Journey, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

9 Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.

10 B. H. Luebke and John Fraser Hart, "Migration from a Southern Appalachian Community," Land Economics, XXXIV:1, February, 1958, pp. 44-53.

11 Kiser, op. cit.

clearing, lumbering and small-scaled tillage followed by cultivation of indigo for export to England.

> The difficulty of cultivation and the poisonous nature of the crop made slave labor particularly suitable so that the importation of Negroes from the Barbados and from Africa to supply this need accounts for the presence of increasing numbers of blacks in St. Helena.[12]

The Revolutionary War cut off the indigo market; cultivation was never resumed, but the plantation-slave system adapted itself to the cultivation of sea-island cotton. With the out-break of the Civil War, most white plantation owners sought refuge up-state. The slaves remained behind, and the Federal Government sent aid to harvest the crop. After the war the free Negroes were allowed to buy small land parcels.[13]

The raising of long-staple cotton, which continued after the break-up of the plantations, was disturbed first by the cyclone of 1893 and then by the coming of the boll weevil in 1919. Since the latter, long-staple cotton has not been produced. The descendents of the first slaves have carved a living by farming their small tracts. A few people work in oyster canneries, and some are seasonally employed in nearby Savannah.[14]

During the 1870's - 1890's, Sea Island offered employment in phosphate mining. The industry had begun to decline in the late 1880's. High taxes had placed it in a precarious competitive position. The hurricane persuaded the companies to pull out, and the last mine in the area closed in 1906.[15]

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[12] Ibid., p. 59.

[13] Ibid., pp. 59-63.

[14] Ibid., pp. 85, 63-70.

[15] Ibid., pp. 89-92; 100-103.

Population losses began after 1900. The decade 1900-1910 showed a drop of 25 percent, indicating a delay between the hurricane and its impact on migration. At first, no doubt, many hoped that mining would boom again and that crop years would get better. When these wishes were unfulfilled, the exodus started, continuing into the 1910-1920 decade when the loss was 10 percent. The draft for World War I pulled some residents from the island, but many more left voluntarily for high wages in industrial centers.[16] Attitudes toward migration changed, and for many individuals migration was expected. All the children of a large family were not needed on the farms, nor could each child inherit enough land to have a farm of his own. Sometimes death of a family member precipitated migration.[17] Therefore, motives of the migrant to leave St. Helena included economic hardship and dislike for farming as a livelihood and mode of life.

As in Ontonagon county, we see here the decline of agriculture and mining and the attraction to outside industry. Of particular interest to our study are respondents who insisted they left because they were attracted by "city life" as much as by city jobs.[18] In terms of our theoretic framework, these migrants viewed social costs as low. Others, however, moved only because of economic advantage, but would have preferred remaining in St. Helena. In our terms, they perceived social costs as high.

Those remaining include the older individuals with family responsibilities, land ownership, and community ties meaningful to them but not to their

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16 Ibid., pp. 92-93; 104-108.

17 Ibid., p. 135.

18 Ibid., p. 128.

migrant sons and daughters.[19] There are also young, unmarried individuals remaining behind,

> ...who prefer to remain. The latter are not easily tempted by stories concerning the cities. Some have had temporary residence off the Island and have found it dissatisfying. Other apparently do not care to make the test. They are not oblivious to the possibility of earning more per week away from home, but they consider the freedom, fresh air, inexpensive living, and community life of the neighborhood as being of greater value than "cash money." Doubtless such individuals are the ones who carry on the farms after their parents pass on.[20]

For such individuals, farming is a way of life and not just a way of earning money. We expect to find the same to be true in Ontonagon county.

The Puerto Rican Journey.[21] In 1898 when the United States took over Puerto Rico the main crops were coffee and tobacco. Soon afterwards sugar, a plantation-grown cash crop, assumed dominance. The island's economy is based on the export of raw materials and import of foodstuffs. Government policy is to keep the small farmer on the land and to encourage industrialization.[22] These measures do not solve the problems of overpopulation.

Migration is retarded by the cultural fact of strong kinship bonds, among other factors.[23] It is encouraged by "the push from the homeland, the pull of the new country, and the sources of information about the new."[24] The writers submit that the crucial factor is the pull of New York City,

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19 Ibid., p. 140.

20 Ibid.

21 Mills, et. al., op. cit.

22 Ibid., pp. 16-18.

23 Ibid., pp. 8-10.

24 Ibid., p. 43.

for information about the city is plentiful and it has a reputation for economic opportunity.

> When the United States economy is working well, it acts as a magnet, drawing migrants from Puerto Rico; when the economy slumps, it loses its pulling power and the Puerto Rican migration ebbs or even flows back to the island.[25]

In our terminology, we would speak of community satisfaction, out-aspiration, and appraisal of social cost.

Migrants were classified as decision-makers or followers. Their motivations differed:

> Eighty-nine percent of the men deciders, but only 44 percent of the women followers migrated for economic reasons; whereas 83 percent of the women followers, but only 16 percent of the men deciders came for family reasons.[26]

Respondents were asked about occupational and educational aspirations. They were asked also to estimate their chances of obtaining these goals.[27]

Why Families Move.[28] Rossi's book is a study not of migration but of mobility; indeed, its purpose is to predict moving from knowing the family's structure and attitude toward housing. The study analyzes housing needs and desires of families and plots whether or not the family carries out its intent to stay or move. The objectives are: 1) to characterize mobile and stable areas; 2) to analyze mobility of individual households; and 3) to analyze individual residence shifts and reasons given for them.[29] Rossi's

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25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., p. 50.

27 Ibid., p. 161.

28 Rossi, op. cit.

29 Ibid., p. 1.

accounting scheme consists of: a) complaints about the previous dwelling, b) specifications for a new home, c) claims of the new home's particular attractions and superiority over others, and d) information sources which brought new dwellings to the family's attention.[30]

Findings of particular interest in household mobility were that large families were more mobile than small and young families more than old for family growth pushed them from too-small quarters. Renters were more mobile than owners, and renters who preferred to own were the most mobile of all.[31]

Rossi, too, refers to the pushes and pulls. The residents were pushed out by dissatisfaction with the amount of space, with the neighborhood, or with rent or maintenance costs. They were pulled to the new home by space, design features, location, and cost.

This study involves residential mobility rather than migration (although some moves within a city's boundaries may fit our migration definition if group ties are severed and replaced with others). However, the terms "complaints" and "specifications" may be worthy of use in analyzing satisfaction, aspiration and social cost.

Migration from a Southern Appalachian Community.[32] Most of the Uplands of the Appalachians have had greater populations than they could support. Chestnut Hill, Tennesee, is an example. "Current migration from Chestnut Hill was estimated by determining the present location of all pupils registered in local elementary schools in grades 4 to 8 between 1943 and 1945."[33]

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30 Ibid., p. 128.

31 Ibid., p. 6.

32 Luebke and Hart, op. cit.

33 Ibid., p. 46.

The total was 156. One out of five was still in school or service, two had moved away, and two remained. This 40 percent migration rate seems high, but compared to 70 percent leaving similar areas, in the Eastern Highland Rim, it is low. Now, what of thse wno do not migrate?

> ...the Chestnut Hill area has a larger number of unemployed young people who are just "hanging around", and the same appears to hold true of older folk as well. What is it that holds these people? Why do they fail to take advantage of greater economic opportunities elsewhere?[34]

The answers to these questions involve factors of land ownership, preference for farming, conservatism, wife's attitude, and stage of community disposition.

Land ownership retards migration. Two-thirds of the families who contributed migrants to the North in tne last generation were tenant families, even though only one out of every ten farmers in Chestnut Hill is a tenant. Small farms abet non-migration by providing a home and subsistence, although often substandard.

Liking to farm or knowing nothing else encourages staying. The marginal unskilled worker may prefer to remain because of his weak market power.

Deep conservatism here is composed of a contempt for material things, a regard for living within one's income, a love of the land and of farming, hunting, fishing. Strong family and community ties too keep residents in the area:

> The birth rate is nigh and large families discourage residential mobility. Long distance moves from Chestnut Hill are virtually always made by single persons or childless couples although a few one-child families have left the child with relatives, especially if it is of school age. In addition to the problems and expenses of moving with children, there is the difficulty of finding ade-

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[34] Ibid., pp. 46-57.

> quate accommodations in the city where apartment house managements discriminate against children.[35]

The wife's attitude is important. She often has the stronger home and community ties. On the other hand, "death or divorce...tends to favor migration."[36] Another factor in conservatism is the stage of community depopulation. It is more difficult for residents to move when community institutions are strong.

We will expect to find similar behavior in Ontonagon which discourages migration, for many people are tied to the land and the occupation of farming and the possibility arises that the relative isolation of the community will encourage conservative values.

In sum from Thomas' survey of studies up to 1938 on selective migration the following generalization can be made: it is largely older people who do not migrate. She also acknowledged the importance of investigating motivations.

Kiser's study gives insight into motivation: economic disasters pushed persons from St. Helena, particularly if they were otherwise dissatisfied and were pulled to the city by its glamour. In several cases, death of a family member dissolved ties to the area. In terms of our framework, crises lessened satisfaction and lowered social costs, releasing the person to fulfill out-aspirations. The non-migrants liked farming, enjoyed the island's natural facilities, and cherished their group ties.

The Puerto Rican Journey indicates that economic decisions were crucial in pulling men to New York City, while women were pulled largely by their

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35 Ibid., pp. 48-49.

36 Ibid.

family ties. From this it is implied that satisfactions with a community involve economic considerations for men and primary group integration for women.

From the study of mobility in Philadelphia we learn that satisfactions may be broken down into complaints and specifications, and estimates of social costs into attractions and information about other places.

Luebke and Hart found that non-migrants had a higher incidence of land ownership, more preference for farming, and more conservative beliefs than the migrant. Aspirations were obtainable within the community, satisfaction high, and views of social costs high despite the fact that the land affords a poor living.

Low-Income Area Studies

Agricultural economists and rural sociologists have investigated low-income farm areas with problems of overpopulation, recommending subsidy payments or planned migration. Though the present study is not interested in policy, two classic studies of the 1930's by Goodrich and the National Resources Committee provide background information about the cut-over region.

Migration and Economic Opportunity.[37] The researchers set out to discover where in the United States are the places of economic opportunity and distress. The four major areas lacking opportunity are: the Southern Appalachian Coal Plateaus, the Old Cotton Belt, the Cut-Over Region of the Great Lakes and the Great Plains. Our interest centers on the chapter devoted to the cut-over region. In it, descriptive particulars are presented along with statements of the chronic problems of the region, their basic

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37 Carter Goodrich, Migration and Economic Opportunity, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936.

causes, additional distress caused by the depression, suggested remedies, and the accomplishments of the 1930's. The chronic problems include rural poverty and isolated settlement, excessive local government costs, and declining employment in mining and woodworking industries. The causes for these problems include the forest exploitation, unfavorable natural conditions for agriculture, and competitive and technological changes in mining. The depression situation of acute unemployment of the mines and the back-to-the-land movement deepened the difficulties of an already distressed area.[38] The study provides background of the economic area in which we are interested, but it does not deal, directly or indirectly with the subjective reasons for migrating or not. It implies that migration, if not based on economic considerations, should be.

Problems of a Changing Population.[39] The National Resources Committee published a general report in 1938 on the problems of a changing population, attempting to appraise the demographic future of the United States. The report touches several aspects important to our study in either foreshadowing the theoretical framework or providing specific regional information.

Problems of maldistribution of population occurs when a region's dwindling resources cannot support an expanding population. A vicious circle results with low incomes, inadequate education, and little outside contact producing high birth rates. The overpopulation is sometimes only partially relieved by out-migration.

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38 Ibid., pp. 11-51.

39 Report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

The Great Lakes cut-over area is treated in detail as to the timber exploitation from 1880 to 1900, accompanied by population increases and then gradual slowing down of population growth to the point of net population losses by 1930. The economic emphasis turned to agriculture, but this, too has been economically unsatisfactory for the land is poor.[40] The copper mining industry has had difficulties, and its future in Michigan seems bleak.[41] Even with plans for reforestation and development of resorts, "there remains a considerable number of people for whom no prospect of profitable employment exists within the region."[42]

Population redistribution involves not only the major motive of economic betterment but desire for adventure, for varied and freer opportunities for living. Thus other appeals than economic ones are involved in the moves to New York, Washington, Cleveland, and Los Angeles.[43]

Two main currents in American culture--rural-to-urban movement and the diffusion of products, tastes, and ideas--and cross-currents of the economic, educational, and political systems tend to produce "a complex, more or less homogeneous American civilization, with many diverse and conflicting motives."[44] The difference between metropolis and province narrows and some difficulties of migration lessen.

