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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Charles Martin Farmer entitled "Migration Patterns of Young Adults Reared in Jackson County, Tennessee." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Agricultural Economics.

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MIGRATION PATTERNS OF YOUNG ADULTS REARED IN
JACKSON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Council of
The University of Tennessee

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

by
Charles Martin Farmer

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since 1948 about 20 percent of the nation's population has changed residence each year. Migration from agricultural and rural regions to urban areas represents one of the major population shifts.¹ United States society is becoming highly urban. In 1860 only 20 percent of the population was urban compared to 70 percent in 1960. By 1975, it is estimated that urban population will be as high as 75 to 80 percent.²

On the whole, society has benefited from migration due to the rapid growth of the economy. Nevertheless, burdens are often imposed on the migrants, the community they leave, and the receiving area. Most individuals accept migration because they believe that migration brings them higher status, a higher level of living, or some other particular benefit.³

Distribution of mobility rates by age shows an association between maturation and mobility. Often a minimum of two types of moves are

¹Lee G. Burchinal and Perry E. Jacobson, Migration and Adjustment of Farm and Nonfarm Families and Adolescents in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Iowa State Agricultural and Home Economics Experiment Station Bulletin 516, July 1963, p. 861, and Henry S. Shryock, Jr., Population Mobility Within the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 295.

²Burchinal and Jacobson, op. cit., p. 861.

³Ibid.

involved in this maturing process: (1) leaving home to go to school, to fulfill military obligations, or to find work; and (2) getting married and establishing a home.⁴

Agriculture and other basic industries, such as forestry and mining, have been major sources for workers needed in the manufacturing, service, and trade industries; these industries are generally associated with urban development resulting in a heavy rural-to-urban movement of people.⁵ For the United States, the number of persons employed in the raw material industries decreased from 36 percent of the labor force in 1910 to only 8 percent in 1960.⁶

It is desirable to base public migration policy on reliable information. Too often, such information is either limited or not available. Farm-to-nonfarm and rural-to-urban migration, however, are influenced by public policies related to maintaining or changing rural population levels. Recently, proposals have been made to encourage movement from farm to nonfarm jobs.⁷ Assimilation of farm workers into the nonfarm labor force may be facilitated by providing retraining. Retraining of farm workers is needed because, in many cases, those who fail

⁴Earl O. Heady, Family Mobility in Our Dynamic Society (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1965), p. 1.

⁵Robert S. Hutchison, Migration and Industrial Development in Tennessee (Nashville: Tennessee General Assembly Legislative Council, 1958), p. 22.

⁶Heady, op. cit., p. 59.

⁷Burchinal and Jacobson, op. cit., p. 861.

to establish themselves in nonfarm jobs move back into agriculture.⁸

I. THE PROBLEM

Most Tennessee counties have experienced a net outmigration of persons in recent decades. For example, net outmigration for Tennessee was over one-fourth of a million persons from 1950 to 1960, or half of the level of natural population increase during this period. During the 1950-60 decade, 86 of the 95 counties had a net outmigration of persons. In 59 counties outmigration was sufficient to result in an aggregate population decline. Counties experiencing greatest population declines are largely rural containing few urban centers.

The questions of who leaves and who stays in low income rural areas and the effects of leaving or staying have often been the subject of debate. Resolution of these questions is of great importance for those directing policy in various sectors of our society. Nevertheless, relevant data pertaining to such questions are few. While net migration figures can be estimated from the Census and Vital Statistics, these sources provide few precise data for estimating the parameters of the migrating and nonmigrating sectors. To provide more precise information on migration relationships, an exploratory study was conducted in

⁸Brian Perkins and Dale Hathaway, Movement of Labor Between Farm and Nonfarm Jobs, Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 13, 1966, p. 42.

Jackson County, Tennessee.⁹

Jackson County, located in the Cumberland Plateau Area, is a low-income rural county and has experienced high outmigration for the past several decades. In the 1950-60 decade, net outmigration was 35 percent of the 1950 population and the third highest of any Tennessee county. The population of Jackson County declined from 12,348 in 1950 to 9,233 in 1960, a 25 percent decrease and the highest rate of decline of any Tennessee county in the 1950-60 decade. In 1960, 63 percent of the population was classified as rural farm while 44 percent of the civilian labor force was employed in agriculture. Only 10 percent of the civilian labor force in Tennessee and 6 percent of the United States labor force were employed in agriculture. Seventeen percent of the Jackson County labor force was employed in manufacturing compared to 26 percent for Tennessee and 27 percent for the United States. Median family income in 1960 was the third lowest of any Tennessee county, and only 30 percent of the United States and 43 percent of the Tennessee averages.¹⁰

Jackson County was selected for study because it represented a low-income and high-outmigration area with limited local employment

⁹Frank O. Leuthold, Charles M. Farmer, and M. B. Badenhop, "Migration of Young Adults from a Low Income Rural Area," Tennessee Farm and Home Science Progress Report, LXIII (July-September, 1967), 4.

¹⁰United States Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960. Population, Tennessee, Vol. I, 44c (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963).

opportunity. Much of the land in Jackson County is not adapted to mechanized farming, therefore, agriculture, the major employer of the labor force, has not been particularly profitable. The roughness of most of the uplands restricts their use for crop production. Overall, less than one-fourth of the agricultural area is suitable for regular cultivation. Burley tobacco represents the principal cash crop on many farms although agriculture is based more on livestock than on crop production.¹¹

A basic problem in the Upper Cumberland Plateau Area of Tennessee is the overabundance of human resources relative to local employment opportunities.¹² Low-production farming areas such as represented by Jackson County often lack the necessary natural resources and adequately trained manpower to compete successfully in attracting nonfarm employment opportunities. Thus, large numbers of people have left such areas to seek better opportunities elsewhere.

Evidence also indicates that many low-income rural communities receive a low return on their investment in educating children due to high outmigration. Each migrant represents a large public expenditure of local funds.¹³ When there is a sizeable net loss of young adults,

¹¹Merton B. Badenshop, An Economic Survey of the Upper Cumberland Area, with Special Reference to Agriculture. Bulletin 428 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, July, 1967), p. 10.

¹²Dale E. Hathaway, Government and Agriculture: Public Policy in a Democratic Society (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 375.

¹³Harold C. Brown and Roy C. Buck, Factors Associated with the Migrant Status of Young Adult Males from Rural Pennsylvania. Bulletin 676 (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Agricultural Experiment Station, January, 1961), p. 1.

resources devoted to education and training of the young people are in the immediate sense lost to the community. Urban areas receiving these young people, on the other hand, benefit from this nonreciprocal migration of new members of the labor force.

Heaviest migration occurs among individuals in the younger age groups. This selective migration changes the composition of the community from which they migrated. There is a depletion of productive manpower and an increasing proportion of people in the dependent age groups. Rural communities experiencing high outmigration are less able to support their businesses, schools, churches, and other social organizations.¹⁴ The consequences of a population decline on rural communities are both positive and negative. Population loss may reduce the pressure on the available resources. On the other hand, it may also weaken the business community.¹⁵

This phenomenon of migration has been variously regarded as a means for achieving a more productive and balanced national economy and as a way of raising the level of living. It also has been regarded as a drain on the talent and economic resources of agricultural areas, and as producing a weakened national character.¹⁶

¹⁴Hutchison, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁵Marvin J. Taves, "Population Loss Affects Everyone," Minnesota Farm and Home Science Progress Report, XIX (Fall, 1961), 12.

¹⁶Shryock, op. cit., p. 295.

With these problems in mind, the primary objectives of the present study are: (1) to determine the extent and pattern of migration of young adults reared in Jackson County, and (2) to relate these migration patterns to education, occupation, residence, special job training, and level of living.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Although abundant statistics are available on net migration rates and general population trends, literature pertaining to the social characteristics of migrants is limited. The development of human resources and the mobility of this resource has seldom been a subject of major research by the agricultural experiment stations. On this point, Heady¹⁷ commented: "Research financed through agriculture historically has placed heavy emphasis on living things--but these living things have been plants and animals rather than people and families." Heady further concludes that public agricultural institutions have a strong tendency to consider the nonhuman living things as the end rather than as the means for which much broader ends are obtained. Heady believes we are slowly moving away from this orientation.

