

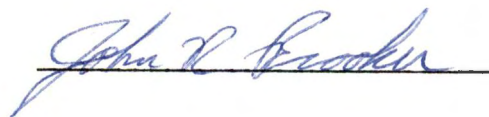
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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Ramachandran Kailasam entitled "A Socioeconomic Analysis of Nonmigrants, Return Migrants, and Primary Migrants in Putnam County, Tennessee." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Agricultural Economics.

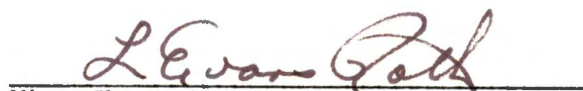

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A SOCIOECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF NONMIGRANTS, RETURN MIGRANTS, AND
PRIMARY MIGRANTS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Ramachandran Kailasam

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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this study were to (1) determine the differences in socioeconomic characteristics of 332 male households by place where reared: Putnam County natives, natives from adjacent counties and natives of "other areas;" (2) determine the differences in socioeconomic characteristics of 332 male household heads by migrant type: nonmigrants, return migrants and primary migrants and (3) determine the migration patterns and the reasons for moving for return migrants and primary migrants.

Analyses were done for socioeconomic characteristics on variables age, education, income, home items or level of living, and occupation. Analyses of individuals by place where reared for the three groups revealed significant differences on all the variables except age. No significant differences existed between Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties for any of the five variables analyzed. Analyses of heads by migrant type showed significant differences only on age and education between the three groups.

Significant differences existed between primary and return migrants on occupation before final move to Putnam County. Analysis of migration patterns showed a high rate of residential mobility among both primary and return migrant groups. Analysis of reasons for moving showed a majority of return migrants giving miscellaneous reasons whereas a majority of primary migrants gave economic reasons for the move. In conclusion, development and policy implications were briefly discussed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is an accepted fact that the United States has a highly mobile society. Expansion and migration have been central themes in its history. The migration process which has been one of the most important determinants of population change is the one about which very little is known. The following statistics support the contention that Americans possess a high degree of geographical mobility.

In a study by William Peterson it was observed that "every year approximately one American out of every five moves to a different residence and a considerable fraction of this migration is highly significant in cultural and economic terms."¹ According to Long and Boertlien's study, it was observed that "at age 20 an American expects to make 9.25 additional moves and at age 25 over seven changes of residence can still be expected Not until age 70 does an American's mobility expectancy drop below one."² In the same study, Long and Boertlien observed that out of the total number of moves in the United States, 61.9 percent of the moves were made within the same county, 16.9 percent of the moves within the same state and 18 percent of the moves between states for a one year period in

¹William Peterson, "Internal Migration and Economic Development in Northern America." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Volume 316, (March 1958):52-59.

²Larry H. Long and Celia Boertlien, "The Geographic Mobility of Americans: An International Comparison." Current Population Reports. Special Studies Series P-23, Number 64, 1976:14-16.

1970. For a five year period, 1965-70, the percentages for the different categories of moves in the same order discussed above were 41.4 percent, 40.1 percent and 7.2 percent respectively.³

Demographic studies have shown that migration consists of two components: stream and counterstream or movement in the opposite direction. As early as 1885, Ravenstien noted that "each main current of migration produces a compensating counter current."⁴ The components of counterstream migration are primary and return migration. Since Putnam County was considered as the destination area for immigrants from elsewhere the immigration stream was considered as the counterstream into Putnam County. The out migration stream from Putnam County was simply termed as the stream. Return migration and counterstream are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. Return migration is only an aspect of the former but not limited to it. This means return migrants are to be found in both stream and counterstream along with primary migrants. Stream and counterstream terms are stated here without reference to volume or scale of migration.

In recent decades for many areas of the United States and the South, a dramatic shift in migration patterns had occurred in which the counterstream migration increased greatly. This trend was reflected in recent studies by Anne S. Lee, Larry H. Long and Kristin A. Hansen, and

³ Ibid., pp. 19-21.