Migration and Economic Opportunity and Problems of a Changing Population

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40 Ibid., p. 47.

41 Ibid., p. 52.

42 Ibid., p. 67.

43 Ibid., p. 85.

44 Ibid., p. 243.

provide source material and details on the cut-over region. They indicate that the economic situation of Ontonagon is not endemic to that county but part of a larger, economically disturbed area.

Community Studies

In two community studies, not only is out-migration mentioned, but the economic histories of the communities are similar to that of Ontonagon. In addition, the research benefits from a cross-cultural perspective since one is a French village and the other a Southern Illinois town.

People of Coal Town.[45] Life for the migrants from the hills of the South who first settled the Coal Town area was isolated and provincial before foreign-born immigrants and native migrants swarmed into the area after the discovery of coal and the beginning of industrialization.

Coal Town was first a coal camp in 1900. A second mine was started in 1918 and continued until 1956, while the first closed in 1948. The residents' economic position depended on the mines. After 1930, population declined. Executives and office people began to move out, then miners, "first those without property and children, later the property owners."[46] Some breadwinners left their families behind and went to work elsewhere. The remaining individuals feared to take financial risks and hesitated to move, especially the middle-aged who realized the difficulties of obtaining new jobs.[47] A few people still believe the mines will re-open, others claim

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45 Herman R. Lantz, People of Coal Town, New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

46 Ibid., pp. 191-192.

47 Ibid., pp. 195-196.

the community has a future in farming or attracting new industries. The more realistic state that the "old and inadequate remain, the young and ambitious leave."[48] The out-migration of the young has changed age-group distribution.

> In 1930 the percentage of the population over 21 was 58.2. By 1940 it had increased to 63.9 percent and by 1950 to 70.1 percent. Approximately 25 percent of the residents of Coal Town are currently 65 years old or over.[49]

Parents dislike the prospect of their children leaving for the city, but are resigned to it. Coal Town appears to be the place for old people to retire on relief, social security and pension incomes, and the economic base of the community now depends on these sources of money rather than regular pay-checks.

The attractions of Coal Town include its country setting, the nearby hunting and fishing places, and the old friends. Aspirations of many residents are simple.

Village in the Vaucluse.[50] Wylie studied a French village, Peyrane, which is a rural commune having 779 inhabitants. The population curve, and the industrial and agricultural disasters, are parallel to those in the history of Ontonagon.

The peak population year was 1861. Then silkworm diseases struck, aggravating competition from other silk-producing areas of the world. In 1870-71 not only was the olive crop destroyed when the trees froze; but also the root garance, used in dye production, was being replaced by artificial dyes; and a vine-destroying insect exterminated the area's vineyards.

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48 Ibid., pp. 197-201.

49 Ibid., pp. 201-202.

50 Laurence Wylie, Village in the Vaucluse, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957.

However, by 1901 mining enterprises began extracting ochre from the red and yellow cliffs. Then World War I cut off foreign markets; production dropped to nothing, but later resumed until World War II closed off the markets again. After the war, the United States was producing synthetic ochre. In 1951, the mines were employing only 14 inhabitants.[51]

Peyrane today is a community of about 92 small farms. Sixty percent of them are worked by their owners, 25 percent by cash-rent farmers and 15 percent by 50-50 sharecroppers. The farms are inefficient, for the land is in small tracts.

The three population pyramids which Wylie presents for 1851, 1901, and 1946, reflect among other things, the changing economics of and migration from the area. The 1851 population pyramid is symmetrical and broad-based. The 1901 pyramid shows a lower proportion of children and a much higher proportion of old people.

> A substantial section of economically productive adults, those born between 1855 and 1860, is lacking. These are the people who were naturally the first ones to leave the community and go off to the city....
>
> The true loss in the population is also masked by the fact that the birth rate jumped after 1895. There were many more children born between 1895 and 1900 than in any of the preceding five-year periods. The influx of outsiders and the substantial increase in the birth rate are indications of a completely new development in the life of the village.[52]

By 1946, the proportion of old people had increased even more and the economically productive ages decreased along with further decreases in the number of young children.[53]

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[51] Ibid., pp. 16-23.

[52] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[53] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

Wylie's main task is an anthropological study of the lives of the people of present-day Peyrane. Since most of the exodus has already occurred, out-migration is not mentioned extensively; however there are a few references to the best pupils of the school being expected to leave for the city to continue their studies and find an occupation. Other categories of people who leave are sons and daughters for whom there is no work in Peyrane.

> When one first arrives in Peyrane and meets [the children] who are following the professional tradition of their parents, one gets an exaggerated impression of stability. He does not see the many adolescents who have left home. The only time they are seen in Peyrane are on the traditional homecoming holidays, All Saints Day and Whitsuntide. Then they come home to visit.[54]

The two community studies of a coal town in Illinois and a French agricultural village are mainly interested in the norms and objectives of the residents. They mention that out-migration occurs in connection with economic decline. They also furnish evidence that many persons faced with the economic decline, find satisfactions in their group and institutional memberships and adjust their aspirations in order to remain in the area. For many the idea of leaving the area is difficult and the attraction of other places, especially cities, is not important. The young, however, are often expected to leave for there are no jobs or opportunities available to them.

Summary

Unfortunately, in all the above studies, data and evidence are presented only in a descriptive manner. There is no statistical analysis to indicate

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54 Ibid., pp. 101-102.

whether generalizations may be made. It is important, however, that in the literature review, there were individuals who faced economic pressures, but for varying reasons, some left and some remained. Our present research will analyze a similar community situation, attempting to explain why some people are oriented toward non-migration.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NON-MIGRANTS' COMMUNITY SATISFACTIONS, ASPIRATIONS, AND SOCIAL COST APPRAISALS

Area Description and History

Ontonagon is located in the western part of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. It is bounded on the west and southwest by Gogebic county, on the southeast by Iron county, on the east by Houghton county, and on the north by Lake Superior. It contains eleven townships; Ontonagon village with 2,307 inhabitants is the only large population concentration. In 1950 the county had a population of 10,282,[1] all rural, divided between 63.7 percent non-farm and 36.3 percent farm residents. The median age was 32.6 years and 11.0 percent of the population were sixty-five years of age or over.[2] The age pyramid snows an old population. The median income of families and unrelated individuals was $1,718.[3] According to figures of only one decades earlier, about three-quarter of Ontonagon's residents were foreign-born or children of immigrants--mostly Finnish.[4] Many of these Finnish immigrants came during the 1890's to work in the copper mines or the lumber industry.

Job opportunities are few, consisting mainly of dairy farming, mining,

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1 1950 United States Census, P-A22, Michigan, Number of Inhabitants, p. 20.

2 1950 United States Census, P-B22, Michigan, General Characteristics, p. 46.

3 Ibid., p. 46.

4 J. F. Thaden, "Ethnic Settlements in Rural Michigan," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 2, November, 1946, pp. 102-111.

woods work, and resort work. Many of the residents own farms, but numbers of them have had to seek alternative or supplementary employment because farming has been unprofitable. The farms are small, often with no more than forty acres of cleared land. The growing period is too short for most grain crops, but since hay is the main crop, many farmers keep small dairy herds (usually no larger than nine or ten cows). The price of milk per 100 pounds in 1956 was $3.50 as compared to $5.00 and $5.50 in lower Michigan. Dairying is shifting from a small subsistance operation to larger-sized herds. Some of the local dairy co-ops have merged to better their economic position. Some small farms have been abandoned; the former occupants have moved out of the county, especially to the cities of lower Michigan, Wisconsin or Illinois.

The opening in 1954 of the White Pine copper mine in the northwest corner of Ontonagon county provided 1000 jobs, and deterred some residents from leaving. However, workers drive from as far away as Ashland, Wisconsin, Houghton, and Hancock to White Pine, and competition is keen for jobs. The mine uses a new process for extracting copper from two percent ore. Boston interests which control White Pine have financed new housing, a shopping center, hospital, grade school, and churches. This mine provides employment for many of the residents of McMillan and Greenland townships. Without White Pine, there would have been great economic hardship. As it was, persons unable to subsist on their farms had a chance to live on their land and work elsewhere.

The population change of the county from 1850 to 1950 is as follows:

1850	389
1860	4,568
1870	2,845
1880	2,565
1890	3,756
1900	6,197
1910	8,650
1920	12,428
1930	11,114
1940	11,359
1950	10,282 [5]

In sheer numbers, the decline in population from the peak in 1920 to the present is not impressive. However, when viewed percentagewise from 1890 on and compared to the population growth of Michigan as a whole, the decline is more striking as shown in the following tabulation:

	1890-1900	1900-1910	1910-1920	1920-1930	1930-1940	1940-1950
Ontonagon County	65.0	39.6	43.7	-10.6	2.2	-9.5
Michigan	15.6	16.1	30.5	32.0	8.5	21.2 [6]

The slight increase from 1930 to 1940 is not unusual or unexpected for rural areas experiencing general out-migration, for depressions pull former residents from the city back to the land.[7]

The presence of copper in the county attracted many an enthusiastic prospector even before the first white man, James Paul, settled at the mouth of the Ontonagon River in 1843 hoping to claim the five-ton copper boulder located there.[8] By 1850, a score of mines had been developed and the town

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5 Information for this tabulation was taken from the Twelfth Census: 1900, Vol. 1, Table 4, pp. 24-25; Fifteenth Census: 1930, Vol. 1, Table 4; and Seventeenth Census: 1950.

6 Thirteenth Census: 1910, Vol. I, pp. 110-111; Fifteenth Census: 1930, Vol. I.

7 National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, May, 1938, pp. 103-104.

8 James K. Jamison, This Ontonagon Country, Ontonagon, Michigan: The Ontonagon Herald Company, 1939, pp. 3-6.

of Ontonagon grew.[9] During the 1850 decade, the 527 ton mass of copper in the Minnesota Mine was cut up and hauled away. Ontonagon flourished:

> ...all the wealth of this new country is not in its mines, some people are saying. There's a printing press and newspaper...the Bigelow House, a five story hotel, and it contains a grand ball-room;...The legislature has granted a charter to a company they call the Ontonagon and Brule River Railroad. There is a Philharmonic Society for music lovers. There is a county fair. The Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, the Catholics have all built churches. A Board of Supervisors meets regularly, and there are five townships: Ontonagon, Pewabic, Rockland, Greenland and Carp Lake.[10]

During the sixties the Civil War and production of munitions pushed the price of copper to fifty-five cents a pound. The proud claim was made: "There are thousands of men in the Ontonagon mines."[11] The harbor was improved and a smelter built on the river. Ontonagon was the largest town on Lake Superior.[12] After the war's end, the inevitable slump came to an industry based on making war materials. Men left the area. The seventies saw a silver boom begin in 1872, reach an apex in 1874 and subside by 1876.[13] Michigan's share of the United States copper output declined dramatically from 53 percent in 1886 to 25 percent by 1900 to four percent in 1936-46.[14] Gates says, "a community which has grown up with a mining industry as its economic core often faces the prospect of a more prolonged and agonized

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9 Ibid., p. 10, and pp. 51-73.

10 Ibid., p. 14.

11 Ibid., p. 18.

12 Ibid., pp. 18-19.

13 Ibid., pp. 220-221.

14 William B. Gates, Jr., Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars, An Economic History of the Michigan Copper Mining Industry, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951, p. 89.

decline than that of the industry itself."[15] This was especially true for the other two counties of Michigan's "Copper Country," Houghton and Keewenaw, which had 66 percent of their families on relief in the middle 1930's as compared with the Michigan average of 12 percent.[16] However, for Ontonagon there were still two chapters to unfold.

In the 1880's the pine episode began with the wholesale purchase of land by the Diamond Match Company. By 1890 the two saw mills owned by the Diamond Match Company cut 300,000 feet of lumber daily, an annual rate of 100 million feet of lumber. In 1896 fire swept the town of Ontonagon. The company never rebuilt the saw mills; instead it pulled out. The pine episode was over.[17]

Next came the heyday of farming. With the influx of Finnish immigrants, the land was worked to its fullest. A few Finnish miners resided in Ontonagon as early as 1870;[18] many others lived in other parts of the "Copper and Iron Country" of upper Michigan, but they tired of the risks of mining, and turned to the land. Most were originally poor farm tenants from the Finnish provinces of Vaasa and Oulu who had taken the first jobs they could obtain when arriving in America.[19] Kolehmainen and Hill state that

> glib land agents, aggressive realty companies, and a host of rural apologists rushed forward to rescue the unhappy

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15 Ibid., pp. 165-166.