The relationship of migrant status to education of young adult males from a rural Pennsylvania area was studied by Brown and Buck.¹⁸

¹⁷Heady, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁸Brown and Buck, op. cit., p. 31.

It was found that the amount of education of the young adult males was not associated with migration. In addition, no difference was found in the intelligence quotient scores for those who migrated as compared with those who remained in the rural areas. In general, when the different status of migrants was compared, the rural areas of Pennsylvania exhibit their greatest "holding power" over those young people who ended their education upon high school graduation and their least "holding power" over those who were college trained. Approximately three-fourths of the young men remained in rural areas while one-fourth migrated to urban areas. Brown and Buck explained that young persons in Pennsylvania, an industrialized state, may have less to gain from migrating because of the lengthening of the commuting radius afforded by improved roads.

In a study of the migration patterns of young men from Eastern Kentucky, Schwarzweller¹⁹ found that the majority of the young men came from families considerably larger than families in other parts of the United States. About half of the youths who migrated came from families of six or more children. It was reasoned that a young man from a small family would be under greater influence to stay at home than would a young man from a large family. Most of the individuals who did move from their home counties during the 1950-60 decade moved into city or suburban situations. This pattern of rural to urban

¹⁹Harry K. Schwarzweller, Sociocultural Origins and Migration Patterns of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky. Bulletin 685 (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, December, 1963), pp. 10-11.

migration is even more striking in the case of young men who moved out of Kentucky during 1950-60; about 95 percent of them moved into a city. Only about one-third of the study population ended their schooling before entering high school. However, about one-fourth of the study population who started high school did not graduate, pointing to the scope of the drop-out problem in low-income rural areas in Kentucky. Migration from this Kentucky area of limited opportunities and large families was described as a mechanism by which the structure of eastern Kentucky society tends to be stabilized and through which young people are offered wider opportunities to develop their talents.

A study of off-farm migration of young men from Weakley County, Tennessee, by Martin²⁰ showed that migration from rural areas was highly selective of the better educated in the rural populations. Martin found that off-farm migration was closely associated with age, farm opportunities, and information available concerning job opportunities. There existed a close tie-in between neighborhood groups in Weakley County and certain industrial labor markets in the North Central Region of the country.

In observing migration systems in the Southern Appalachians, Hillery and others²¹ found there was a definite pattern of exchange of

²⁰Joe A. Martin, Off-Farm Migration: Some of Its Characteristics and Effects Upon Agriculture in Weakley County, Tennessee. Bulletin 290. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, August, 1958), p. 6.

²¹George A. Hillery, Jr., James S. Brown, and Gordon F. De Jong, "Migration Systems of the Southern Appalachians: Some Demographic Observations," Rural Sociology, XXX (March, 1965), 34-48.

migrants between areas of origin and destination for almost all areas in and connected with the Southern Appalachians. The authors indicated that an examination of separate systems would be helpful in understanding migration patterns.

Badenhop²² has pointed out that educational attainment in the Upper Cumberland Area of Tennessee, which includes Jackson County, is below that for the rest of the United States. In 1964, of the Area's population in farm-operator households, only 18 percent of those 25 years old and over had finished high school, and only 3 percent of this age group had completed 4 years of college. Corresponding figures for the United States were 28 percent and 5 percent.

III. METHODOLOGY

The study was designed so that information concerning social characteristics of the young adults reared in Jackson County could be obtained through personal interview of the parents of the young adults. The unit of analysis was the children of the parents who were interviewed. Limited information on the social characteristics, however, was also obtained pertaining to the parents. The minimum age of the young adults included in the study was 20 years.²³ Primary data obtained

²²Badenhop, op. cit., p. 15.

²³The minimum age was initially established at 18 years. However, preliminary analysis indicated many young adults who were 18 and 19 years of age had not yet established their households. Therefore, these young adults were excluded. In addition, those in military service or in school were excluded; two females and 14 males were excluded for these reasons.

on the young adults were age, education, residence, occupation, level of living, and migration history.

The interview schedule was developed during the spring of 1966 and pretested in Knox, Blount, and Sevier Counties, and later in Jackson County.²⁴ The interviewing in Jackson County was conducted during the summer and fall of 1966.

For sampling, a detailed map of Jackson County, excluding the county seat town of Gainesboro, was divided into 194 segments using major boundaries such as roads, streams, and public buildings to identify the segments. Segments were numbered and a listing of all segments was drawn in sequence from a table of random numbers. Thus, the selection of segments was made on a "sequential random area" basis. The average number of households in each segment was approximately 13. Complete enumeration of household heads was made in each segment sampled. Sixty of the 194 segments were eventually sampled.

Similar techniques were used in sampling household heads in Gainesboro. A map of Gainesboro was divided into 13 segments using streets as boundaries. The segments were numbered and a random sample of households was drawn from each segment. The quota of schedules for Gainesboro was placed at one-tenth of the total, or the proportion of the population of Gainesboro was of the county's population.

²⁴The interview schedule was designed by M. B. Badenhop, Frank O. Leuthold, and the author. Interviewers were two graduate assistants in the Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Department and the author.

Of the 521 household heads contacted, 288 interviews were completed providing data on 1076 young adults. Of the remainder, 217 households had no children 20 years of age or over. Ten household heads had children who were 20 years but which were not reared in Jackson County. Six household heads refused to provide the necessary information.

Little difficulty was experienced in obtaining data on most of the variables. One exception was obtaining information on income levels. More than 50 percent of the parents failed to respond adequately to a question pertaining to their children's annual income. Income data were, therefore, not used in the analysis. There were only a few instances where the parents did not know the level of educational attainment of their children; in these instances education was estimated.²⁵

Level of living of the young adults was measured by the number of 12 selected home improvement items they possessed.²⁶ The 12 items

²⁵Frank O. Leuthold and the author made the estimates using other items of information such as age, occupations, special training, and education of brothers and sisters. The bias of estimating educational level was considered less than eliminating these individuals from analysis.

²⁶Forty-five males and 29 females between the ages of 20-29 were excluded from the level of living analysis because they resided with their parents or relatives and, as such, had not established a household of their own. Also, 30 males and 24 females were excluded from the level of living analysis because data on the number of home items they possessed could not be supplied by their parents.

In a few cases where data on most but not all home items was supplied, the missing items were estimated. It is recognized that a degree of error was introduced by these estimates. The error would be greater for individual home items estimated than for the estimate of the total number of home items possessed. In the analysis, the primary emphasis on the level of living was in terms of the total number of home items possessed rather than the individual items.

included were refrigerator, gas or electric range, television, piped-in water, hot water heater, flush toilet, bath, telephone, deep freezer, automatic washer, clothes dryer, and air conditioner. Through tabular analysis, this level of living variable was associated with the young adults age, education, occupation, and place of residence. Appropriate correlational techniques were also used to establish relationships between level of living and the independent variables.

A "migrant" was defined as an individual who was residing outside Jackson County at the time of the survey or who had at one time or another resided outside of the county for six months or longer, except for military service or school. A "nonmigrant" was defined as an individual who had never left Jackson County for as long as six months at any one time other than for military service or school. The migration history of the young adults was determined by asking the parents to list all places their children resided for six months or longer since they first left home. Migration would be underestimated to the extent of parents knowing and recalling all moves of their children.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

I. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS

In the present section social characteristics of the parents of the young adults are examined. The main variables investigated are age, education, family size, occupation, and level of living.

The average number of children of the parents surveyed who met the study criteria was 4.6. This seemingly large number of children was not felt to be due to an over-selection of larger than average families. For example, the average number of children of married white women age 45 to 49 in 1950 with an elementary education and residing in rural areas in the United States was 4.1; with childless women excluded, the figure can be increased around 10 percent or at the level obtained in the survey.¹

The average age for the fathers was 61.6 and 59.4 for the mothers. Average age was computed on only the 228 fathers and 270 mothers who were living at the time of the survey.