⁴ E. G. Ravenstien, "The Laws of Migration." The Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 48 (London 1885):167.

Rex R. Campbell, Daniel M. Johnson and Gary Stangler, to name a few.⁵ The literature about components of counterstream migration in total is limited. Primary migration has been studied very little while return migration has been examined a limited number of times. This study focused on one important area neglected by rural sociologists and other students of migration, the counterstream, and its components. Primary and return migration into Putnam County, Tennessee, in addition to the study of nonmigrants.

In recent years these types of migrations have had significant impact in the developmental areas of the United States and still do. There have been several arguments for and against the benefits of migration for the individual and society. For example, Everett Lee points out that "the interests of the economy and of the individual are best suited by the fluid movements of those who are hardest to replace."⁶ On the contrary, the detrimental effects of a highly mobile population were emphasized in recent books on the best sellers list by Alvin Toffler, Vance Packard, Ralph Keyes, Suzzane Gordon to name a few.⁷ For example, to quote Toffler,

⁵ Anne S. Lee, "Return Migration in the United States." International Migration Review, Center for Migration Studies of New York, Volume 8 (Summer 1974); Larry H. Long and Kristin A. Hansen, "Trends in Return Migration to the South." Demography, Volume 12, Number 4 (November 1975); Rex R. Campbell, Daniel M. Johnson, and Gary Stangler, "Return Migration of Black People to the South." Rural Sociology, Volume 39, Number 4 (Winter 1974).

⁶ Everett Lee, "Migration in Relation to Education, Intellect and Social Structure." Presidential Address, Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, 1970.

⁷ Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam Books, 1970); Vance Packard, A Nation of Strangers (New York: David McKay Company Inc.,

Never has man's role with place been more numerous, fragile, and temporary. . . . We are witnessing a historic decline in the significance of place to human life. We are breeding a new race of nomads and few suspect quite how massive, widespread and significant their migrations are.⁸

I. SITUATION

Putnam County situated in the mid Cumberland region was chosen for this study because it presented itself as appropriate for an investigation of the changing trends in migration, as discussed earlier. In addition the county can be considered as part of an increased migration into Tennessee and the South. Moreover trends and patterns of population change in Putnam County reflected trends at national and regional levels. A brief look at the changing migration trends in the South, Tennessee and Putnam County is necessary for a clear comprehension of the existing situation.

Recent studies by Campbell et al., and Long indicated that major shifts in the population of the South had occurred due to the reversal of the South to North movement of black and white people.⁹ The result was

1972); Ralph Keyes, We The Lonely People (New York: Harper and Row, 1973); Suzanne Gordon, Lonely in America (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1975).

⁸ Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), p. 75.

⁹ Rex R. Campbell, Daniel M. Johnson, and Gary Stangler, "Return Migration of Black People to the South." Rural Sociology, Volume 39, Number 4 (Winter 1974).

that total in-migration of whites and blacks to the South rose greatly during the last two decades.

According to Leuthold's study, "During the past decade [1960-1970]. . . the net out-migration was 42,000 persons (1.2 percent of the 1960 population) [from Tennessee]." ¹⁰ According to the current population reports net in-migration in Tennessee was 2.9 percent during the 1970-1975 period. In this period only 12 counties experienced net out-migration. ¹¹

Within Tennessee, the county with the highest in-migration rate during 1960-70 period was Sumner County with 42.3 percent and during the 1970-1975 period it was Williamson County with 24.6 percent (Table I). The highest net out-migration during the 1960-70 period was from Lake County with 31.2 percent and during the 1970-75 period it was the same county with net out-migration of 10.3 percent. Putnam County had net out-migration during the 1950-60 period, but had net in-migration of 10.9 percent and 11.7 percent during the 1960-70 and 1970-75 periods respectively. It is interesting to note that during the 1960-70 period all counties contiguous to Putnam County experienced net out-migration. During the same period Putnam County absorbed 3,407 migrants. During 1970-75 Tennessee, Putnam County and the adjacent counties all experienced net in-migration indicating the reversal in migration patterns.