16 Ibid., p. 167.

17 Ibid., pp. 186-211.

18 Ibid., p. 24.

19 Ibid., pp. 234-253; and John I. Kohlemainen and George W. Hill, Haven In The Woods, Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society, 1951, especially pp. 33-46.

> and insecure Finns, for the sake of God, the Mother Country, and the welfare of the immigrant family.[20]

Writers in the Finnish newspapers of America argued that rural settlement would encourage the preservation of Finnish culture, for in isolated areas there would be little contact with other nationality groups. Still other journalists emphasized the independence and security of owning land and the healthy environment of rural areas.[21] Many postulated a "Finnish rural spirit":

> A highly successful Finnish-American colonizer...thought it "safe to say that every Finlander who comes to this country has the ambition to own a little home of his own and 'farm it.'" Another immigrant added: "We lack completely a propensity for business speculation and generally for all other activity except the cultivation of land."[22]

Thus, the cheap land of the cut-over area attracted the immigrants who were tired of mining, urban manual labor, logging and fishing. They did not realize that it was unfertile, stony, and submarginal. They bought this land and "discovered in a new world a landscape, a soil and a climate that reminded them of their homeland."[23]

The steady trickle of people in the 'eighties and 'nineties turned into a migration by the early 1900's. The peak of the agricultural expansion occurred between 1910 and 1920.

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20 Kolehmainen and Hill, op. cit., p. 41.

21 Ibid., pp. 41-42.

22 Ibid., pp. 45-46.

23 Jamison, op. cit., p. 247.

> In that decade the population of the county was increased fifty percent. In certain parts of the county the growth of population was marked. About Ewen the pine episode was definitely over by 1900. McMillan township then had a population of 868. That had decreased by 1910 to a mere 458. Yet by 1920 that township had a population of 1,801, due almost entirely to agricultural settlement.[24]

Since the twenties, the county like most other cut-over regions has lost population steadily.

For some family heads the problem of earning a livelihood has been solved by leaving the community to find work in industrial areas; for others, economic pressures are offset by the physical attractions of the Ontonagon countryside, by friendship and kinship bonds, and by a stereotype of undesirable city life.

The norms are different for younger people. Most high school students are expected to seek their fortune in the city after graduation. Almost all girl graduates migrate, for there is little employment for them in the county; but male youths can work on a family farm, at White Pine, or "in the woods" (cutting pulpwood). Youths who leave often go in cliques to Detroit, Milwaukee, or Chicago, where relatives and friends now work. Although part-time employment and low wages are acceptable for non-migrants, the migrants are expected to find well-paying, regular jobs in the city.

Within Ontonagon there is a narrow range of jobs: few professional and white-collar positions are available, while mining, farming and woodswork

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[24] Ibid., p. 250. The Fourteenth Census: 1920, Vol. VI, Part I, Agriculture, p. 428 gives the following statistics corroborating the above: The number of farms in Ontonagon for 1900, 187; 1910, 371; 1920, 917. The number of native white farmers was 248 and of foreign born white farmers 669 in 1920. See also J. F. Thaden, "Finnish Farmers in Michigan", Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 28, No. 2, November 1945.

positions predominate. Farming is a category which provides much of the "flatness" to the stratification, since most farms are similar in size and are owner-operated. The slight prestige differentiation among mining jobs favors surface work which is cleaner and easier than underground work even though the latter is better paid.

Political affiliation also affects stratification in Ontonagon. The Finnish who belonged to co-operatives with Russian affiliation during the 'thirties are known as "Red Finns", while nonmembers are termed "White Finns." The latter have more prestige. Closely connected with this cleavage is church membership. The "Red Finns" are not religious believers, while the "White Finns" belong to either the Finnish Apostolic or Lutheran church.

Elsewhere, non-migration may stem from a "locking-in" effect of stable incomes, steady employment, and stable institutions. But non-migration in a community that has experienced severe economic shocks is a different phenomenon.[25] Ontonagon is an example of the latter problem.

The Hypotheses Tested

In view of this background information of the human and physical resources, non-migration is analyzed in terms of ethnicity and age, and their contribution to explain present non-migration. Brief discussions of the statistically significant associations and those approaching significance are presented in the pages to follow. The investigations reported in Chapter Two are descriptive rather than statistical. This study goes one step further, statistically measuring the association between control variables and the components of the decision-making process of migration, in order to generalize

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[25] We are reminded of the statement by Thomas that investigations of migration and non-migration must be controlled in terms of business cycle phases. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Bulletin 43, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938, pp. 6-70.

about non-migrants. This study attempts, therefore, to determine whether such an association could have occurred through chance alone.

All respondents were assumed to be "non-migrants" at the time of this study, since they were living in an area which many people had left. However, before analyzing their explanations for remaining in Ontonagon, their migration histories are briefly presented. Although 62 percent of the household heads were born outside of Ontonagon county, more than half of these were born in some other Upper Peninsula county, and the majority of the remainder came from Finland. Thirty percent of the sample have resided at their present home since before 1940; 16 percent moved to this home from 1940 to 1945, 30 percent from 1946 to 1951, and 24 percent since 1952. As for total number of sociological moves, 11 percent had made three or more, 17 percent two, 15 percent one, and 57 percent none at all. A sociological move is one which involves a change of high schools for the children and grocery shopping for the family. The definition attempts to distinguish migration from mobility.

Community Satisfactions. Two methods are used to ascertain community satisfaction. The first is based on "objective indices": ties which a respondent has in his community as indicated by his formal group affiliations, home ownership, and occupational status. The second is called "opinions of community satisfaction." The hypotheses concerning community satisfaction are:

1) Finnish ethnic affiliation is more highly associated with high community satisfaction than non-Finnish ethnicity.
2) Older age is more highly associated with high community satisfaction than younger age.

The objective indices of community satisfaction are analyzed for association with ethnicity and age in Tables 1-11, Appendix A. The summary of

these associations follows in Table I.[26] There are eleven objective ties, six classified as general ties and five as occupational. The six general community ties include the number of organizational memberships, offices held within the past five years, church membership, home ownership, level-of-living estimate, and location of friends. The five occupational ties are general and census job classifications, an occupational prestige score for the occupation, present number of jobs held, and family income.

No general index of community ties shows a significant association with ethnicity, but three of them, namely, home ownership, level-of-living, and location of friends, are significantly associated with age of family head. Another index — offices held by head and spouse — approaches significance.

Table 1 indicates that 57 percent of the sample belong to one or two organizations and 23 percent to three or more, leaving only 20 percent who do not have any group affiliations. The association of the control variables with the number of formal organizational memberships is not significant. The association of age with officerships, as shown in Table 2, does approach significance. For the entire sample, 34 percent indicate that either the head or spouse has held an office during the past five years; by age groups the percentages are distributed among 27 percent of the young, 45 percent of the middle, and 22 percent of the older. The middle-aged persons have more of these positions than expected by chance distribution. Church membership (Table 3), does not indicate a significant association with either age or ethnicity; descriptively it shows that 60 percent of the middle-aged belong

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26 The summary tables in the text are indicated by Roman numerals and the detailed tables in Appendix A by Arabic numerals.

TABLE I

Summary of Association of Ethnicity and Age with Objective Indices of Community Ties

Table No. (Appendix A)	Objective Indices of Community Ties	Control Variables: Ethnicity Probability	Control Variables: Age Probability
	General		
1	Number of organizations	NS	NS
2	Offices held	NS	NS
3	Religious affiliations	NS	NS
4	Own or rent home	NS	.001
5	Level-of-living	NS	.001
6	Location of friends	NS	.05
	Occupational		
7	General job classification	NS	.001
8	Census job classification	NS	.001
9	Prestige rank (North Hatt Score)	.01	NS
10	Number of jobs held	.05	.001
11	Family income	NS	.001

to a church as compared with 50 and 40 percent of the young and old heads, respectively.

Although 87 percent of all respondents own their own homes, (Table 4) only 12 out of 22 (or 55 percent) of the young heads exhibit this tie to the community as contrasted to 90 percent of the middle and 94 percent of the older-aged family heads. The extremely significant association of home ownership and age is contributed largely by the lower incidence of young heads and high incidence of older heads owning homes than expected by chance alone. Owning a home makes moving more difficult, and generally its purchase indicates a sense of permanence and planning for the future in the community. This reinforces the findings of Luebke and Hart[27] that ownership is linked with non-migration.

The association between level-of-living[28] and age is extremely significant (Table 5). There is a strong trend for the young in the community to maintain a higher level of living than their elders. This inverse relationship implies that the young will stay if they can enjoy a high level of living, whereas older people will often settle for less.

The moderately significant association between age of head and location of friends (Table 6) supports the hypothesis that older age is associated with higher community satisfaction. Sixty-six percent of those aged 55 and

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27 B. H. Luebke and John Fraser Hart, "Migration from a Southern Appalachian Community," Land Economics, XXXIV, Number 1, February, 1958, pp. 44-53.

28 The level-of-living index is composed of ten items adapted from William Sewell, "Socio-Economic Scale," Rural Sociology, 1943. The ten items used are found in Appendix B, p. 9, number 1-10. There are some difficulties involved in the index scores, as items which are ordinarily discriminating did not prove to be for our sample. For example, telephone service is unavailable in sections of the county and TV sets are found in almost every home. Some of the well-constructed, well-kept homes also rated low if the family did not take a daily newspaper although the closest "daily" is from Houghton or Hancock, forty miles away.

over have friends located in Ontonagon county only, as compared to 50 percent of the other two age-grades. Although the older family heads have fewer formal affiliations, their high degree of informal, local friendship bonds supports the research results of Luebke and Hart and of Kiser.[29] These results imply for the older respondents a higher social cost of leaving.

Job classification was intended to distinguish those whose occupations link them to the area from those whose skills qualify them to engage in their occupation just as well elsewhere. Of the five occupational items associated with ethnicity, the prestige ranking as indicated by a North-Hatt score is highly significant, and the number of jobs held by the family head exhibits moderate significance. Four of the same five items are extremely significant in their association with age, the only exception being the prestige ranking score which is not significant.

As Table 7 reveals, although only 14 percent of the total sample of family heads are employed in mining, 45 percent of the young family heads are miners as compared with 12 percent of the middle and five percent of the older heads. While none of the young heads farm, either full or part-time, 35 percent and 19 percent of the middle and older heads, respectively do. Forty-two percent of the older heads are retired. The occupations of the family heads are reclassified in Table 8 according to census categories. As a result, the mining and woodswork jobs are divided mainly between skilled and semi-skilled classifications, while the distinctions of the residual category of "others" in Table 7 are subdivided into wholesale and retail dealers;

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29 Luebke and Hart, op. cit., pp. 44-53; Clyde V. Kiser, Sea Island to City, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 117-134.

other proprietors, managers and officials; and clerks, or other semi-skilled employees.

From these two tables, it is apparent that farming as a way of life has not interested the young family heads of our sample, for all are skilled and semi-skilled wage earners.[30] It is the middle-aged and older heads who are the farmers and business entrepreneurs. Their high investment in land, buildings, and equipment is another community tie closely related to the high percentage of home ownership. The wage occupations and low proportion of home ownership of the young afford them relative ease of moving.

The rationale underlying the data presented in Table 9 is that persons with higher prestige positions may be more satisfied with the community. Each respondents' current job (or most recent job, if retired) was given a North-Hatt prestige ranking score.[31] The occupations common to the area are similar in prestige, for the range of our sample varies from 40 to 89,

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30 Furthermore, most of the young heads live in the villages and not on farms as compared to the other groups. The distribution for the three family age-grades is:

	Residence		
Age	Village	Open-county (farm and non-farm)	Total
20-34	20	2	22
35-54	41	41	82
55 up	40	24	64
Total	101	67	168

31 Cecil C. North and Paul Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News, September, 1947, pp. 3-13. Interpolations from the scale have been made at Ohio State University and University of Wisconsin.

with only 12 percent scoring between 70 and 89. This is a fairly flat structure. The prestige ranks are highly significant with ethnicity. Twenty-three percent of the non-Finnish group score above 70 as compared with only eight percent of the Finnish and four percent of the mixed ethnic group. The other important indicator is the high number (54 percent) of the Finnish heads who score between 60-69, the prestige score for farmers. The Finnish heads comprise the largest numbers of farmers and part-time farmers in the sample. Association of age with the prestige ranks of occupation is not significant.