The level of educational attainment for the fathers of the young adults was 6.0 years (Table I). Data on all 288 mothers and 288 fathers were used. The low educational level of the fathers is also evident by

¹Wilson H. Grabill, Clyde V. Kiser, and Pascal K. Whelpton, The Fertility of American Women (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 205.

TABLE I
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS OF THE YOUNG ADULTS
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Social characteristics	Number	Percent
Education of fathers ^a		
7 years or less	182	63.2
8 years	77	26.8
9-11 years	13	4.5
12 years	9	3.1
13 years or more	7	2.4
Total	288	100.0
Education of mothers ^b		
7 years or less	150	52.1
8 years	109	37.8
9-11 years	12	4.2
12 years	12	4.2
13 years or more	5	1.7
Total	288	100.0
Home improvement items ^c		
0-4 items	125	43.4
5-8 items	87	30.2
9-12 items	76	26.4
Total	288	100.0
Major lifetime occupation of fathers		
Farmer	224	77.8
Nonfarmer (rural residence)	51	17.7
Nonfarmer (town residence)	13	4.5
Total	288	100.0

^aSee Appendix, Table XVI.

^bSee Appendix, Table XVI.

^cSee Appendix, Table XVII.

the fact that 63 percent completed 7 years or less of formal education while less than 6 percent completed 12 or more years. The average level of educational attainment for the mothers of the young adults was 6.6 years; 52 percent of the mothers completed 7 years or less of formal education. Only 2 percent of both the fathers and the mothers attended college.

The average number of 12 selected home items possessed by the parents was 5.8 items. The three categories of the number of home items, 0-4, 5-8, and 9-12 items, are categorized as low, medium and high, respectively. Using this terminology, 43 percent of the parents possessed a low level of living, 30 percent a medium level, and 26 percent a high level. Less than 2 percent of the parents possessed all 12 home improvement items.

Farming was the major lifetime occupation of 78 percent of the fathers. Eighteen percent of the fathers were classified as nonfarmers residing in a rural area and the remaining 4 percent as nonfarmers residing in Gainesboro. In few instances were these professional occupations.

II. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MALE AND FEMALE YOUNG ADULTS

In this section a general description of the social characteristics of the 1,076 young adults is made. The main variables examined are age, marital status, education, residence, occupation, level of living, and migration history. In the following chapter the interrelationships of these variables are discussed.

The average age of the young adults included in the study was 36.0 years for males and 36.1 years for females. Age, however, ranged from 20 to 68 years.

Eighty-two percent of both the males and females were married (Table II). For the males, 14 percent were single, 4 percent separated or divorced, and 1 percent widowers. For the females, 8 percent were single, 6 percent separated or divorced, and 4 percent widows. The slightly lower proportion of never married females was not unexpected as was also the fact of a higher proportion of widows to widowers. The presence of 23 widows compared with only 3 widowers was due to the shorter life expectancy of the males and because males are generally older at the time of marriage.

The average educational attainment for males was 8.5 years compared with 9.1 years for females. Special job training was included in computing the average years of education. Also, a substantially larger percentage of the males than females completed 7 years or less of schooling, 35 versus 22 percent. However, 10 percent of both males and females completed at least one year of college or six months special job training beyond high school.

Most of the special job training was for a period of less than one year. Eighty-five percent of the males and 87 percent of the females had no special job training. The main types of special job training were business college, technical school, mechanics and equipment school, beautician school, nurses training, and correspondence courses.

TABLE II
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Social characteristics ^a	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Marital status				
Married	448	81.5	433	82.3
Single	76	13.8	41	7.8
Separated or divorced	23	4.2	29	5.5
Widow or widower	3	.5	23	4.4
Total	550	100.0	526	100.0
Education ^b				
7 years or less	192	34.9	118	22.4
8 years	140	25.5	187	35.6
9-11 years	70	12.7	63	12.0
12 years	94	17.1	107	20.3
13 years or more	54	9.8	51	9.7
Total	550	100.0	526	100.0
Occupation				
Professional	21	3.8	13	2.5
Semiprofessional	63	11.5	57	10.9
Trade	155	28.2	7	1.3
Factory	142	25.8	140	26.6
Farming	89	16.2	--	--
Housewife	--	--	281	53.4
Labor	58	10.5	28	5.3
Unemployed	22	4.0	--	--
Total	550	100.0	526	100.0
Number home items ^c				
0-4 items	91	19.2	92	19.5
5-8 items	189	39.8	158	33.4
9-12 items	195	41.0	223	47.1
Total	475	100.0	473	100.0

^aSee Appendix, Tables XVIII and XIX on age and length of special training.

^bSee Appendix, Table XX on actual years of education.

^cSee Appendix, Table XVII on actual number of home items.

As indicated earlier, farming constituted the major occupation of the fathers. The occupational makeup of the adult sons was: 28 percent trade, 26 percent factory work, 16 percent farming, 12 percent semiprofessional, 10 percent unskilled labor, 4 percent professional, and 4 percent unemployed. Of the adult daughters, 53 percent had no formal occupation and were classified as housewives. Twenty-seven percent of the daughters were engaged in factory work, 11 percent in semiprofessional activities, 5 percent as unskilled laborers, 2 percent in a profession, and 1 percent in a trade.

The level of living of the females was slightly higher than that of the males, with level of living measured by the number of 12 selected home items possessed. Males averaged 7.5 items and the females 7.8 items. Nineteen percent of the males had 4 or fewer home items; 40 percent, 5-8 items; and 41 percent, 9-12 items. The corresponding percentages for females were 20 percent, 33 percent, and 47 percent.

III. PRESENT RESIDENCE

Of the 550 males, 43 percent were residing in Jackson County, 28 percent in other areas of Tennessee, and 29 percent in other states (Table III). The corresponding figures for the females were 38 percent, 36 percent, and 27 percent. Nashville was the most usual place of residence of those who resided in other areas of Tennessee for both males and females while Putnam County, the adjacent county to the south, was the next most usual place of residence. The other 4 adjacent counties

TABLE III
PRESENT RESIDENCE OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Residential category	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Jackson County	235	42.7	198	37.6
Other Tennessee counties	154	28.0	188	35.8
Putnam County	(45)	(8.2)	(52)	(9.9)
Other adjacent county	(21)	(3.8)	(35)	(6.7)
Davidson County (Nashville)	(54)	(9.8)	(66)	(12.5)
Other Tennessee areas	(34)	(6.2)	(35)	(6.7)
Outside Tennessee	161	29.3	140	26.6
Detroit, Michigan	(61)	(11.1)	(44)	(8.4)
Dayton, Ohio	(42)	(7.6)	(27)	(5.1)
Other places	(58)	(10.6)	(69)	(13.1)
Total	550	100.0	526	100.0

accounted for only 4 percent of the residences of the males and 7 percent of the residences of the females. Of those who lived outside Tennessee, 64 percent of the males and 51 percent of the females were residing either in Detroit, Michigan or Dayton, Ohio. Detroit was the most usual place of residence for the males, 11 percent, residing outside of Jackson County. Nashville was the second most usual place of residence for females, 12 percent, residing outside Jackson County. Although males were more likely to remain in Jackson County than females, males who migrated were somewhat more likely to leave Tennessee, 51 percent versus 43 percent.

IV. MIGRATION HISTORY

Migration was the rule rather than the exception for the young adults. For example, 74 percent of the males and 78 percent of the females migrated from Jackson County on one or more occasions other than for school or military service (Table IV). Even for those who were living in the county, 40 percent of the males and 42 percent of the females had left the county for at least a six-month period other than for school or military service. Remigration was also common for those who were residing outside of Jackson County. Twenty-one percent of the males and 29 percent of the females who were residing outside of the county returned on one or more occasions. Overall, most of the young adults, 46 percent of the males and 50 percent of the females, left the county and did not return.