¹⁰ Frank O. Leuthold, Population Changes in Tennessee from 1930-70. University of Tennessee, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin Number 498, June 1972, p. 9.

¹¹ Current Population Reports. Federal-State Cooperative Program for Population Estimates, Series P-26, No. 75-42, August 1976, pp. 3-4.

TABLE I

MIGRATION CHANGES IN TENNESSEE, PUTNAM COUNTY AND ITS ADJACENT
COUNTIES, FOR SELECTED PERIODS, 1950-75

Region	Migration Changes					
	Net Migrants			Percentage		
	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1975	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1975
Putnam	- 4,276	3,407	4,100	-14.3	10.9	11.7
Adjacent Counties						
Cumberland	- 3,167	- 745	2,300	-16.8	- 3.9	11.2
Decalb	- 1,996	- 473	1,100	-17.1	- 4.4	9.5
Fentress	- 4,313	- 2,348	700	-28.9	-17.7	5.9
Jackson	- 4,282	- 1,446	200	-34.7	-15.7	2.1
Overton	- 4,815	- 904	300	-27.4	- 6.2	1.9
Smith	- 3,124	- 202	700	-22.2	- 1.6	5.7
White	- 2,449	- 466	1,100	-15.1	- 3.0	7.0
Highest In and Out-Migration Counties						
Hamblen	5,139			24.4		
Jackson	- 4,282			-34.7		
Sumner		15,193			42.3	
Lake		- 2,919			-31.2	
Williamson			8,500			24.6
Lake			- 800			-10.3
Tennessee	-256,731	-41,955	115,000	- 7.8	- 1.2	2.9

Source: Leuthold, Frank O. Population Changes in Tennessee, 1930-70. University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin Number 498. June 1972, pp. 15-22. And Current Population Reports, Federal State Cooperative Program for Population Estimates, Series P-26, Number 75-42, August 1976, pp. 3-4.

In 1970, 40.2 percent of Putnam County residents were classified as urban, 48.5 percent as rural nonfarm, and 11.2 percent as rural farm. In the same year 30.7 percent of residents were classified as working in manufacturing industries, 40.4 percent in white collar occupations and 20.9 percent as government workers. The median income for Putnam County was \$5,813 and for the state it was \$7,447.¹²

II. JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Research on counterstream migration and its components are relatively limited, despite the recognition of its existence by demographers and sociologists for the last 75 years. The shortcomings in most of the earlier migration studies can be attributed to four issues: (1) improper usage of terminology to describe return migration and counterstream migration, (2) lack of use of longitudinal data, (3) lack of focus on characteristics of different migrant types, and (4) lack of emphasis on the exact reasons for moving. A detailed explanation of all these four shortcomings in earlier migration studies would help clarify the issues and also justify this study.

The terminological sloppiness in past migration studies is evident by the usage of different terms by various researchers to define return migration and counterstream migration. Terms used included "counter current," "back flow," and "reverse stream," to name a few by Ravenstien,

¹²United States Bureau of the Census. County and City Data Book, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970, pp. 169, 354, 449.

Hawley and Eldridge respectively in their studies.¹³ Implicit in some of these conceptualizations is the idea that counterstream and return migration are synonymous as indicated by the terms used. This bias has been carried over into research which is indicated by the much larger amount of research done on return migration as compared to the other component of counterstream, which is direct or primary migration.

Most migration studies are based on cross sectional data, i.e. the status of persons at one particular point in time. In a limited sense, census data on residences at two points in time can be considered longitudinal; however it allows data on return migration to slip through. Because of paucity of data, sociologists and demographers generally have tended either to ignore return migrants or to treat them similarly to other types of migrant groups. As Bowman and Myers aptly put it in their study "the common tendency [is] to treat migration as though it were a once-for-all affair."¹⁴ The inclusion of return migrants in total in-migration stream, or non-disaggregation of migration data into different migration types in past studies might have concealed the effect of economic and sociologic conditions in different regions on different migrant types.