Table 10 presents a moderately significant association between ethnicity and the number of jobs concurrently held by the family head. A total of 24 percent of Finnish family heads hold two or more jobs as compared with 12 percent of mixed ethnic family heads and ten percent of non-Finnish heads. This table also points out that the number of jobs held by the family is extremely significantly associated with age. This supplements Table 7 and 8 as to the significant association with age indicating that the young miners and other workers hold only one job; the middle group exhibits dual occupational statuses, combining part-time farming with woodswork or mining.

The income data presented in Table 11 demonstrates an extremely significant association of age with income. (The same significant association was found between age and level-of-living.) The striking feature is the high economic position of the young family head. Fifty percent of the young group earn $5,000 or more annually as compared to only 17 percent of the middle-aged heads and nine percent of the older ones. The significance of the chi-square is contributed mainly by the clustering of older heads in lower income brackets, for 70 percent of them make less than $3,000 annually.

This reflects the general low agricultural incomes and the low income of many in retirement status. The inverse association of income and ethnicity again implies that a high-income job is required to keep the young from migrating; whereas older people will continue to accept a lower income and remain. Furthermore, different age groups and family sizes require different incomes to maintain an equal level of satisfaction. The older group has few dependents to support, and over 94 percent own their own homes. Thus a young family head with several dependents and a $5,000 income may be no better off than an older couple without dependents and a $3,000 income. In addition, no allowance was made for the dollar value of family goods contributed by the farm in the income analysis, this underestimates the real farm income and creates an artificial downward bias for farming, the most important occupation of the older age groups. Thus income as an objective index of community satisfaction is not meaningful alone.

Although ethnicity and income (Table 11) are not significantly associated, the data reveal higher income positions for the non-Finnish. For example, of the six heads and spouses earning over $7,000 annually, all are non-Finnish. Moreover, only 11 percent of the Finnish and 15 percent of the mixed ethnic families earn more than $5,000 per year compared to the 33 percent of the non-Finnish in the same income category.

In sum, the research hypothesis that Finnish ethnicity is associated with higher community satisfaction is not supported by the objective indices of community ties which are analyzed in this research. Only two of the eleven indices are statistically significant. However, these results are not conclusive. Possible reasons will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Seven of the eleven statistical tests support the hypotheses that age

and objective indices of community satisfactions are related. Moreover, it seems that the four non-significant indices were not strictly relevant to the Ontonagon population. For instance, membership in one specific organization may be more important than total number of memberships (Index 1); if so, number of offices held (Index 2) is hardly relevant.

The second technique ascertaining community satisfaction is a measure of expressed feelings of satisfactions. Table II summarizes these responses. More detailed tables are found in Appendix A , 12 through 23.

TABLE II

Summary of Association of Ethnicity and Age with Opinions of Community Satisfaction

		Control Variables	
Table No. (Appendix A)	Opinions of Community Satisfaction	Ethnicity Probability	Age Probability
12	Reason for moving to present residence	NS	NS
13	What do you like about this community?	NS	NS
14	What do you dislike?	NS	NS
15	Are improvements needed?	NS	NS
16	Will you stay even if changes are not made?	NS	.02
20	Community Satisfaction Score	NS	NS
21	What kinds of people leave?	NS	.05
22	What kinds of people stay?	.05	.001
23	Job Satisfaction Index	NS	NS

The questions dealing with the association of ethnicity and opinions about the community yield only one significant association, while the associations with age yield three.

Although the data are not statistically significant, Table 12 shows consensus as to three main reasons which pulled the respondents to their present residence location, 43 state jobs, 43 housing and 36 the pull of family and friends. One-fourth of the Finnish responses indicate they moved to their current Ontonagon location for occupational reasons. Almost the same percentage list ties of marriage, family and friends. In contrast, the non-Finnish list housing reasons as the main pull to the current home followed by friendship and family ties and job opportunities. The mixed ethnic category list the following reasons: one-third of the responses are job and one-third are housing attractions, and only ten percent are ties of marriage, family and friends.

When respondents were asked directly what they like about the community (Table 13), social attributes rank high for all three ethnic categories. For example, nearly half of the responses of each ethnic category focus on ties of friends, family and marriage. We conclude that the Finnish respondents are not distinguished from the other ethnic categories in selecting this characteristic of the community. Therefore, the research hypothesis associating Finnish ethnicity with high satisfaction is not supported by the data. Table 13 also shows that more than half of the young and middle-aged like the social attributes of the community. Although migration drains off the young, it appears that those who are young and stay on like the community.

Table 14 summarizes the respondents' dissatisfactions with the community. The lack of jobs is mentioned as important for all ethnic groups and for the

middle and older heads, in addition to highway inadequacies and climate. None of the young heads listed "no work" as a community dissatisfaction. Forty-six of the 182 total responses indicate no dissatisfactions with the community. Association of the responses with the control variables is not statistically significant.

A slightly different approach to the problem of opinions of community satisfaction was taken in asking whether or not the community needs improvements. The "yes" and "no" responses and spontaneous specifications are shown in Table 15. Although improvements are not statistically significant in association with ethnicity, examination of the table reveals consensus by all ethnic categories as to needed improvements in the four areas of recreation, school, health, and shopping facilities. The association between age and improvements needed approaches statistical significance. Recreation is the most needed improvement as reported by all age groups. Seventy-three percent of the improvement responses among the young heads concentrate on the three areas of school, recreation, and health; 90 percent among the middle-aged group on the same areas plus shopping, while responses given by the older heads are scattered throughout all categories. The two younger groups desire "child-centered" improvements such as schools, recreation and health facilities, as might be expected. However, the oldsters' lack of interest in medical and health facilities is most perplexing.

The basic question of whether the respondents plan to stay even if improvements are not made (Table 16) was designed to reflect community satisfaction in the face of admitting community inadequacies. Only seven percent of the entire sample state they "don't know" whether they will stay and four percent say "no". The chi-square computation is based on the distinctions

between the "yes" as being "unqualified", or "qualified" by an expressive or obligatory explanation. Expressive qualifications include spontaneous remarks about liking the community, while obligatory ones include responses of women who say, "I'd like to move, but my husband wants to stay; we'll stay," or the men who say, "I'd like to move, but we can't sell our house." The latter imply that the social costs of moving are too high. For ethnicity, the chi-square is not significant; for age, it is moderately significant. Even though the percentages of all "yes" answers are high for the older (82) and middle (84) groups when compared to the young (73), the distinctions between the "yes" answers indicate an inverse relationship, for the youngest group have a high proportion of "yes" answers with no qualifications attached (40 percent as compared to 22 percent of the middle and 30 percent of the older groups). In addition, more of the young (32 percent) and middle (30 percent) groups indicate expressive qualifications than the old (19 percent). Thirty-six percent of the latter group state they will remain because of obligations as compared to none of the young and 26 percent of the middle groups. The analysis shows that the young and middle group voluntarily choose to stay and the older group feel obligations to stay in a higher proportion than expected by chance.

The evidence from Table 20 does not support the research hypothesis about Finnish ethnicity and community satisfaction, for the observed frequencies of the control variables and the community satisfaction scores are about the same as those expected by chance.[32] In fact, the scores for

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32 Table 20, Level of Community Satisfaction, is based upon the answers to the questions analyzed in Tables 17-19, Appendix A. In a previous study the writer devised an index of job satisfaction based on three questions:

community satisfaction are almost evenly divided for the total sample, with 48 percent scoring zero or one and 54 percent scoring two or three.

The questions, "What kind of people leave the community?" (Table 21) and "What kind of people stay?" (Table 22) were included with the rationale that perception of who leaves and who remains suggests whom the respondents think is satisfied with the community. Associations with age are moderately and highly significant, respectively. The older residents reply in terms of age, both for who leaves, that is, "the young," and who stays, that is, "the old." The middle-aged and young answer that people with ties and investments (social or economic) remain in the area.

A moderately significant association exists between ethnicity and perception of who stays in the community (Table 22). The non-Finnish and mixed

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32 1. Of all the jobs you have had, which job did you like best?
2. Of all the jobs in this community, which job would you like to have?
3. Of all the jobs you can think of, which job would you like best?

The answers to these three questions were socred zero or one, zero if the respondent replied by naming a job other than his present job or one if the respondent replied by naming his own. Adding the scores for the three questions, the totals range from zero to three. The research proposed that these scores were an indirect measure of current job satisfaction.

As the present study was developed, this same technique was used, to devise a measure of community satisfaction. The questions were modified as follows:

1. Of all the places you have lived, which place did you like the best?
2. Of all the places you know of, which place would you like to live?
3. Of all the places you know of, where would you like your children to live?

The responses are scored in the same way, "zero" if another than the present location is mentioned and "one" if the present location is mentioned. The distribution of responses to each separate question and association with the control variables are presented in the detailed Tables 17-19 in Appendix A.

ethnic groups perceive that people with social obligations, jobs, or investment in property remain while the Finnish perceive the distinction in terms of age-groups remaining.

Job satisfaction was used an an indicator of community satisfaction on the assumption that if a man likes his job, he will like the community that offers him his job. Although previous research reported that job satisfaction was directly related to occupational ranking, the relatively flat occupational structure of Ontonagon allows us to test the association of age and ethnicity to job satisfaction without controlling for ranking.

Data on the association of ethnicity and job satisfaction and a re-test of the association of age and job satisfaction[33] are summarized in Table 23. Although neither association is significant, the age variable approaches a .05 probability. Most of the significance is contributed by the older aged group that exhibits a higher proportion of the extreme scores (31 and 33 percent, respectively) while the middle-aged group has a higher proportion of middle scores (55 percent) than expected by chance. This may indicate that

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[33] The writer previously had analyzed job satisfaction and its association with occupational, stratification, and community variables. Joanne Bubolz Eicher, Job Satisfaction: Its Relationship to Occupational, Stratification, and Community Variables, unpublished M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1956.

In addition to the three questions used previously two more were added to determine whether the index would become more discriminating on the rationale that the family head satisfied with his job will think of the job as a good selection for his children. The two questions are:

1. Of all the jobs you can think of, which job would you like your son to have?
2. Of all the jobs you can think of, which job would you like your daughter to have?

As in the community satisfaction index, the answer to each question is given a score of either one or zero, depending on whether the respondent answers by naming his present job or a different one. Adding the

the old near or at the end of their work life, have strong opinions about liking or disliking their jobs, while many of the middle-aged still reflect on other occupational opportunities. Apparently community and job satisfactions are more complex in their association than a simple one-to-one relationship. A man may dislike his job and still be happy in the community.

As a summary, the hypothesis that Finnish ethnicity is associated with higher community satisfaction is not supported by statistical test. Only one of the nine indices is statistically significant. Three of the nine indices of association of age and opinions of community satisfaction in Table II are statistically significant. It is inconclusive since only one third of the tests are significant. If more specific hypotheses had been formulated, then each statistically significant test would have presented conclusive evidence.

Aspirations. This dimension of the decision-making process of migration was investigated through questions of where respondents desire to move, and why. Specific hypotheses to be tested are:

1) Persons of Finnish ethnic affiliation are more likely to express aspirations obtainable in the community than are persons of non-Finnish ethnicity.

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33 scores for the five questions gives a range from zero to five in increasing job satisfaction.

The addition of the two questions is found to be only partially discriminating. There were eight scores above 3, the other 151 clustering between 0 and 3. In analyzing the data it was realized that these extra questions raised problems, since many occupations are unsuitable for members of the opposite sex; it is unlikely a man would select mining occupation for his daughter. Most respondents found it difficult to answer the two questions and if they did, often indicated a choice for which their children appear suited or which their children themselves mentioned.

2) Persons of older age are more likely to express aspirations obtainable in the community than are persons of younger age.

Table III summarizes the results. The detailed tables in Appendix A for ethnicity and age are 24 to 29.

TABLE III

Summary of Association of Ethnicity and Age With Factors of Aspiration

Table No. (Appendix A	Factors of Aspiration	Ethnicity Probability	Age Probability
24	Where would you move?		
	a) Intentions of moving	NS	.01
25	b) Specific location	NS	.02
26	What do you like about that place?	NS	NS
27	If you were to move to the city, what do you think advantages would be?	NS	.001
28	Would you move for a) more pay?	NS	.01
	b) Health reasons	NS	NS
	c) to get ahead	NS	.01
29	What do you want most that you don't have enough money for now?	NS	.01

None of the variables even approach a significant association with ethnicity. Hence the hypothesis concerning aspiration and ethnicity is not supported. However, of the eight tests for age and aspiration, six are statistically significant and another approaches significance.