TABLE IV

MIGRATION HISTORY OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Social characteristics	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Migration history				
In Jackson County				
Never left	142	25.8	115	21.9
Left once	71	12.9	68	12.9
Left 2 or more times	22	4.0	15	2.9
Outside Jackson County				
Returned once	55	10.0	59	11.2
Returned 2 or more times	10	1.8	8	1.5
Never returned	250	45.5	261	49.6
Total	550	100.0	526	100.0
Age at first migration ^a				
Under 15	6	1.5	7	1.7
15-19	188	46.1	201	48.9
20-24	119	29.2	127	30.9
25-29	41	10.0	35	8.5
30 and over	54	13.2	41	10.0
Total	408	100.0	411	100.0
Marital status at first migration				
Single (separated, divorced)	260	63.7	141	34.3
Married (widows, widowers)	148	36.3	270	65.7
Total	408	100.0	411	100.0
Occupation at first migration				
Professional	7	1.7	4	1.0
Semiprofessional	5	1.2	8	2.0
Trade	23	5.6	1	.2
Factory	4	1.0	35	8.5
Farming	276	67.7	--	--
Housewife	--	--	244	59.4
Labor	22	5.4	17	4.1
Unemployed	4	1.0	--	--
Student	67	16.4	102	24.8
Total	408	100.0	411	100.0

^aSee Appendix, Table XXI.

The average age of the young adults at the time of the first migration from Jackson County was 22.0 years for the males and 21.3 years for the females. Age 18 was the modal age of migration for both males and females. Overall, 77 percent of the males and 82 percent of the females who left Jackson County left before age 25. While the majority of the males, 64 percent, were single at the time of first migration, the majority of the females, 66 percent, were married.

Farming was indicated as the major occupation, 68 percent, of the males at the time of their first migration. Less than 10 percent of the males were employed in a profession, semiprofessional activity, trade, or factory work. Six percent were employed as laborers or were unemployed. Another 16 percent were classified as students. The high percentage of the young males farming probably disguises the actual percentage of males who were fully employed before their first migration.

Of the females, 84 percent had no formal occupation prior to their first migration. One notable difference in the occupational structure of the young males when compared with the females prior to their first migration was the higher percentage of females engaged in factory work, 8 percent versus 1 percent. This difference suggests a lack of employment opportunities for males in securing factory work in their home county. These data also suggest that most of the young adults migrated either shortly after completing their education or before they became established in a job.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE YOUNG ADULTS

The four primary independent variables investigated in this chapter are age, residence, occupation, and migration history. Analysis by age categories was used to determine trends that have occurred.

I. ANALYSIS BY AGE CATEGORIES

Educational Attainment by Age Categories

The level of educational attainment was slightly higher for females than for males--9.1 years versus 8.5 years (Table V). For males age 50 and over, the average years of education was 7.5 years; in addition, only 15 percent were high school graduates. In contrast, the average years education of the males under 30 was 9.4 years and 37 percent were high school graduates. However, 20 percent had 7 or fewer years of education. While educational attainment has steadily increased for males, it nevertheless remains low.

For females age 50 and over, the average years of education was 7.5 years; in addition, only 12 percent completed high school. The average education for females under 30 was 10.4 years, with 48 percent being high school graduates. Although educational attainment has increased for females, 52 percent of those under 30 had not completed high school while 37 percent had only a grade school education.

TABLE V

EDUCATION BY AGE CATEGORY OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Educational category	Age category							All ages
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and over	
	(N=92)	(N=77)	(N=95)	(N=82)	(N=69)	(N=56)	(N=79)	(N=550)
-----Percentage-----								
--Males--								
7 years or less	20.6	19.5	29.5	50.0	34.8	60.7	39.2	34.9
8 years	28.3	28.5	29.5	18.3	29.0	10.7	29.1	25.5
9-11 years	12.0	18.2	12.6	7.3	14.5	7.2	16.5	12.7
12 years	33.7	24.7	12.6	12.2	14.5	12.5	6.3	17.1
13 years or more	5.4	9.1	15.8	12.2	7.2	8.9	8.9	9.8
Average years education for males	9.3	9.5	8.9	7.8	8.3	7.3	7.6	8.5
--Females--								
	(N=92)	(N=74)	(N=77)	(N=82)	(N=79)	(N=57)	(N=65)	(N=526)
7 years or less	7.6	6.8	22.1	26.8	29.1	24.6	46.2	22.4
8 years	31.5	27.0	33.7	31.7	40.5	54.4	35.5	35.6
9-11 years	14.1	16.2	19.5	17.1	3.8	3.5	6.1	12.0
12 years	42.4	29.7	19.5	17.1	11.4	7.0	6.1	20.3
13 years or more	4.4	20.3	5.2	7.3	15.2	10.5	6.1	9.7
Average years education for females	10.2	10.7	9.0	8.7	8.6	8.7	7.5	9.1

The average years of educational attainment increased by 1.7 years for the males and 2.7 years for the females from the oldest to the youngest age categories.

Occupational Structure by Age Categories

Changes have occurred in the occupational structure (Table VI). For males age 50 and over, farming was the most common occupational category (32 percent) followed by trade (22 percent), semiprofessional (13 percent), factory work (11 percent), and unskilled labor (11 percent). In contrast for those under 30, factory work and trade were the most common occupational categories (31 percent each) followed by farming (12 percent), unskilled labor (12 percent) and semiprofessional (9 percent).

The greatest variation in occupational structure by age group was the lower percentage of the younger men engaged in farming. The percentage engaged in farming dropped from 32 percent for those 50 and older to 8 percent for those in the 25-29 age group. The somewhat larger proportion of males in the 20-24 age group who were farming than for the 25-29 age group may be due to the fact that more of them were single and still residing with their parents. It is likely that many of these will take off-farm employment after marriage.

The greatest difference in the occupational structure for females from older age groups to younger age groups was the lower percentage of the younger women employed as laborers and the higher percentage engaged in factory work. The percentage employed as laborers

TABLE VI

OCCUPATION BY AGE CATEGORY OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Occupational category	Age category							All ages
	20-24 (N=92)	25-29 (N=77)	30-34 (N=95)	35-39 (N=82)	40-44 (N=69)	45-49 (N=56)	50 and over (N=79)	
-----Percentage-----								
---Males---								
Professional ^a	--	--	7.4	3.7	5.8	1.8	7.6	3.8
Semiprofessional ^b	10.9	7.8	8.4	14.6	16.0	10.7	12.7	11.5
Trade ^c	25.0	38.9	34.7	25.6	26.1	23.2	21.5	28.2
Factory	29.4	32.5	28.4	25.6	30.4	21.4	11.4	25.8
Farming	15.2	7.8	9.5	8.5	14.5	32.1	31.6	16.2
Unskilled labor ^d	14.1	9.1	8.4	17.1	5.8	5.4	11.4	10.5
Unemployed ^e	5.4	3.9	3.2	4.9	1.4	5.4	3.8	4.0
---Females---								
	(N=92)	(N=74)	(N=77)	(N=82)	(N=79)	(N=57)	(N=65)	(N=526)
Professional ^a	--	2.7	1.3	3.6	3.8	7.0	--	2.5
Semiprofessional ^b	16.3	10.8	3.9	15.9	13.9	7.0	4.6	10.9
Trade ^c	3.3	--	1.3	--	2.5	--	1.5	1.3
Factory	43.5	23.0	32.5	22.0	20.3	28.1	12.3	26.6
Housewife	36.9	62.2	59.7	52.4	49.4	43.9	73.9	53.4
Labor ^d	--	1.3	1.3	6.1	10.1	14.0	7.7	5.3

^aTeacher, minister, accountant, engineer, military officer, nurse, etc.^bBusinessman, clerk, sales worker, bookkeeper, secretary, etc.^cCarpenter, mechanic, painter, truck driver, barber, beautician, etc.^dOdd jobs, janitor, farm labor, sawmill, etc.^eIncludes disabled workers.

dropped from 14 percent of those in the 45-49 age group to none of those in the youngest, or 20-24, age group. The percentage engaged in factory work increased from 12 percent of those 50 years of age and over to 44 percent of the females in the 20-24 age group. The lowest percentage of employed females (26 percent) was found among those 50 and over. This percentage increased to 63 percent of those in the youngest, or 20-24, age group. Overall, 47 percent of the females were formally employed. The largest percentage of the males having professional careers was found in the 50 and older age group. None of the males under 30 years of age were classified as having professional occupations. The number of males employed as unskilled laborers and as factory workers was the same in the 50 and older age group although fewer persons in this age group were employed in factory work than in any other age group.