¹³E. G. Ravenstien, "The Laws of Migration." Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 52 (June 1889):241-301; Amos Hawley, Urban Society: An Ecological Approach (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1971); H. T. Eldridge, "Primary, Secondary, and Return Migration in the United States, 1955-60." Demography 2:44, 1965, p. 454.

¹⁴Mary Jean Bowman and Robert G. Myers, "Schooling, Experience, and Gains and Losses in Human Capital Through Migration." American Statistical Association Journal LXII (September 1967):501-502.

Most migration studies have tended to investigate characteristics of origin and destination areas rather than the characteristics of individual migrant types and nonmigrants. There are many personal factors which facilitate or retard migration. Personal sensitivities, intelligence and awareness of conditions elsewhere may enter into the evaluation of the situation at origin, and knowledge of the situation at destination may depend upon personal contacts or upon sources of information like friends and relatives which are not universally available. Thus the study of characteristics of different migrant types is important because of the possibility of differing response characteristics to the explanatory variables as a result of the variation in the available information and uncertainty among the different migrant types.

The reasons for moving are extremely diversified. Only rarely can a move be attributed to one cause. Of the very little work that was done on primary migration it was found that primary migrants move mostly for economic reasons depending on the economic conditions and job opportunities available in destination areas. Only educated guesses exist concerning the exact causes for people returning to their "home" region. Adequate models have been developed to analyze migration as an investment in human capital and as a result of maximizing behavior. If migration is explained, for example, in terms of income differentials, it can also be possible for people to climb down the income differential ladder and return to their "home" region for social and family reasons. The incentives to return for return migrants were "economic" in a study by

Spengler, and "family" in a study by Johnson.¹⁵ The primary question to be asked then is to what extent are the reasons for returning noneconomic and to what extent economic. This question is liable to become more pressing the greater the quantitative and qualitative importance of return migration. There is also evidence that return migration tends to involve the older population in the form of "retirement migration" but little research has been conducted in this area. Sometimes not all migrants reach decisions themselves, like children following parents, wives following husbands, separation, death of spouse, etc. Thus several reasons are likely to operate in the decision to move by migrants.

In recent decades the reversal in migration trends to the South indicates the increasing attractiveness of the Southern region for primary and return migrants and at the same time retaining persons born in the South. This reversal is probably due to the heavy out-migration in the past. To quote Miller, "the more out-migration there has been, the greater the potential for return migration."¹⁶ Data in Table I, p. 6, does not show the extent of return and primary migration into Tennessee and Putnam County but the heavy net out-migration in the past decades should be particularly noted. Generally net migration gains or losses as described in past migration studies are only the surface ripples of

¹⁵ Joseph J. Spengler, "Southern Economic Trends and Prospects," in John C. McKinny and E. T. Thompson (Eds.), The South in Continuity and Change (Durham: North Carolina Duke University Press, 1965), pp. 101-131; Daniel M. Johnson, "Black Return Migration to a Southern Metropolitan Community: Birmingham, Alabama," (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1971).

¹⁶ Edward Miller, "Return and Non-Return In-Migration." Growth and Change, Volume 4, Number 1 (January 1973):3.

powerful cross currents of movements and the one-way drift of net migration is not an accurate measure of the many migratory moves that some people make which would qualify them into different migrant types. The failure to disaggregate different migrant types would lead to specification bias. Thus, to avoid this bias in this study, to quote Miller,

It is necessary to study return and non-return [primary migrants] in-migration separately. Otherwise, the systematic correlation of the number of potential return migrants with measures of attractiveness will lead to the underestimation of the role of such variables.¹⁷

Recent evidences of a large proportion of return migrants in the counterstream to the South may have been large enough to bias the findings of earlier migration studies that did not distinguish between primary and return migrants. This could have led to inappropriate policy making for developmental purposes. For example, policy measures to develop jobs for the nonmigrant population in a depressed area might be taken up by return migrants with more skills and education than nonmigrants. Thus for effective policy making for development, policy makers need information regarding the social and economic processes governing different migrant types and their migration patterns as shown in this study.