After asking the respondents where they would move if they were to leave the community, the answers were classified in two ways, first as to

whether or not they had considered moving (Table 24), and second, whether they had considered moving to the specified location (Table 25). Table 24 exhibits a highly significant association, with a higher proportion of older residents than expected indicating they either would not move or had never thought of it. Table 25 exhibits a probability falling between .02 and .01 in the appropriate direction of proportionately more old than young and middle-aged residents expressing a desire to move somewhere within Ontonagon county.

Table 26 shows the desirable features of the location named in Table 25. The young heads name job opportunities, the middle-aged name job opportunities and climate, and the old designate social ties to the area. The older family heads desire to maintain social ties reinforces their desire to move within Ontonagon county and the Upper Peninsula. The direction of the findings in Table 26 is worth mentioning, even though non-significant, for the young tend to express job values and the old tend to express values of friendship and kinship bonds.

Table 27 reflects the extremely significant association between age and the anticipated advantages of movement to the city. The largest proportion of those over 55 feel there would be no advantages for them in moving. The middle-aged express a desire to move in order to make more money and the young want to enjoy the opportunities that a city affords.

Values are scrutinized more carefully in Table 28 where age is associated with (a) moving for more pay, (b) moving for health reasons, and (c) moving to get ahead. The young and old exhibit proportionately less of a desire to move for more pay than the middle-aged. This is a highly significant relationship. It appears that the young would move primarily because of the job itself.

It was pointed out previously that half of the young age group report an income greater than $5,000. Therefore, their present financial position is high relative to the rest of the community; non-monetary factors that can be gained from moving are more of an attraction than a higher income. The middle-aged who are in that phase of the life-cycle having the heaviest financial demand for their families exhibit a desire to move for more pay, while the financial demands of those over 55 have declined and this reason for moving seems less pressing. The second association of age and moving for health reasons is not significant by the statistical standards designated. However, the probability falls between .2 and .1 and shows that proportionately more of the middle-aged would move for this reason than either the young or old. The third association of this table is also highly significant. It demonstrates that more of the young and middle-aged than expected reply "yes" in answer to the question, "Would you move to get ahead?" More older respondents answer "no" than would be expected by chance alone. It may be conjectured that since the oldsters are approaching the end of the life-cycle, "getting ahead" is no longer particularly meaningful.

In the general question on aspirations, "What do you want most that you don't have enough money for now?" a high proportion of the oldsters answer "nothing" (Table 29). Other categories contributing to this highly significant chi-square are the young respondents who want a new home and the middle-aged respondents who want new cars.

The research hypothesis stating that persons of older age are more likely to have aspirations obtainable in the community than persons of young age is supported both by tests of statistical significance and by the direction of the evidence in all but one of the associations.

Social Cost Appraisals. Social costs were investigated by asking respondents whether they perceived difficulties in moving to the city. The specific hypotheses to be tested are:

1) Persons of Finnish ethnic affiliation are more likely to estimate the social costs of migrating as high than are persons of non-Finnish ethnicity.

2) Persons of older age are more likely to appraise the social costs of migrating as high than are persons of younger age.

Table IV summarizes the detailed Tables 30 to 38.

In addition to each question being analyzed separately, questions 5 through 10, page 4, in Appendix B were rated by the coders for the respondents' image of the city. These questions were designed to find out how they compared city life to their present location, and to assess the respondents' appraisals of the ease or difficulty of moving to the city.

The hypotheses are not supported, for only one of the 18 chi-square tests computed shows a statistically significant association. This is a moderately significant association between ethnicity and reasons for staying in the community (Table 31).

TABLE IV

Summary of Association of Ethnicity and Age With with Social Cost Factors

Table No. (Appendix B)	Social Cost Factors	Ethnicity Probability	Age Probability
30	Any specific occasions when you seriously considered moving?	NS	NS
31	Why have you stayed?	.05	NS
32	Rating of image of city	NS	NS
33	Typical of city life	NS	NS
34	What are the most important ways in which city life differs from life around here?	NS	NS
35	Friends' problems in getting started	NS	NS
36	Have you heard friends talk about what they liked? a) yes or no	NS	NS
37	b) specifications	NS	NS
38	If you were to move to the city, what do you think would be the hardest part of getting started?	NS	NS

The responses shown in Tables 30 and 31 link aspects of satisfaction and social costs. For example, in answer to the question, "Can you remember any specific occasions when you seriously considered moving?" 61 percent of the total sample replied, "no." The "no" answers may indicate satisfaction or, on the other hand, an appraisal of social costs so high as to make serious consideration of moving impossible. Perhaps they considered moving, but never considered it seriously because of the difficulties involved. The "yes" answers appear to be social cost appraisals, but they might also indicate residents satisfied with the community but who considered moving

to fulfill job or other aspirations not obtainable within the community.[34] The answers to "Why would you say you have stayed?" (Table 31) also link aspects of satisfaction and social cost, for some respondents answer in the expressive term of, "I just like it here," or "This is home," or "I like the work here," while others answer in terms of high investment. These investments range from owning homes and businesses to having social "investments" of friends or having an "investment" in age. "Investment" in age means their older age prevents them from entering the labor market in the city.

The moderately significant association of ethnicity with reasons for staying is mainly contributed by the higher proportion of the Finnish stating expressive and investment reasons than expected by chance alone. On the other hand, the mixed and non-Finnish families submit a higher proportion of reasons involving their jobs than expected in a chance distribution. As we relate this to the previous findings of occupational categories of the Finnish and non-Finnish (Tables 7 and 8) which point out that a higher proportion of the Finnish are farmers than the other two ethnic groups, it becomes clear why the investment category is important to the Finnish.

Although the association of age with reasons for staying (Table 31) is not significant according to our standards, the direction of the findings

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34 The follow-up question, "What were the occasions?" provided some insights into the moving considerations, but the variety of answers prevented adequate coding. Of the 60 responding "yes", to a serious consideration of moving, the largest number (17) mention work opportunities in other areas as an occasion, six mention better pay. Examples of other scattered answers: "After husband died," and "When younger I planned to move to city, but soon family was too big to move."

does support the hypothesis that older groups appraise the social costs of moving to be high. Proportionally more of the older group than expected by chance indicate they have stayed because of high investments, while the middle-aged group select as most important, the expressive reasons, and the young, job reasons. This matches the findings that the oldsters have more friends close by and a high proportion of home ownership.

Tables 32 through 34, although not significant, do indicate that most respondents have unfavorable images of the city. They think in negative terms of hurry, pressure, overactivity, crowdedness, artificiality (Table 32). One hundred of the 129 respondents answering the question, "What is typical of life in the city?" reply with such categories, while the remaining minority mention the positive aspect of convenience, entertainment, and good job opportunities. Answers to "What are the most important ways city life differs from life around here?" (Table 34) fall into two main categories which point to the consensus about the "good life" in the Upper Peninsula and the drawbacks of cities. Seventy-one responses focus on the positive characteristics of the present location and 101 on the negative characteristics of the city.

Table 35 reveals the responses of the 69 persons who admitted to hearing friends talk about problems of getting started in the city, emphasizing housing, jobs, and money as areas of concern. Table 36 shows that almost one-third of the total sample reply to the question, "Have you ever heard friends, neighbors or members of your own family talk about what they liked?" that their friends don't like the city. In Table 37, those 107 who have heard friends discuss the attractions of the city mention four main categories: jobs, income, entertainment, and physical facilities.

The distribution of responses to a final question is found in Table 38. Again, respondents emphasize that the hardest part of getting started would be to find housing, to get jobs, and to meet expenses. Two new categories show up: "getting around" or becoming familiar with city facilities; and missing friends and making family adjustments. Only four of the 168 see no problems involved in migrating and consequently could be classified as appraising social cost as low.

With only one moderately significant association out of 18 tests of significance, the two research hypotheses that Finnish ethnic affiliation and older age are associated with high social cost must be rejected. It appears that most of the sample views the social cost of moving as high and the two control variables of age and ethnicity are not discriminating in this regard. In addition, in a pilot study there is always the problem of whether the questions designed to investigate a component such as social cost carry out the task assigned.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to present the substantive findings associating the two control variables of age and ethnicity with items testing the three components of the decision-making process of migration, namely, satisfaction, aspiration, and social cost estimates. Six research hypotheses were formulated; several separate associations were found to be statistically significant with age and ethnicity; but only one of the six general hypotheses can be supported on the basis of the evidence presented. This hypothesis is that older age is associated with aspirations obtainable within the community. An assessment of the study, presented in Chapter Four, will cover the contributions and limitations of the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE

This chapter has three purposes: 1) to discuss the conclusions of the research; 2) to assess the study, reflecting on strengths and deficiencies; and 3) to comment on implications for further research.

Summary

The theoretical foundation of this study is a formulation by the Procedures Committee of the North Central Regional Population project. To explain the decision-making process of migration, use is made of three components: satisfactions, aspirations, and social costs. For this study, the two social factors of ethnic background of the family head and spouse and age of family head were selected as control variables. They were hypothesized to be instrumental in explaining why some people remained behind in an area of constant out-migration. Three general hypotheses were formulated for each variable associating ethnicity and age with the three components.[1]

A total of 76 specific associations was used to test the six hypotheses. Twenty were statistically significant. Ethnicity was not proved a discriminating factor. Age was not discriminating for the subjective indices of community satisfaction and for social cost appraisals. Statistical results

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[1] Supra, Chapter 1, p.12

support only one hypothesis, namely, older age is highly associated with aspirations obtainable within the community for six of the eight associations were statistically significant and one approached significance. Seven of the eleven objective indices for community satisfaction support association with older age.

Although several associations of age and community satisfaction are non-significant, they approach significance and provide important insights. First, the overwhelming majority of non-migrants of all age and ethnicity groups seem extremely satisfied with the community, for few seriously intend to leave. Second, even if the community maintains its status quo and no innovations occur to bring about better schools, recreation, and other improvements, then this same "hard core" of non-migrants will still remain in Ontonagon county. Next, it follows that out-migration will drain off only a handful of the family heads of all ages and ethnicity categories, for they demonstrate a strong preference to remain because of marriage, family and friendship ties as well as occupational ties. Since this study is restricted to family heads, it is not possible to assess the out-migration potential for the young single male and female adults. However, it appears that the young family heads in our sample are extremely satisfied with the community.

Critique

The contribution of this research stems from its use of statistical methods to analyze explanations of non-migrants' behavior. Previous studies have concentrated on migration differentials, streams of migration, or the volume of net migration. The few studies investigating or mentioning non-

migration, reviewed in Chapter Two, were purely descriptive. This research attempted to provide the basis for generalizations about non-migrants, concluding that one such generalization is upheld namely older age is associated with in-aspirations. If more hypotheses had been borne out, however, the statistical approach would have enabled further generalizations.

The theoretical framework emphasizes the distinction between migration and mobility. Migration involves severance of ties to a community and its social systems: mobility does not.

The framework validates the study of non-migration by showing that it is not merely inertia, but an on-going dynamic process. Three components--community satisfaction, aspiration, and social cost of leaving--are seen as interacting forces, as vectors in a dynamic situation. Theoretical and methodological problems arose in using these components, because it was difficult to delineate the boundaries of each.

To ascertain satisfaction, "cohesiveness and security rooted in identification with groups and structures," the researcher analyzed the objective attachments of respondents to the community and the subjective opinions about cohesiveness. Problems arose in the selection of items indicating attachment and cohesiveness. It was difficult to separate what people consider satisfactory about a community from their obligations in the community; both were fused as ties and attachments.

Aspiration is the most clearly defined component. No theoretical problems were encountered in using the definition, "a future desired goal or state." It is however, a broad term, and perhaps could be given added rigor as specific aspirations or goals are designated for jobs, communities,

retirement, or material goods. For future research a supplementary concept of expectation of obtaining these goals may be incorporated for comparison with aspirations.

Social cost was first defined as "the perceptions of insecurity, disruption, and rootlessness which would attend migration." This statement implied that migration is essentially painful. However, the possibility looms that some individuals considering migration perceive that moving will release them from a frustrating group or community trap. Therefore, the redefinition of the term was offered as "the perceptions of the ease or difficulty with which a person views leaving the community."

Another theoretical difficulty involved relating the three components to each other. If they are of equal weight, then it is possible to set up a logical typology (as discussed in Chapter One) of eight categories: the migrant, the non-migrant, and six intermediate types favoring migration or non-migration. The typology was not used in this study. Rather it was thought prerequisite to investigate each individual component before deciding the relative weight of each component.