Level of Living by Age Categories

Of the males having their own household, 19 percent possessed 4 or fewer home items, 40 percent possessed 5-8 items, and 41 percent possessed 9-12 home items (Table VII). The corresponding figures for the females were 20 percent, 33 percent, and 47 percent. The average number of home items possessed was 7.5 for the males and 7.8 for the females. There was little difference in the average number of home items possessed with respect to age, with the exception of those in the 20-24 age group. Those in the 20-24 age group had the highest proportion with 4 or fewer home items of any age group; they also had the lowest

TABLE VII

HOME ITEMS BY AGE CATEGORY OF 475 MALES AND 473 FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Home items	Age category							
	20-24 (N=52)	25-29 (N=65)	30-34 (N=89)	35-39 (N=76)	40-44 (N=66)	45-49 (N=51)	50 and over (N=76)	All ages (N=475)
-----Percentage-----								
---Males---								
0-4 items	23.1	18.5	13.5	22.4	18.2	19.6	21.0	19.2
5-8 items	55.8	40.0	42.7	38.1	42.4	27.5	32.9	39.8
9-12 items	21.1	41.5	43.8	39.5	39.4	52.9	46.1	41.0
Average number home items for males	6.9	7.5	8.0	7.3	7.6	7.7	7.5	7.5
---Females---								
	(N=65)	(N=68)	(N=74)	(N=76)	(N=75)	(N=52)	(N=63)	(N=473)
0-4 items	29.2	10.3	10.8	21.1	21.3	19.2	25.4	19.5
5-8 items	41.6	33.8	43.2	26.3	24.0	28.9	36.5	33.4
9-12 items	29.2	55.9	46.0	52.6	54.7	51.9	38.1	47.1
Average number home items for females	6.6	8.5	7.9	8.0	8.1	8.0	7.1	7.8

averages. By contrast, the highest level of living was enjoyed by the males in the 30-34 age group and the females in the 25-29 age group.

Present Residence and Migration History by Age Categories

Of the 550 males, 43 percent were residing in Jackson County, 28 percent in other areas of Tennessee, and 29 percent in other states (Table VIII). The corresponding figures for the 526 females were 38 percent, 36 percent, and 27 percent. However, some key differences occur in residence with respect to age. For instance, 53 percent of the males 50 years of age and older were residing in Jackson County compared with only 31 percent of those in the 30-34 age group. In the case of females, the difference is slightly larger. For females who were 50 years of age and over, 55 percent were residing in Jackson County compared with 30 percent of those in the 30-34 age group. For both males and females, half or more of those in the 20-24 age group were residing in the county. A large number in this age group were single and living with parents. The largest percentage of both males and females residing outside Tennessee was in the 35-39 age group.

Only 26 percent of the males and 22 percent of the females had never left Jackson County for a six month period. In some age categories the level was substantially less. For instance, only 14 percent of the males and 12 percent of the females in the 30-34 age group had never migrated from Jackson County. Those in the 20-24 age group had the largest proportion who never migrated but this level is expected to decline rapidly.

TABLE VIII
PRESENT RESIDENCE AND MIGRATION HISTORY BY AGE CATEGORY OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

	Age category							
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 and over	All ages
	(N=92)	(N=77)	(N=95)	(N=82)	(N=69)	(N=56)	(N=79)	(N=550)
	-----Percentage-----							
	---Males---							
Present residence								
In county	55.4	40.2	30.6	31.7	43.5	46.4	53.2	42.7
In Tennessee	19.6	35.1	34.7	32.9	26.1	19.7	25.3	28.0
Outside Tennessee	25.0	24.7	34.7	35.4	30.4	33.9	21.5	29.3
Migration history								
Never left county	44.6	27.3	13.7	15.9	30.4	23.2	25.3	25.8
Left, returned	10.9	13.0	16.8	15.9	13.1	23.2	27.9	16.9
Left, returned, left	4.3	5.2	12.6	19.5	15.9	12.5	13.9	11.8
Left, never returned	40.2	54.5	56.9	48.7	40.6	41.1	32.9	45.5
	---Females---							
	(N=92)	(N=74)	(N=77)	(N=82)	(N=79)	(N=57)	(N=65)	(N=526)
Present residence								
In county	50.0	24.3	29.9	31.7	32.9	40.4	55.4	37.6
In Tennessee	38.0	47.3	39.0	29.3	39.2	29.8	24.6	35.8
Outside Tennessee	12.0	28.4	31.1	39.0	27.9	29.8	20.0	26.6
Migration history								
Never left county	40.2	17.6	11.7	13.4	15.2	22.8	30.8	21.9
Left, returned	9.8	6.7	18.2	18.3	17.7	17.6	24.6	15.8
Left, returned, left	1.1	16.2	15.6	15.9	21.5	14.0	6.1	12.7
Left, never returned	48.9	59.5	54.5	52.4	45.6	45.6	38.5	49.6

II. ANALYSIS BY RESIDENCE

Educational Attainment by Residence

There is a substantial difference in educational attainment with respect to residence of the young adults (Table IX). The level of educational attainment for males residing outside of Jackson County was 8.9 years compared with 8.0 years for those residing in the county. The level for females was 9.3 years for those residing outside of Jackson County compared with 8.8 years for those residing in the county. These differences are not as great as often postulated. The overall average years of education was 8.5 years for the males and 9.1 years for females.

The average years of education differs more by residence for males than for females, 3.4 years versus 2.3 years. Males and females residing in Tennessee areas other than Jackson and adjacent counties, with the exception of Putnam County, had the highest levels of educational attainment. Those living in Putnam County (Cookeville) and Nashville had the highest level. The lowest levels of education occurred for young adults residing in Dayton, Ohio and Detroit, Michigan, followed by those living in Jackson and adjacent counties with the exception of Putnam County. The lowest level of education was found among males and females living in Dayton, Ohio. Eighty-one percent of the males residing in Dayton completed 8 years or less of formal education, while only 2 percent had as much as one year of college training. Of the females residing in Dayton, 78 percent completed 8 years or less of formal education and none attended college. The level of education of males residing in

TABLE IX

EDUCATION BY PRESENT RESIDENCE OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Educational category	Residence								
	Jackson County	Putnam County	Adjacent county	Other in Tennessee	Nashville	Detroit	Dayton	All other places	All areas
	(N=235)	(N=45)	(N=21)	(N=34)	(N=54)	(N=61)	(N=42)	(N=58)	(N=550)
	-----Percentage-----								
	---Males---								
7 years or less	38.3	15.5	47.6	26.4	18.5	47.5	47.6	29.3	34.9
8 years	28.5	26.7	9.5	11.8	18.5	24.6	33.3	27.6	25.5
9-11 years	9.8	24.4	14.3	11.8	13.0	13.1	7.2	19.0	12.7
12 years	19.1	26.7	19.1	14.7	27.8	6.6	9.5	8.6	17.1
13 years or more	4.3	6.7	9.5	35.3	22.2	8.2	2.4	15.5	9.8
Average years edu- cation for males	8.0	10.7	8.0	10.4	9.9	7.7	7.3	9.0	8.5
	---Females---								
	(N=198)	(N=52)	(N=35)	(N=35)	(N=66)	(N=44)	(N=27)	(N=69)	(N=526)
7 years or less	23.7	15.4	31.4	25.7	12.1	27.3	26.0	23.2	22.4
8 years	38.4	42.3	28.6	25.7	34.9	40.9	51.8	21.7	35.6
9-11 years	11.1	15.4	11.4	5.8	7.6	13.6	18.5	16.0	12.0
12 years	21.2	21.2	17.2	20.0	31.8	9.1	3.7	21.7	20.3
13 years or more	5.6	5.7	11.4	22.8	13.6	9.1	--	17.4	9.7
Average years educa- tion for females	8.8	9.1	8.9	9.9	10.0	8.6	7.7	9.9	9.1

adjacent counties, with the exception of males residing in Putnam County, was as low as for those residing in Jackson County.