In this study there was an attempt to gain more insight into the determinants of migration by decomposing the migration process, analytically searching for empirical uniformities and synthesizing these uniformities into coherent interpretations of migrant behavior under

¹⁷Ibid., p. 3.

comparable circumstances which should provide useful knowledge to previous migration studies.

III. OBJECTIVES

The overall purpose of this study was to analyze the migration patterns and socioeconomic characteristics of household heads residing in Putnam County, Tennessee, by place where reared and migration pattern. Specifically the objectives were to (1) determine the differences in socioeconomic characteristics between natives of Putnam County, adjacent counties to Putnam County, and all "other areas;" (2) determine the differences in socioeconomic characteristics of nonmigrants, return migrants, and primary migrants; (3) determine the migration patterns and the reasons for moving by return and primary migrants.

IV. METHODOLOGY

Analyses in this study was restricted to a sample of nonmigrants, return migrants and primary migrants, the last two groups constituting the counterstream migration into Putnam County, Tennessee.

Movers and migrants in this study were distinguished by a single criteria. "Movers" were persons changing their place of residence whereas "migrants" were movers whose change of residence took them into a new political unit like county, state, or country. Thus all migrants were movers but some movers were not migrants. Net migration was defined as the difference between the number of persons moving into and the number of persons leaving a particular region. The problem of semantics in defining different migrant groups and nonmigrants was avoided by

defining them as follows: A nonmigrant was defined as a household head who had never migrated and was reared in Putnam County; a return migrant was defined as a household head who was reared in Putnam County, had migrated outside of Putnam County and returned. The return migrants when migrating for the first time were of labor force age, about 16 years, who could make their own decisions and who considered Putnam County as the place where they were reared. A primary migrant was defined as any household head who was not reared in Putnam County and who was at least 16 years of age at time of first migration to Putnam County.

The questionnaire was designed to secure data on individuals residing in Putnam County during the summer of 1975.¹⁸ Surveys were designed to obtain longitudinal data on individual residence histories, migration patterns, number of moves, reasons for moves, age, education, occupation, income, and level of living. This type of data enabled disaggregation into different migrant types, and study of their characteristics. Through direct questions on reasons for moving, an attempt was made to establish direct relationships between moves and key events in the life cycle like taking a job, marriage, retirement, etc.

Sequential random sampling procedure was used to select the different segments in Putnam County. Using a 1974 Tennessee highway map, the county was stratified into urban and rural areas. Cookeville, Monterey, Algood, and Baxter constituted the urban area and the remainder of the

¹⁸Data was collected as part of the Tennessee Agricultural Hatch Project, No. 382, "The Impact of Demographic Changes of the Tennessee Rural Population," under the direction of Dr. Frank O. Leuthold, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology.

county was designated rural. The urban area was divided into 159 segments. The numbered segments were randomly selected and listed. After plotting and enumeration of individual household units in the selected segments, interviewing was conducted on every fourth unit in the first 24 segments of the list of 159 segments. A table of random numbers was used for selection of a random starting point for interviewing which started from the northwest corner. The same procedures were used in the rural area. In this case, interviewing was conducted at every other unit in the first 20 segments of an estimated 163 segments. An estimated 7624 household units were in the urban segments (68 percent) and 3528 units were present in the rural segments (32 percent). Thus, the households in the selected segments were approximately two-thirds urban and one-third rural.

Of the 440 interview schedules taken, 4 were not used due to incomplete information. For purposes of this study only 332 schedules containing information on unmarried, and married male household heads were used. Data on female household heads and data on wives were not analyzed in the present study. Household heads were used as the unit of analysis for three reasons.