Operationalizing each component is closely related to the theoretical delimitations of it. Problems occur when the concepts are translated into interview questions and when the survey data are classified, measured, and tested.

From the results of Chapter Three, it appears that the three questions designed to ascertain community satisfaction by asking for community location preferences, are not appropriate for the task assigned them. For future studies, a possible substitute is the Vernon Davies' Community Satisfaction scale. Another technique may be to ask the respondent a direct question,

"Are you satisfied with your community?" and then determine if the responses are correlated with the scale questions.

For aspiration, a more detailed set of questions could be included in addition to the general one, "What is it that you don't have enough money for now?" The question as presently stated precludes answers such as a good job or steady job. It would also be desirable to follow up the questions by asking whether the respondent thinks his aspirations are obtainable within the community, and if not, what are his intentions of remaining.

The questions designed to investigate social costs were found to be elusive and difficult to analyze. For example, questions about city images should be more specific as to city size and as to available facilities. In addition, the idea of social costs is a difficult one to convey to respondents, for it forces them to estimate future changes. The many social factors involved in migration are not easy for an individual to perceive as he considers the possible move, for he weighs not only the negative but also the positive aspects of the move out of the community. Perhaps a fourth component ought to be included: appraisal of social gain or benefit. Thus cost would be weighed against benefits gained, providing a net estimate of the results of migration.

The next problem area is that of constructing the research hypotheses. Are the hypotheses sequential? If so, then the rejection of the first on the basis of empirical evidence will affect the hypotheses which follow.. For example, if the Finnish are satisfied with the community, then this would lead them to adjust aspirations to this "satisfactory" community and finally to estimate the social costs of migration as high. This problem

involves the previously mentioned one of the interrelationship and weighting of the three components; further study will shed light on the problem.

Another refinement for future research is the formulation of more specific hypotheses. Resulting statistically significant associations would then present more conclusive evidence about age and ethnicity of family heads as factors in non-migration. Follow-up studies may use more specific hypotheses by scrutinizing the results of this pioneer study. Questions may be chosen and worded more judicially in order to categorize replies more clearly.

Finally, there are key questions about operationalizing the ethnicity and age variables. Ethnicity was determined in this study by asking nationality background. With a larger sample this variable could be subdivided into generations to incorporate the age variable, making possible trivariate tabulations. For this study, it was assumed that generational differences (in relationship to ethnicity) were not important, for the tie of being "Finnish" was hypothesized as explaining, or at least contributing to, an explanation of non-migration. Therefore, bivariate tables were run in order to retain the three-way subdivision of the ethnic categories, to discover whether or not families with head and spouse both Finnish, either one Finnish, or neither Finnish differed in orientation to migration. The researcher contends that retention of the three categories (rather than dividing the three into two) was a useful technique, for the "mixed" family responses often differed in direction from the other two. However, since the ethnic affiliation hypotheses were not supported by statistical test, it is proposed that further studies interested in ethnicity as a control variable incorporate the generational differences with the ethnic differences.

Another possibility is to separate all foreign-born from native-born.

It may be that any immigrant, once settled, will be a more likely non-migrant than a native-born inhabitant. This would involve studying ethnicity per se rather than Finnish ethnicity only.

It is hoped that the conclusions, criticisms, and suggestions offered here will not only be of practical help in future research, but will stimulate active interest in understanding motivations for non-migration.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES REFERRED TO
BUT NOT INCLUDED IN TEXT

TABLE 1

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Number of Organizations to which Head Belongs

	Number of Organizations to which Head Belongs					
	None	One	Two	Three or more	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse						
Both	14	29	26	20	1	90
Either	6	8	6	5	1	26
Neither	11	15	12	14	0	52
Total	31	52	44	39	2	168
	$X^2 = 2.080$		p .95 - .9			
B. Age of Family Head						
20 - 34	1	9	5	5	2	22
35 - 54	13	22	24	23	0	82
55 up	17	21	15	11	0	64
Total	31	52	44	39	2	168
	$X^2 = 8.560$		p .2 - .1			

* Not included in chi-square computation.

TABLE 2

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Offices Held by Head or Spouse in past 5 years

	Offices Held			
	Yes	No	Doesn't apply and NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse				
Both	29	48	13	90
Either	8	15	3	26
Neither	20	23	9	52
Total	57	86	25	168
	$X^2 = 1.196$	$p = .7 - .5$		
B. Age of Family Head				
20-34	6	13	3	22
35-54	37	38	7	82
55 up	14	35	15	64
Total	57	86	25	168
	$X^2 = 5.956$	$p = .1 - .05$		

*Not included in chi-square computations.

TABLE 3

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Indication of Religious Affiliation of Family Head

	Religious Affiliation			
	Yes	No	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse				
Both	45	22	23	90
Either	12	10	4	26
Neither	27	12	13	52
Total	84	44	40	168
	$X^2 = .399$	$p = .9 - .8$		
B. Age of Family Head				
20 -34	11	4	7	22
35 - 54	49	19	14	82
55 and above	24	21	19	64
Total	84	44	40	168
	$X^2 = .388$	$p = .9 - .8$		

* Not included in chi-square computation.

TABLE 4

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Home Ownership

	Own	Rent	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse				
Both	78	12	0	90
Either	21	4	1	26
Neither	47	4	1	52
Total	146	20	2	168
	$X^2 = 1.360$ p = .7 - .5			
B. Age of Family Head				
20-34	12	9	1	22
35-54	74	8	0	82
55 and above	60	3	1	64
Total	146	20	2	168
	$X^2 = 22.374$ p = .001			

* Not included in chi-square computation

TABLE 5

Associations of Ethnicity and Age with Level of Living Index

TABLE 5

Associations of Ethnicity and Age with Level of Living Index

	Index Score			
	0 - 54	55 - 62	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse				
Both	30	60	0	90
Either	7	19	0	26
Neither	17	34	1	52
Total	54	113	1	168
$X^2 = .412$ p .9 - .8				
B. Age of Family Head				
20-34	2	20	0	22
35-54	20	62	0	82
55 and above	32	31	1	64
Total	54	113	1	168
$X^2 = 17.609$ p .001				

* Not included in the chi-square computation.

TABLE 6

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Location of Friends

TABLE 6

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Location of Friends

	Location of Friends					
	Ontonagon County only	Upper Peninsula	Michigan	Michigan and outside Michigan	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse						
Both	48	9	21	11	1	90
Either	14	5	3	3	1	26
Neither	33	10	2	7	0	52
Total	95	24	26	21	2	168
	$X^2 = 11.509$	p .1 - .05				
B. Age of Family Head						
20-34	11	5	6	0	0	22
35-54	42	9	17	12	2	82
55 and above	42	10	3	9	0	64
Total	95	24	26	21	2	168
	$X^2 = 14.615$	p = .05 - .02				

*Not included in chi-square computation.

TABLE 7

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Present Occupation of Family Head

	Present Occupation of Family Head								
	Miner or mine related	Farmer **	Part-time farmer **	Woodsworker or related lumber worker	Professional *	Retired	Unemployed	All Others *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse									
Both	13	14	13	14	2	15	2	17	90
Either	5	2	3	4	1	2	1	8	26
Neither	5	4	5	6	5	10	2	15	52
Total	23	20	21	24	8	27	5	40	168
	$X^2 = 4.710$ $p = .7 - .5$								
B. Age of Family Head									
20-34	10	0	0	4	2	0	1	5	22
35-54	10	12	17	13	4	0	3	23	82
55 up	3	8	4	7	2	27	1	12	64
Total	23	20	21	24	8	27	5	40	168
	$X^2 = 74.842$ $p = .001$								

* Not included in computation of chi-square.
**Columns 2 and 3 were combined in computation of chi-square.

	Present Occupation of Head (Census Classification)											
	Profes-sional *	Farmers	Part-time farmers	Wholesale and retail dealers	Other prop's. mgrs, and officials	Clerks and kindred workers	Skilled workers and foremen	Semi-skilled workers	Un-skilled workers *	Re-tired	Unem-ployed	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head & Spouse												
Both	2	14	13	4	2	2	8	25	3	15	2	90
Either	1	2	3	2	1	3	2	9	0	2	1	26
Neither	5	4	5	3	4	1	7	9	2	10	2	52
Total	8	20	21	9	7	6	17	43	5	27	5	168
		$X^2 = 14.382$ $p = .2 - .1$										
B. Age of Family Head												
20-34	2	0	0	0	0	1	5	12	1	0	1	22
35-54	4	12	17	6	5	3	7	22	3	0	3	82
55 up	2	8	4	3	2	2	5	9	1	27	1	64
Total	8	20	21	9	7	6	17	43	5	27	5	168
		$X^2 = 60.715$ $p = .001$										

* Not included in computation of chi-square.

** Columns 2 and 3; 5 and 6; and 10 and 11 were combined in computation of the chi-square.

	Prestige Rank					
	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 - 69	70 - 89	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse						
Both	16	18	49	7	0	90
Either	5	12	8	1	0	26
Neither	8	11	20	12	1	52
Total	29	41	77	20	1	168
	$X^2 = 17.682$ $p = .01 - .001$					
B. Age of Family Head						
20-34	5	9	4	4	0	22
35-54	12	20	40	10	0	82
55 up	12	12	33	6	1	64
Total	29	41	77	20	1	168
	$X^2 = 9.408$ $p = .2 - .1$					

*Not included in chi-square computation.

** Or most recent status-giving occupation if unemployed or retired.

TABLE 10

	Number of jobs			
	One	Two-Four	Retired or unemployed	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse				
Both	51	22	17	90
Either	22	3	1	26
Neither	36	5	11	52
Total	109	30	29	168
	$X^2 = 10.700$	p .05 - .02		
B. Age of Family Head				
20-34	20	2	0	22
35-54	57	21	4	82
55 and above	32	7	25	64
Total	109	30	29	168
	$X^2 = 38.879$	p .001		

	Income per Family **									
	$999 or under	$1000-$1999	$2000-$2999	$3000-$3999	$4000-$4999	$5000-$5999	$6000-$6999	$7000 or over	N.A. *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse										
Both	12	10	18	20	12	6	4	0	8	90
Either	2	3	3	8	5	4	0	0	1	26
Neither	9	5	8	8	3	9	2	6	2	52
Total	23	18	29	36	20	19	6	6	11	168
$X^2 = 3.805$ $p = .5 - .3$										
B. Age of Family Head										
20-34	0	0	1	7	3	9	1	1	0	22
35-54	3	3	18	23	14	8	3	3	7	82
55 and above	20	15	10	6	3	2	2	2	4	64
Total	23	18	29	36	20	19	6	6	11	168
$X^2 = 52.6086$ $p = .001$										

* Not included in computation of chi-square.

**Columns 1 and 2, 3 and 4, and 5 through 8 were combined in computation of the chi-square.

TABLE 12

	Responses						
	Marriage family and friends	Job including military service	Housing	Community, health and climate	Others *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse							
Both	22	23	17	9	5	25	101
Either	3	10	11	3	1	2	30
Neither	11	10	15	2	0	19	57
Total	36	43	43	14	6	46	188**
	$X^2 = 7.761$ $p = .3 - .2$						
B. Age of Family Head							
20-34	7	7	8	2	0	2	26
35-54	20	23	18	8	5	21	95
55 up	9	13	17	4	1	23	67
Total	36	43	43	14	6	46	188**
	$X^2 = 2.652$ $p = .9 - .8$						

*Not included in computation of chi-square.
**The N is larger than 168 because respondents selected two or more answers.

	Responses								
	Everything *	Weather, climate and physical attributes	Social attributes including friendliness and "small town"	Quiet, Solitude, privacy	Job reasons *	All others *	Nothing *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse									
Both	7	25	59	14	0	10	2	8	125
Either	0	9	15	5	2	2	1	1	35
Neither	4	14	40	7	3	6	0	2	76
Total	11	48	114	26	5	18	3	11	236**
	$X^2 = 1.634$	p = .9 - .8							
B. Age of Family Head									
20-34	1	7	19	5	1	3	0	0	36
35-54	6	23	61	10	2	6	2	7	117
55 up	4	18	34	11	2	9	1	4	83
Total	11	48	114	26	5	18	3	11	236**
	$X^2 = 2.532$	p = .7 - .5							

*Not included in chi-square computations.