Occupational Structure by Residence

The majority of males employed in a profession were residing in other Tennessee areas or out of the State, except for Detroit, Michigan or Dayton, Ohio (Table X). Males employed in semiprofessional activities were found mainly in Nashville and other Tennessee areas. Almost half of the males residing in Dayton, Nashville, and Putnam County were employed in a trade. Of the males living in Detroit, 61 percent were employed as factory workers. Males engaged in farming were found almost entirely in Jackson and adjacent counties other than Putnam County. Males employed as unskilled laborers were distributed rather evenly by residence. On the other hand, the unemployed were found mainly among those residing in Jackson County.

The occupational structure of females differs less by residence than that of the males. Twenty-six percent of those residing in Nashville were employed in semiprofessional activity. Females employed as factory workers were found mainly among those residing in Jackson and adjacent counties other than Putnam County. The largest percentage (73 percent) of housewives (unemployed females) occurred for those living in Putnam County. This compares with only 43 percent of those in adjacent counties who were housewives. Females employed as laborers were found mainly among those residing in other Tennessee areas and in Dayton, Ohio.

TABLE X

OCCUPATION BY PRESENT RESIDENCE OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Occupational category	Residence								
	Jackson County	Putnam County	Adjacent county	Other in Tennessee	Nashville	Detroit	Dayton	All other places	All areas
	(N=235)	(N=45)	(N=21)	(N=34)	(N=54)	(N=61)	(N=42)	(N=58)	(N=550)
	-----Percentage-----								
	---Males---								
Professional	2.6	--	--	17.6	1.9	--	--	13.8	3.8
Semiprofessional	8.5	17.8	19.0	29.4	24.1	3.3	--	10.3	11.5
Trade	19.1	48.9	9.6	17.6	44.4	23.0	54.8	32.8	28.2
Factory	19.6	22.2	19.0	14.7	22.2	60.6	33.3	24.1	25.8
Farming	31.5	--	38.1	11.8	--	--	--	5.2	16.2
Unskilled labor	11.5	11.1	14.3	8.9	3.7	8.2	11.9	13.8	10.5
Unemployed	7.2	--	--	--	3.7	4.9	--	--	4.0
	---Females---								
	(N=198)	(N=52)	(N=35)	(N=35)	(N=66)	(N=44)	(N=27)	(N=69)	(N=526)
Professional	3.0	--	2.9	5.7	3.0	--	--	2.9	2.5
Semiprofessional	5.6	5.8	8.6	8.6	25.8	15.9	3.7	17.4	10.9
Trade	1.0	1.9	--	--	4.5	--	--	1.5	1.3
Factory	39.9	13.4	42.8	17.1	9.1	25.0	18.5	15.9	26.6
Housewife	47.0	73.1	42.8	54.3	48.5	56.8	66.7	59.4	53.4
Labor	3.5	5.8	2.9	14.3	9.1	2.3	11.1	2.9	5.3

One important difference in the occupational structure of the males was found between residents of Jackson County and those in Putnam County. None of the males residing in Putnam County were farming compared to 38 percent of those in other adjacent counties and 32 percent of those in Jackson County. About half (49 percent) of the males residing in Putnam County were employed in a trade.

The lack of a varied occupational structure for residents of Dayton is interesting. None of the males residing in Dayton, Ohio were employed in professional or semiprofessional activities. Males residing in Dayton were either employed in a trade, in a factory, or as laborers. The large percentage of males employed as factory workers in Detroit is probably due to the large number of automobile assembly plants located there. In contrast to the occupational structure in Detroit, 55 percent of the males residing in Dayton were employed in a trade compared with 23 percent in Detroit. One interesting finding was that 47 percent of the 526 females in the study were formally employed. The percentage of females employed varies from a low of 27 percent of those residing in Putnam County to 57 percent of those residing in other adjacent counties.

Level of Living by Residence

The level of living was higher for the females than for the males in every place of residence except in Putnam County (Table XI). The lowest level of living for both males and females was found among those

TABLE XI

HOME ITEMS BY PRESENT RESIDENCE OF 475 MALES AND 473 FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

	Residence								
	Jackson County (N=193)	Putnam County (N=45)	Adjacent county (N=20)	Other in Tennessee (N=34)	Nashville (N=50)	Detroit (N=50)	Dayton (N=38)	All other places (N=45)	All areas (N=475)
Home items	-----Percentage-----								
---Males---									
0-4 items	38.3	4.5	30.0	17.7	6.0	--	--	--	19.2
5-8 items	36.3	42.2	40.0	23.5	38.0	56.0	50.0	40.0	39.8
9-12 items	25.4	53.3	30.0	58.8	56.0	44.0	50.0	60.0	41.0
Average number home items for males	5.9	8.6	6.6	8.5	9.0	8.6	8.8	9.1	7.5
---Females---									
	(N=170)	(N=51)	(N=34)	(N=35)	(N=62)	(N=37)	(N=27)	(N=57)	(N=473)
0-4 items	41.2	21.6	17.7	5.7	1.6	--	--	3.5	19.5
5-8 items	28.8	35.3	38.2	31.4	38.7	40.5	40.7	29.8	33.4
9-12 items	30.0	43.1	44.1	62.9	59.7	59.5	59.3	66.7	47.1
Average number home items for females	6.1	7.5	7.6	8.9	9.1	9.3	9.3	9.2	7.8

residing in Jackson County followed by adjacent counties. Thirty-eight percent of the males and 41 percent of the females residing in Jackson County possessed 4 or fewer home items. The highest level of living was found for females residing out of the State followed by those in Nashville and other Tennessee areas. For males, those in Nashville had the second highest level of living.

Relationship of Education and Residence to Level of Living

Educational attainment was highly associated with level of living for persons in each residential category (Table XII). Migration to other Tennessee areas and to areas outside of the State was also highly associated with level of living. For males residing in Jackson County having seven years or less education, the average number of home items possessed was 4.3 compared with 9.9 items for those with 13 or more years of education. For males residing in all other areas of Tennessee, the number of home items possessed was 6.3 for those with seven years or less education and 10.2 for those with 13 or more years of education. Similarly, males residing outside of Tennessee possessed 8.0 home items if they had seven or less years of education and 10.7 items if they had 13 years or more.

The lowest level of living occurred for both males and females with seven years or less of education and residing in Jackson County. The correlation coefficients between number of home items and migration (scored: 0 - Jackson County; 1 - other Tennessee counties; and 2 - outside Tennessee) for males are .61, .45, .48, .31, .16, and .43 for the

TABLE XII

LEVEL OF LIVING FOR 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES REARED IN
JACKSON COUNTY BY EDUCATION AND RESIDENCE^a

		Residential category ^b			
		Jackson	Other	Outside	All
Educational category ^c	Number	County	Tennessee counties	Tennessee	areas
Average number of 12 home items					
---Males---					
7 years or less	192	4.3	6.3	8.0	5.9
8 years	140	6.3	7.8	8.7	7.4
9-11 years	70	6.5	9.3	9.2	8.4
12 years	94	8.0	9.1	9.9	8.8
13 or more years	54	9.9	10.2	10.7	10.3
Average number items for males		5.9	8.5	8.8	7.5
---Females---					
7 years or less	118	4.0	6.1	8.4	5.9
8 years	187	6.1	8.2	8.9	7.5
9-11 years	63	6.9	9.0	9.4	8.4
12 years	107	8.0	8.8	10.5	8.9
13 or more years	51	9.3	10.3	10.3	10.1
Average number items for females		6.1	8.3	9.2	7.8

^aData are computed on 475 males and 473 females having their own household.

^bThe simple product moment correlation coefficient between number of home items and number years of education for males is .53 for those in Jackson County, .55 for those in other Tennessee counties, .51 for those outside Tennessee, and .52 for the total sample. For females the corresponding set of coefficients are .52, .45, .39, and .46.

^cThe simple product moment correlation coefficient between number of home items and migration (scored: 0--Jackson County; 1--other Tennessee counties; and 2--outside Tennessee) for males is .61, .45, .48, .31, .16, and .43 for the five educational categories and the total sample, respectively. For females the corresponding set of coefficients are .61, .41, .38, .37, .20, and .49. Thus, migration is associated with level of living to a lesser extent at higher educational levels than lower educational levels for both males and females.

five educational categories and the total sample, respectively. For females the corresponding set of coefficients are .61, .41, .38, .37, .20, and .49. Thus, for both males and females, the greatest improvement in level of living associated with migration occurred in the lower educational categories. There is an average difference of 4.4 home items for the males and 4.2 items for the females between the lowest and highest educational categories.

Relationship of Occupation and Residence to Level of Living

The level of living was substantially lower in all occupational categories of both males and females residing in Jackson County than for those residing outside of the county. Of the males, those engaged in farming had the lowest level of living, 4.9 home items, compared with 5.6 items for those employed as unskilled laborers, and 5.2 items for those who were unemployed (Table XIII). The highest level of living among the males occurred for those in professional and semiprofessional occupations. Males employed in professional or semiprofessional occupations and residing in the State had a higher level of living than those employed in professional and semiprofessional occupations who were residing out of the State. Males employed in a trade possessed an average of 8.2 home items and those working in a factory 8.0 items.

Among females, those employed as factory workers had the lowest level of living, 7.2 items, compared with those employed as laborers, 7.6 items, and housewives, 7.5 items. The highest level of living

TABLE XIII

LEVEL OF LIVING FOR 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES REARED IN
JACKSON COUNTY BY OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE

		Residential category			
Occupational category ^c	Number	Jackson County	Other Tennessee counties	Outside Tennessee	All areas
Average number of 12 home items					
---Males---					
Professional	21	9.7	10.9	10.7	10.4
Semiprofessional	63	8.4	10.1	9.7	9.6
Trade	155	6.6	8.8	8.9	8.2
Factory	142	6.8	7.9	8.8	8.0
Unskilled labor	58	4.7	5.5	7.1	5.6
Farming	89	4.6	5.7	8.0	4.9
Unemployed	22	4.7	--	--	5.2
Average number home items for males		5.9	8.5	8.8	7.5
---Females---					
Professional	13	9.2	10.2	--	9.8
Semiprofessional	57	8.6	9.4	10.2	9.6
Trade	7	8.0	10.0	--	9.3
Factory	140	6.1	8.2	9.0	7.2
Housewife	281	5.8	7.9	8.9	7.5
Labor	28	4.0	8.3	10.2	7.6
Average number home items for females		6.1	8.3	9.2	7.8

occurred for both males and females employed in professional and semi-professional occupations.

The greatest difference in level of living occurred between those residing in Jackson County and those residing in other Tennessee counties. There was also less difference in the level of living by residential category for those employed in professional and semi-professional types of occupations than for those employed in the labor, factory, and trade occupational categories.

The range in the level of living by occupational categories varies more for males than for females. The difference between the highest and lowest level of living by occupational categories averaged 5.5 home items for the males, but only 2.6 items for the females.

III. ANALYSIS BY MIGRATION HISTORY

Educational Attainment, Level of Living, and Migration

Both males and females residing in Jackson County had lower levels of education than those residing out of the county (Table XIV). The highest level of educational attainment was found among both males and females who left Jackson County and never returned.

One interesting finding was that males who migrated from Jackson County on two or more occasions, but presently reside in Jackson County, had somewhat less education than the males who never left the county and substantially less than remigrants who left again. The failure to find suitable jobs outside the county is partially due to a poor education. None of the 22 males in this category were high school graduates

TABLE XIV

EDUCATION AND LEVEL OF LIVING BY MIGRATION HISTORY OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

	Migration history					All categories (N=550)
	Never left county (N=142)	Left once, returned (N=71)	Left twice or more, returned (N=22)	Left, returned, left (N=65)	Left, never returned (N=250)	
	-----Percentage-----					
	---Males---					
Education						
7 years or less	37.3	35.2	54.5	33.9	32.0	34.9
8 years	23.2	36.6	36.4	20.0	24.0	25.5
9-11 years	9.2	11.3	9.1	21.5	13.2	12.7
12 years	26.8	9.9	--	10.8	16.8	17.1
13 years or more	3.5	7.0	--	13.8	14.0	9.8
Average years education for males	8.2	8.1	6.5	8.8	8.9	8.5
Home items						
0-4 items	42.2	30.2	42.9	6.6	5.8	19.2
5-8 items	32.1	39.6	47.6	46.7	41.0	39.8
9-12 items	25.7	30.2	9.5	46.7	53.2	41.0
Average number home items for males	5.8	6.4	5.3	8.4	8.7	7.5

TABLE XIV (continued)

	Migration history					All categories (N=526)
	Never left county (N=115)	Left once, returned (N=68)	Left twice, or more, returned (N=15)	Left, returned, left (N=67)	Left, never returned (N=261)	
	-----Percentage-----					
	---Females---					
Education						
7 years or less	27.8	16.2	26.7	25.4	20.7	22.4
8 years	37.4	39.7	40.0	38.8	32.6	35.6
9-11 years	7.8	16.2	13.3	13.4	12.2	12.0
12 years	23.5	20.6	6.7	9.0	22.6	20.3
13 years or more	3.5	7.3	13.3	13.4	11.9	9.7
Average years education for females	8.6	9.1	8.6	9.0	9.4	9.1
Home items						
0-4 items	46.7	34.9	33.3	9.8	6.6	19.5
5-8 items	29.4	30.2	20.0	44.3	33.9	33.4
9-12 items	23.9	34.9	46.7	45.9	59.5	47.1
Average number home items for females	5.6	6.6	6.7	8.4	8.8	7.8

and only two had over an eighth grade education.

Level of living was also substantially lower for males residing in Jackson County compared with males residing outside Jackson County. The level of living of males who were residing in Jackson County, but who had migrated from Jackson County on two or more occasions was particularly low, 5.3 items. This was lower than for those who never left or those who left on only one occasion. Of the females, those who never left Jackson County had the lowest level of living, 5.6 items. The highest level of living was found among both males and females who left Jackson County and never returned. Fifty-three percent of the males and 60 percent of the females who left Jackson County and never returned possessed 9 or more home items compared with 26 percent and 24 percent, respectively, for those who never left the county. The evidence clearly indicates that educational attainment and migration from a low income rural area are positively associated with level of living.

IV. ANALYSIS BY OCCUPATION

Relationship of Education and Occupation to Level of Living

Wide variations existed in educational attainment and the level of living for both males and females in different occupational categories (Table XV). For example, 95 percent of the males and 92 percent of the females employed in a profession completed 12 or more years of education compared with only 3 percent of the males and 7 percent of the females

TABLE XV

EDUCATION AND LEVEL OF LIVING BY OCCUPATION OF 550 MALES
AND 526 FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

		Education		Home items	
Occupational category	Number	7 years or less	12 years or more	4 or less	9 or more
-----Percentage-----					
---Males---					
Professional	21	--	95.2	--	100.0
Semiprofessional	63	4.8	73.0	5.1	74.6
Trade	155	26.5	21.9	11.0	50.8
Factory	142	31.0	25.3	8.1	37.9
Unskilled labor	58	74.2	3.4	53.2	13.0
Farming	89	58.4	7.9	34.2	8.5
Unemployed	22	40.9	13.6	46.1	15.4
Average for males		34.9	26.9	19.2	41.0
---Females---					
Professional	13	--	92.3	8.3	91.7
Semiprofessional	57	5.3	77.2	1.8	72.7
Trade	7	--	57.1	--	50.0
Factory	140	15.7	26.4	23.4	38.3
Housewife	281	29.9	21.0	22.1	43.8
Labor	28	32.2	7.1	22.2	44.5
Average for females		22.4	30.0	19.5	47.1

employed as laborers. Fifty-eight percent of the males engaged in farming completed 7 or less years of education compared with 74 percent of the males employed as unskilled laborers.

All of the males and 92 percent of the females employed in a profession possessed 9 or more home items whereas only 8 percent of the farmers, 13 percent of the laborers, and 15 percent of the unemployed possessed as many items. Over half (53 percent) of males employed as unskilled laborers possessed 4 or fewer home items.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY

The primary objectives of the study were: (1) to determine the extent and pattern of migration of young adults reared in Jackson County, and (2) to relate these migration patterns to education, occupation, residence, special job training, and level of living.