**The N is larger than 168 because 56 respondents selected two or more answers.

	Responses							
	Nothing	Climate	Highway, street and building improvements	No work, too small, few conveniences, no entertainment	Social attributes *	All others *	Everything *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse								
Both	21	20	21	19	3	13	0	27
Either	7	5	2	7	5	4	0	30
Neither	18	9	5	10	1	11	1	55
Total	46	34	28	36	9	28	1	182**
		$X^2 = 7.347$	$p = .3 - .2$					
B. Age of Family Head								
20-34	8	3	3	7	1	7	0	29
35-54	18	17	15	19	6	10	1	86
55 up	20	14	10	10	2	11	0	67
Total	46	34	28	36	9	28	1	182**
		$X^2 = 4.521$	$p = .7 - .5$					

* Not included in chi-square computation.

** The N is larger than 168 because 26 respondents selected two or more answers.

	No	No or Yes and Spontaneous Specifications						
	No spontaneous remarks or no to probes	School	Water, better streets, transportation	Shopping facilities	Recreation	Medical, health	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse								
Both	9	41	9	31	40	33	12	175
Either	6	10	4	10	11	8	2	51
Neither	5	17	7	19	27	14	6	95
Total	20	68	20	60	78	55	20	321**
	$X^2 = 6.444$	$p = .8 - .7$						
B. Age of Family Head								
20-34	3	14	5	4	10	9	0	45
35-54	7	34	6	37	47	34	4	169
55 up	10	20	9	19	21	12	16	107
Total	20	68	20	60	78	55	20	321**
	$X^2 = 16.909$	$p = .1 - .05$						

* Not included in chi-square computation.

** The N is larger than 168 because 91 respondents selected two or more answers.

Table 16

Relationship of Mobility and Age with Intention of Remaining Regardless of Changes

	Responses							
	Unqualified yes	Yes, qualified by obligatory explanation	Yes, qualified by expressive explanation	Yes, qualified by both obligatory and expressive explanation *	No *	DK *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse								
Both	22	27	23	5	3	4	6	90
Either	6	6	6	0	2	4	2	26
Neither	17	11	15	3	2	3	1	52
Total	45	44	44	8	7	11	9	168
	$X^2 = 5.410$	$p = .1 - .05$						
B. Age of Family Head								
20-34	9	0	7	0	3	1	2	22
35-54	18	21	25	5	3	6	4	82
55 up	18	23	12	3	1	4	3	64
Total	45	44	44	8	7	11	9	168
	$X^2 = 12.980$	$p = .02 - .01$						

* Not included in the chi-square computation.

TABLE 17

	Locations				
	Ontonagon County Locations	All other Locations	None *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse					
Both	63	20	2	9	94
Either	18	8	0	2	28
Neither	36	10	0	6	52
Total	117	38	2	17	174 **
	$X^2 = 5.965$	$p = .1 - .05$			
B. Age of Family Head					
20-34	17	2	0	3	22
35-54	60	18	1	7	86
55 up	40	18	1	7	66
Total	117	38	2	17	174 **
	$X^2 = 3.328$	$p = .2 - .1$			

* Not included in chi-square computation.
** The N is larger than 168 because respondents selected more than one location.

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Community Satisfaction Score

	Score				
	0	1	2	3	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse					
Both	19	22	25	24	90
Either	3	11	7	5	26
Neither	11	12	13	16	52
Total	33	45	45	45	168
$X^2 = 4.776$	$p = .7 - .5$				
B. Age of Family Head					
20-34	4	5	5	8	22
35-54	14	23	20	25	82
55 and above	15	17	20	12	64
Total	33	45	45	45	168
$X^2 = 4.457$	$p = .7 - .5$				

TABLE 22

	Perceptions						
	Young People *	Middle age and old people	Those owning property with jobs or ties to area, or farm people	All others *	Don't know *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse							
Both	6	46	39	11	6	6	114
Either	1	5	12	6	1	5	30
Neither	1	19	34	10	1	3	68
Total	8	70	85	27	8	14	212**
	$X^2 = 6.312$		$p = .05 - .02$				
B. Age of Family Head							
20-34	1	4	19	3	0	1	28
35-54	3	35	49	8	3	6	104
55 up	4	31	17	16	5	7	80
Total	8	70	85	27	8	14	212**
	$X^2 = 14.887$		$p = .001$				

* Not included in chi-square computations.
**The N is larger than 168 because 39 respondents selected two or more answers.

	Score					
	Zero	One	Two	Three Four Five	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse						
Both	20	22	19	23	6	90
Either	7	4	6	9	0	26
Neither	12	8	13	16	3	52
Total	39	34	38	48	9	168
	$X^2 = 2.703$	$p = .9 - .8$				
B. Age of Family Head						
20-34	4	6	5	7	0	22
35-54	15	21	24	20	2	82
55 up	20	7	9	21	7	64
Total	39	34	38	48	9	168
	$X^2 = 11.889$	$p = .1 - .05$				

*Not included in chi-square computation.

TABLE 24

	Responses					
	Wouldn't move	Never considered moving	Don't know *	Considered moving and/or names location	NA or not asked *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse						
Both	12	7	6	64	1	90
Either	2	1	4	18	1	26
Neither	6	2	3	40	1	52
Total	20	10	13	122	3	168
$X^2 = 1.190$ p .7 - .5						
B. Age of Family Head						
20-34	2	0	2	18	0	22
35-54	3	6	7	65	1	82
55 and above	15	4	4	39	2	64
Total	20	10	13	122	3	168
$X^2 = 10.129$ p .01 - .001						

* Not included in computation of chi-square.

**Columns 1 and 2 were combined in computation of chi-square.

TABLE 25

Wife's Age and Age with Preferred Location

	Location										
	Ontonagon County **	Upper Peninsula **	Lower Michigan	Other North central states	Florida, South or West Coast	Other specified places *	"City" or bigger place *	"Where job demands" *	NA *	Wouldn't move, never considered moving *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse											
Both	6	5	10	9	19	2	3	3	7	26	90
Either	0	0	5	1	5	2	0	4	1	8	26
Neither	3	3	8	8	7	5	1	4	1	12	52
Total	9	8	23	18	31	9	4	11	9	46	168
	$X^2 = 7.699$ $p = .3 - .2$										
B. Age of Family Head											
20-34	0	0	6	0	6	0	1	5	0	4	22
35-54	4	3	13	9	17	6	3	5	5	17	82
55 up	5	5	4	9	8	3	0	1	4	25	64
Total	9	8	23	18	31	9	4	11	9	46	168
	$X^2 = 15.460$ $p = .02 - .01$										

* Not included in computation of chi-square.

** Columns 1 and 2 were combined in computation of chi-square.

	Qualifications								
	Climate	Social attributes and social ties with area	Job opportunities	"Nice" clean quiet *	All others *	Don't know *	Wouldn't move *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse									
Both	19	24	12	3	8	0	8	27	101
Either	4	4	6	0	2	1	2	11	30
Neither	7	16	6	3	11	0	7	11	61
Total	30	44	24	6	21	1	17	49	192**
	$X^2 = 4.486$		$p = .5 - .3$						
B. Age of Family Head									
20-34	4	4	6	0	6	0	3	2	25
35-54	18	19	14	4	7	1	1	28	92
55 up	8	21	4	2	8	0	13	19	75
Total	30	44	24	6	21	1	17	49	192**
	$X^2 = 9.070$		$p = .1 - .05$						

* Not included in chi-square computations.
** The N is larger than 168 because 20 respondents selected two or more answers.

TABLE 27

	Advantages									
	No advantages	Jobs	Better money	Other opportunities or entertainment	Physical facilities	No answer to question *	Other *	Don't know *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse										
Both	20	18	15	17	15	3	11	5	6	110
Either	7	1	1	10	6	0	1	3	0	29
Neither	21	8	7	15	11	1	3	0	1	67
Total	48	27	23	42	32	4	15	8	7	206**
	$X^2 = 12.116$ $p = .2 - .1$									
B. Age of Family Head										
20-34	6	1	2	12	7	0	3	0	0	31
35-54	15	16	18	21	20	0	9	3	1	103
55 up	27	10	3	9	5	4	3	5	6	72
Total	48	27	23	42	32	4	15	8	7	206**
	$X^2 = 32.376$ $p = .001$									

* Not included in chi-square computation.
** The N is larger than 168 because 35 cases selected two or more answers.

TABLE 28

	a) More Pay					b) Health Reasons					c) To Get Ahead				
	Yes	No	DK *	NA *	Total	Yes	No	DK *	NA *	Total	Yes	No	DK *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse															
Both	36	43	6	5	90	31	46	10	3	90	36	37	9	8	90
Either	11	14	1	0	26	11	11	3	1	26	14	8	3	1	26
Neither	17	33	1	1	52	21	28	1	2	52	23	26	1	2	52
Total	64	90	8	6	168	63	85	14	6	168	73	71	13	11	168
	$X^2 = 1.761$ p = .5 - .3					$X^2 = .666$ p = .8-.7					$X^2 = 1.806$ p = .5 - .3				
B. Age of Family Head															
20-34	5	17	0	0	22	8	12	2	0	22	13	5	1	3	22
35-54	43	35	4	0	82	37	36	8	1	82	42	29	8	3	82
55 up	16	38	4	6	64	18	37	4	5	64	18	37	4	5	64
Total	64	90	8	6	168	63	85	14	6	168	73	71	13	11	168
	$X^2 = 12.290$ p = .01-.001					$X^2 = 4.200$ p = .2-.1					$X^2 = 12.474$ p = .01-.001				

* Not included in chi-square computation.

TABLE 29

	Responses											
	Nothing	New house **	House repairs or additions **	Home furnishings	Car	Security *	Go to another part of the country *	Pay Off Bills *	Retire *	Other *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse												
Both	9	20	19	8	8	6	3	2	1	10	11	97
Either	1	7	3	5	3	1	0	2	1	3	3	29
Neither	7	11	13	2	4	3	3	1	0	5	7	56
Total	17	38	35	15	15	10	6	5	2	18	21	182***
	$X^2 = 2.127$ $p = .95 - .90$											
B. Age of Family Head												
20-34	0	16	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	24
35-54	3	17	22	8	12	6	2	4	2	12	5	93
55 up	14	5	11	5	2	3	4	0	0	6	15	65
Total	17	38	35	15	15	10	6	5	2	18	21	182***
	$X^2 = 46.866$ $p = .001$											

* Not included in chi-square computations.

** Combined in chi-square computation.

*** The N is larger than 168 because some respondents selected two or more answers.

TABLE 30

	Responses				
	Yes	No	Don't Know *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse					
Both	28	59	0	3	90
Either	11	15	0	0	26
Neither	21	29	2	0	52
Total	60	103	2	3	168
	$X^2 = 1.717$	$p = .5 - .3$			
B. Age of Family Head					
20-34	7	15	0	0	22
35-54	34	47	0	1	82
55 up	19	41	2	2	64
Total	60	103	2	3	168
	$X^2 = 1.847$	$p = .5 - .3$			

* Not included in chi-square computation.

TABLE 31

	Responses							
	Like it here This is home	Like the work here	Investment in home or business; friends or relatives here; too old to leave	Good place to raise children *	Health *	Others *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse								
Both	30	15	37	4	3	18	5	112
Either	6	12	9	4	0	4	0	35
Neither	19	22	17	1	0	10	1	70
Total	55	49	63	9	3	32	6	217**
	$X^2 = 10.658$		$p = .05 - .02$					
B. Age of Family Head								
20-34	6	11	8	2	0	4	0	31
35-54	32	18	27	6	2	17	3	105
55 up	17	20	28	1	1	11	3	81
Total	55	49	63	9	3	32	6	217**
	$X^2 = 6.917$		$p = .2 - .1$					

* Not included in chi-square computation.

** The N is larger than 168 because 46 respondents selected two or more answers.

TABLE 32

	Rating of city image					
	Favorable *	Unfavorable	Undecided or Ambivalent	Unable to Ascertain *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse						
Both	4	34	47	1	4	90
Either	4	8	12	2	0	26
Neither	1	22	24	3	2	52
Total	9	64	83	6	6	168
	$X^2 = .526$	p .8 - .7				
B. Age of Family Head						
20-34	2	10	10	0	0	22
35-54	4	26	47	3	2	82
55 and above	3	28	26	3	4	64
Total	9	64	83	6	6	168
	$X^2 = 3.722$	p .2 - .1				

* Not included in chi-square computation.

TABLE 33

	Responses			
	Negative		Positive	
	Over activity	crowdedness and artificial life	Conveniences, Entertainment good job opportunity	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse				
Both	45	11	12	68
Either	7	4	6	17
Neither	20	13	11	44
Total	72	28	29	129
	$X^2 = 7.109$	p = .2 - .1		
B. Age of Family Head				
20-34	13	7	5	25
35-54	41	10	14	65
55 up	18	11	10	39
Total	72	28	29	129
	$X^2 = 4.011$	p = .5 - .3		

TABLE 34

Important Differences Between Present and City Life

	Responses						
	Positive response toward present location	Postive response toward city	Negative response toward present location	Negative response toward city	Don't know *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse							
Both	43	17	5	57	0	13	135
Either	9	9	4	13	0	4	39
Neither	19	14	5	31	2	4	75
Total	71	40	14	101	2	21	249**
	$X^2 = 6.867$ $p = .5 - .3$						
B. Age of Family Head							
20-34	6	7	2	12	1	2	30
35-54	36	23	6	51	0	9	125
55 up	29	10	6	38	1	10	94
Total	71	40	14	101	2	21	249**
	$X^2 = 4.326$ $p = .7 - .5$						

* Not included in chi-square computation.

**The N is larger than 168 because 73 respondents selected two or more answers.

TABLE 35

	Responses						
	Housing	Jobs	Money	Getting around *	No friends *	Other *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse							
Both	20	13	9	4	1	4	51
Either	2	4	3	0	1	3	13
Neither	7	8	9	3	6	3	36
Total	29	25	21	7	8	10	100
	$X^2 = 3.978$		$p = .5 - .3$				
B. Age of Family Head							
20-34	6	1	1	3	1	2	14
35-54	15	13	14	3	6	4	55
55 up	8	11	6	1	1	4	31
Total	29	25	21	7	8	10	100
	$X^2 = 6.336$		$p = .2 - .1$				

* Not included in chi-square computation

TABLE 36

	Responses					
	Yes	Yes, but they don't like the city **	No, never heard **	Don't know *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse						
Both	55	30	1	1	3	90
Either	16	9	1	0	0	26
Neither	36	11	3	1	1	52
Total	107	50	5	2	4	168
	$X^2 = 2.664$ $p = .3 - .2$					
B. Age of Family Head						
20-34	17	5	0	0	0	22
35-54	58	20	3	1	0	82
55 up	32	25	2	1	4	64
Total	107	50	5	2	4	168
	$X^2 = 5.791$ $p = .1 - .05$					

* Not included in chi-square computation.
**Columns 2 and 3 were combined in computation of the chi-square.

TABLE 37

Association of Ethnicity and Age with Friends' Specifications of City Attractions

	Responses						
	Jobs	Money, pay	Entertainment	Physical facilities and other opportunities	Other *	Don't know and NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse							
Both	16	16	13	16	16	36	113
Either	3	4	3	8	3	10	31
Neither	10	7	12	9	10	17	65
Total	29	27	28	33	29	63	209**
		$X^2 = 4.735$		$p = .7 - .5$			
B. Age of Family Head							
20-34	5	6	5	6	5	5	32
35-54	15	14	15	19	12	24	99
55 up	9	7	8	8	12	34	78
Total	29	27	28	33	29	63	209**
		$X^2 = .651$		$p = .99$			

* Not included in chi-square computation.

**The N is larger than 168 because 34 respondents selected two or more answers.

TABLE 38

	Perceptions								
	Nothing *	Housing	Expenses jobs	"Getting around"	No friends, family adjustments	Other *	Don't know *	NA *	Total
A. Finnish Ethnicity of Head and Spouse									
Both	2	29	27	14	10	14	8	9	113
Either	1	10	9	3	7	2	4	1	37
Neither	1	12	8	7	13	12	2	5	60
Total	4	51	44	24	30	28	14	15	210**
	$X^2 = 8.367$ p = .3 - .2								
B. Age of Family Head									
20-34	0	8	6	5	5	5	1	1	31
35-54	2	33	23	15	17	10	5	3	108
55 up	2	10	15	4	8	13	8	11	71
Total	4	51	44	24	30	28	14	15	210**
	$X^2 = 3.971$ p = .7 - .5								

* Not included in chi-square computation.
** The N is larger than 168 because 36 respondents selected two or more answers.

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Schedule No._____

Dept. Soc. & Anthrop.
Mich. State University

MIGRATION IN THE UPPER PENINSULA

How do you do? I am Mr./Mrs._____of Michigan State University. The Sociology Department and the Agricultural Experiment Station are conducting a survey of why people move. We are interviewing farmers and others around here to find out how moving affects the people and their communities. We hope the results will be useful. (Your answers will be strictly confidential and will be used only for research purposes.)

CONFIDENTIAL

1

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY OF HEADS (PRESENT TO 1940)

(This is the kind of information we'd like to know.)

PRESENT (1) When you speak of the area where you now live, what do you call it?	(2) Year Moved Here	(3) Kind of Locality and size*	(4) What is your occupation? What kind of work do you do?

(We'd like to know something of where you have lived and what you did there.)

PAST (1) Where did you live before moving to this house? Did this area have a special name	(2) Year Moved Here	(3) Kind of Locality and size*	(4) What did you do for a living? What kind of work?
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			

*Types of locality: open-country, village, or city.

PRESENT (5) Is this the only job you've had since you've lived here? Yes___ No___. If no, what else? (Order	(6) What is the location of the store where you do most of your grocery shopping?	(7) Where do the children go to H.S.?	(8) Now, considering all your friends in what general areas do they live?

PAST	(5) Was that the only job you had when you lived there? Yes___ No___ If no, what else? (order)	(6) Why did you leave this community?	(7) Why did you move to _____?	(8) When you moved to ___ did you change the place where you shopped for groceries?	(9) When you moved to ____ did the children go to a different H.S.?
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

About how many other moves have you made since you left home? ___.

ASPIRATIONS

(Now, we'd like your ideas about some of the places you've been and jobs you've had.)

1. Of all the places you have lived, which place did you like best?_____

_____

2. Of all the places you know of, which place would you like to live?_____

_____

3. Of all the places you know of, where would you like your children to live?

_____

4. Of all the jobs you have held, which job did you like the best?_____

_____

5. Of all the jobs in this community, which job would you like best?_____

_____

6. Of all the jobs you can think of, which job would you like best?_____

_____

7. Of all the jobs you can think of, which job would you like a son of yours to have?_____

8. Of all the jobs you can think of, which job would you like a daughter of yours to have?_____

9. What do you want most that you don't have enough money for now?_____

_____

_____

SOCIAL COSTS AND URBAN IMAGES

(Now, we'd like to ask a few questions about where you have traveled and what you think of city life.)

1. What is the farthest West you have traveled?_____

2. What is the farthest South you have traveled?_____

3. What is the farthest East you have traveled?_____

4. Have you been to: Canada Yes____ No____
Detroit ____ ____
Chicago ____ ____
Milwaukee ____ ____
If no, any large city? ____ ____ What city?_____

5. Would you please tell me what you think is typical of life in the city?

_____

_____

_____

6. What are the most important ways in which city life differs from life around here?_____

_____

_____

7. Have you ever heard friends, neighbors, or members of your own family who moved to the city talk about problems they had in getting started? Yes____ No____. If yes, what sorts of things did they mention?_____

_____

_____

8. Have you ever heard friends, neighbors, or members of your own family who moved to the city talk about what they liked in city life? Yes____ No_____ If yes, what?_____

9. If you were to move to the city, what do you think would be the hardest part of getting started?_____

_____

_____

10. If you were to move to the city, what do you think the advantages would be?

_____

_____

_____

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

(Now I'd like to know something about the people who are now living with you and your children who are not now at home.)

Relation to Informant	(1) Year Born?	(2) Where born?	(3) Marital status	(4) If married, where did spouse grow up?	(5) Highest grade completed and where?*
Informant					
Spouse					
Children (oldest to youngest)					
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

*For informant and spouse, is this where you grew up?

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Children (oldest to youngest)	(6) Now Living Home? (IF NO, GO TO Q.8)	(7a) Ever lived away from home? (IF YES, GO TO Q. 8	(7b) IF NO, Main occupation at present	(8a) ASK ONLY IF NOW LIVING OR HAD LIVED AWAY FROM HOME: What age first left home?	(8b) Where went?	(8c) Why decided to go there?
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

ASK ONLY IF NOW LIVING OR HAD LIVED AWAY FROM HOME

	(8d) IF NOT CLOSE BY, Know anyone in new place	(8e) First job?	(8f) How obtained?	(8g) Main occupation?	(9) IF NOW LIVING AT HOME, Why decided to return?	(10) IF NOT LIVING AT HOME Present address	(11) IF NOT LIVING AT HOME Why moved there?
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

	(12) IF NOT LIVING AT HOME		(13)	(14)	(15)	(16) (Is there anyone else living with you?)		(17)	(18)
	Take News?	Write friends?	How often visit her him?	How often he visit you		Relationship to Informant	Year Born	Employed NOTE, IF YES, What occupation?	Marital Status
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									

COMMUNITY SATISFACTION

(We would like to know some of your opinions about your community.)

1. What do you like about your community?_____

_____

2. What do you dislike about it?_____

_____

3. Do you think there are any improvements needed in your community?

Yes___No___DK___. If yes, what kinds?_____

_____

(If not mentioned, probe for Recreation)_____

Markets_____Health_____

Education_____

4. Even if these changes are not made, will you stay around here?

Yes___No___DK___. If yes, why?_____

_____

5. If you were to leave the community, where would you move?_____

6. What do you like about that place?_____

7. Have you ever been there? Yes___No___.

8. Would you move from this community for any of the following reasons?

a. More pay? Yes___No___DK___. Comment:_____

b. Health reasons? Yes___No___DK___. Comment:_____

c. To get ahead? Yes___No___DK___. Comment:_____

9. What kinds of people leave this area?_____

_____

10. What kinds of people stay?_____

_____

11. What kinds of people are moving in?_____

_____

12. Why would you say you have stayed?_____

_____

13. Can you remember any specific occasions when you seriously considered moving? Yes___No___DK___. If yes, what were the occasions?_____

_____

_____

14. Of what organizations are you and your spouse members?

Organization	Head or Spouse		What proportion of all meetings would you say you attend?	Were you an officer in the past 5 years?		
	Head	Spouse		Yes	No	DK
_____	___	___	_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	_____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	_____	___	___	___

(Probe for church and church related, extension, cooperative, farm organizations, school, service, fraternal, veterans, professional, and sportsman's clubs.)

INCOME AND CONTROL

ASK ONLY OF RURAL NON-FARM (Not living on farm).

1. Do you own or rent your home? Own___Rent___DK___.
2. What would you estimate to be the family's gross income last year?_____
3. What is the main source of your income?_____
4. Of what nationality background do you consider yourself to be?_____

   Your spouse?_____

INCOME AND CONTROL

ASK ONLY OF RURAL-FARM

1. Do you own or rent your home? Own___ Rent___ DK___.
2. How much land do you own/rent in Ontonagon County? Own___ Rent___.
3. How much of the land is tillable?_____(Acres).
4. What would you estimate to be the family's gross income last year?___
5. What percentage of this is from farming? All___ 3/4___ 1/2___ 1/4___ None___.
6. What is the main source of farm income?_____
7. What is the source/sources of your nonfarm income?_____
8. About how many days did you work at this/these jobs in the last year?_____
9. Of what nationality background do you consider yourself to be?_____ Your spouse?_____

LEVEL OF LIVING

1. Construction of House
   Brick, stucco, painted frame. ___5
   Unpainted frame or other. . . ___2
2. Lighting facilities
   Electric. . . . . ___8
   Gas, mantle, or pressure. . . ___6
   Oil lamp or other . . . . . ___3
3. Water piped into house Yes ___6
   No ___4
4. Power washer. . . . . Yes ___6
   No ___3
5. Refrigerator
   Mechanical (Electric or gas . ___8
   Ice . . . . . ___6
   Other or none . . . . . ___3
6. Radio . . . . . Yes ___6
   No ___3
7. TV. . . . . Yes ___6
   No ___3
8. Telephone. . . . . Yes___6
   No___3
9. Auto (other than truck) Yes___5
   No___2
10. Takes daily newspaper. Yes___6
    No___3
11. Central heating. . . . Yes___
    No___
12. Indoor flush toilet. . Yes___
    No___
13. Bathtub or shower. . . Yes___
    No___
14. Number of rooms in house ___
15. Location of House
    Hard surfaced. . . . . ___
    Gravel, shell, or shale. ___
    Dirt or unimproved . . . ___