Information concerning social characteristics of the young adults reared in Jackson County was obtained through personal interview of the parents of the young adults. Limited information was also obtained pertaining to the parents. The minimum age of the young adults included in the study was 20 years.

The level of educational attainment for the parents was 6.0 years for the fathers and 6.6 years for the mothers. The low educational level is evident by the fact that 63 percent of the fathers and 52 percent of the mothers completed 7 years or less of formal education.

The average number of 12 selected home improvement items possessed by the parents was 5.8 items. Forty-three percent of the parents possessed four or fewer home items.

Farming was the major lifetime occupation of 78 percent of the fathers. Eighteen percent of the fathers were classified as nonfarmers residing in a rural area and the remaining 4 percent as nonfarmers residing in Gainesboro.

The average age of the young adults was 36.0 years for the males and 36.1 years for the females. Age ranged from 20 to 68 years.

The average educational attainment for males was 8.5 years compared to 9.1 years for females. Only 27 percent of the males and 30 percent of the females had completed 12 years or more of schooling.

Fifty-four percent of the males were employed either as tradesmen or as factory workers. Of the adult daughters, 47 percent were formally employed, with most of these being factory workers.

The level of living of the females was slightly higher than that of the males. Out of 12 home improvement items, the males averaged 7.5 items and the females 7.8 items.

Of the 550 males, 43 percent were residing in Jackson County, 28 percent in other areas of Tennessee, and 29 percent in other states. The corresponding figures for the females were 38 percent, 36 percent, and 27 percent. Of those who lived outside Tennessee, 64 percent of the males and 51 percent of the females were residing either in Detroit, Michigan or Dayton, Ohio. Although males were more likely to remain in Jackson County than females, males who migrated were somewhat more likely to leave Tennessee.

Migration was the rule rather than the exception for the young adults. For example, 74 percent of the males and 78 percent of the females migrated from Jackson County on one or more occasions other than for school or military service. Remigration was also common for those who were residing outside of Jackson County. Twenty-one percent of the

males and 20 percent of the females who were residing outside of the county returned on one or more occasions. Overall, the majority of the young adults, 46 percent of the males and 50 percent of the females, left the county and did not return.

The average age at the time of first migration was 22.0 years for the males and 21.3 years for the females, with age 18 being the modal age at the time of first migration. While the majority of males, 64 percent, were single at the time of first migration, the majority of the females, 66 percent, were married.

Farming was the major occupation of the males at the time of their first migration. Of the females, 84 percent had no formal occupation prior to their first migration. The data suggest that most of the young adults migrated either shortly after completing their education or before they became established in a job.

The greatest change in occupational structure by age group was the lower percentage of the younger men engaged in farming. The percentage farming dropped from 32 percent for the 50 and older to 8 percent for those in the 25-29 age group. The greatest difference in the occupational structure of the females was the lower percentage of the younger women employed as laborers and the higher percentage engaged in factory work.

There was a substantial difference in educational attainment with respect to residence of the young adults. The highest levels of education were found among males and females residing in Putnam County and

Nashville. The lowest levels of education occurred for young adults residing in Dayton, Ohio and Detroit, Michigan, followed by those residing in Jackson and adjacent counties with the exception of Putnam County.

The level of living was higher for the females than for the males in every place of residence except in Putnam County. The lowest level of living for both males and females was found among those residing in Jackson County. Thirty-eight percent of the males and 41 percent of the females residing in Jackson County possessed 4 or fewer home items.

Educational attainment was highly associated with level of living for persons in each residential category. Migration to other Tennessee areas and to areas outside of the State was also highly associated with level of living. There was a higher relationship at the lower educational levels. The correlation coefficients between number of home items and migration for males were .61, .45, .48, .31, .16, and .43 for the five educational categories and the total sample, respectively. For females the corresponding set of coefficients were .61, .41, .38, .37, .20, and .49. Thus, for both males and females, the greatest improvement in level of living associated with migration occurred in the lower educational categories.

The level of living was substantially lower in all occupational categories of both males and females residing in Jackson County than for those residing outside of the county. The lowest level of living was found among males engaged in farming and among females employed as

factory workers. The highest level of living was found among both males and females employed in professional and semiprofessional occupations.

Both males and females residing in Jackson County had lower levels of education than those residing out of the county. The highest level of educational attainment was found among both males and females who left Jackson County and did not return.

Wide variations existed in educational attainment and the level of living for both males and females in different occupational categories. For example, 95 percent of the males and 92 percent of the females employed in a profession completed 12 or more years of education compared with only 3 percent of the males and 7 percent of the females employed as laborers.

All of the males and 92 percent of the females employed in a profession possessed 9 or more home items whereas only 8 percent of the farmers and 13 percent of the laborers possessed as many items.

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APPENDIX

TABLE XVI
EDUCATION OF PARENTS OF 550 MALES AND 526
FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Number years education	Fathers Number	Mothers Number
None	20	10
1	1	2
2	13	4
3	29	17
4	35	37
5	25	25
6	30	28
7	29	27
8	77	109
9	2	4
10	8	7
11	3	1
12	9	12
13	1	-
14	3	-
15	1	2
16	2	2
17	-	-
18	-	1
Total	288	288

TABLE XVII
LEVEL OF LIVING OF PARENTS AND OF THEIR ADULT CHILDREN
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Number Home items	Parents Number	Males Number	Females Number
None	3	5	6
1	9	4	3
2	25	10	13
3	49	39	41
4	39	33	29
5	18	25	19
6	24	24	19
7	24	61	45
8	21	79	75
9	40	68	71
10	22	62	64
11	10	34	57
12	<u>4</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>
Total	288	475	473

TABLE XVIII
AGES OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES REARED
IN JACKSON COUNTY

Age	Males Number	Females Number	Age	Males Number	Females Number
20	20	18	45	19	15
21	13	21	46	10	13
22	13	26	47	8	13
23	22	13	48	17	8
24	24	14	49	2	8
25	20	12	50	14	13
26	14	15	51	7	4
27	13	17	52	11	6
28	18	14	53	7	5
29	12	16	54	9	7
30	17	19	55	10	4
31	19	14	56	4	6
32	22	14	57	2	6
33	14	15	58	2	1
34	23	15	59	1	2
35	18	17	60	1	6
36	19	19	61	2	-
37	12	17	62	3	2
38	14	13	63	1	2
39	19	16	64	2	-
40	21	16	65	2	-
41	10	16	66	-	-
42	14	16	67	1	-
43	9	14	68	-	1
44	15	17	69	-	-
Total	--	--	--	550	526

TABLE XIX
LENGTH OF SPECIAL TRAINING OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Length of special training	Males Number	Females Number
No training	466	460
Less than 6 weeks	6	--
6 weeks to 6 months	12	10
6 months to 12 months	10	9
1 year	16	17
2 years	10	10
3 years or more	<u>30</u>	<u>20</u>
Total	550	526

TABLE XX

EDUCATION OF 550 MALES AND 526 FEMALES REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Number years education	Males Number	Females Number
None	3	--
1	6	3
2	9	2
3	31	6
4	29	20
5	28	13
6	29	31
7	57	43
8	140	187
9	38	20
10	22	27
11	10	16
12	94	107
13	14	21
14	10	10
15	9	4
16	17	13
17	--	1
18	4	2
Total	550	526

TABLE XXI

AGE AT FIRST MIGRATION OF 408 MALES AND 411 FEMALES
REARED IN JACKSON COUNTY

Age	Males Number	Females Number	Age	Males Number	Females Number
10	--	1	31	2	3
11	--	--	32	7	5
12	1	--	33	4	1
13	2	1	34	2	--
14	3	5	35	6	12
15	2	2	36	1	--
16	14	25	37	1	--
17	30	44	38	4	3
18	88	77	39	--	--
19	54	53	40	6	1
20	34	44	41	--	--
21	40	30	42	1	2
22	20	30	43	2	1
23	14	14	44	--	--
24	11	9	45	3	--
25	21	17	46	--	--
26	3	5	47	--	1
27	9	8	48	1	--
28	3	5	49	--	2
29	5	--	50	--	--
30	13	9	51	1	1
Total	--	--	--	408	411