(1) The characteristics of heads are important as indicators of the social standing of the entire household as a migrating unit.

(2) The status of the migrating household head affects the composition of private residential neighborhoods and the social structure of sending and receiving communities.

(3) Heads of households are typically more responsive to the labor market and community characteristics than other subgroups such as

college students and military personnel, whose moves are mostly temporary and involuntary in nature. The criteria used to determine the status of household heads in this study were age and marital status. Unmarried persons were included in this category if they had an independent household or were over 30 years of age.

Past research had revealed that the consistent differentiating factors in migration patterns in the United States were occupation, employment status, race, sex, and home ownership. While these generalizations can be tentatively adopted as a basis for studying differential migration, Peterson states the case more forcefully by arguing that "migrants must be expected to reflect in their characteristics, the social and economic changes that are taking place."¹⁹ On the basis of emphasis in past research six variables were chosen for analysis in this study. The two demographic variables were age and sex. Education, income, occupation, and level of living were the other four socioeconomic characteristics that were selected for analyses. The level of living was determined by the number of household items possessed by household heads from a selected list of 20 items. Some of the selected items were telephone, refrigerator, television, clothes washer, dishwasher, etc., with other modern conveniences. Heads were coded in occupational categories on the following basis:

- (1) Trade: included occupations such as truck driver, carpenter, mechanic, electrician, and beautician.
- (2) Unskilled Labor: included occupations such as construction worker, waitress, and dishwasher.

- (3) Semi-Skilled: included occupations such as policeman, meter reader, and decorator.
- (4) Semi-Professional: included occupations such as secretary, bookkeeper, payroll clerk, salesman, teacher, minister, and banker.
- (5) Professional: included occupations such as doctor, lawyer, and accountant.

The other remaining categories of occupations which were self-explanatory were coded as: farmer, factory, military, student, unemployed, self-employed, retired, housewife, and physically handicapped. Some of these categories were collapsed again for simplicity of presentation and ease of analysis.

All analyses were done using the Statistical Analysis System 76. The differences in age, income, education, and level of living on groups by place where reared and migration pattern were statistically tested using analysis of variance and F tests. Occupational differences were tested using Chi-Square tests. The level of significance used in the F tests and Chi-Square tests were at the .05 level of confidence.

CHAPTER II

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MALE HOUSEHOLD

HEADS BY PLACE WHERE REARED

I. SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PUTNAM COUNTY NATIVES, NATIVES OF ADJACENT COUNTIES, AND NATIVES OF "OTHER AREAS"

Socioeconomic characteristics of the 332 male household heads were analyzed by place where reared (Table II). The three groups used in the analysis were:

- (1) Natives of Putnam County (62 percent),
- (2) Natives of adjacent counties (22.6 percent), and
- (3) Natives of "other areas" (15.4 percent).

The analyses in this section took into consideration only the place where each individual was reared and not their migratory aspects. Hence the inclusion of return migrants in the first group which also contains nonmigrants. The variables analyzed were age, education, income, home items or level of living and occupation.

Age by Place Where Reared

The percent of respondents by age categories, who were reared in Putnam County, adjacent counties, and "other areas" are shown in Table III. Natives of "other areas" had the least mean age as compared to the other two groups. The mean age of Putnam County natives was 48.3 years, as compared to 47.6 years of natives from adjacent counties and 43.8 years for natives from "other areas." For all areas the mean age was 47.4 years.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY PLACE WHERE
REARED IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Place Where Reared	Number	Percent
Putnam County	206	62.0
<u>Adjacent Counties</u>	75	22.5
Cumberland	(1)	(0.3)
Decalb	(4)	(1.2)
Jackson	(20)	(6.0)
Overton	(31)	(9.3)
Smith	(5)	(1.5)
White	(9)	(2.7)
Fentress	(5)	(1.5)
<u>Other Areas</u>	51	15.3
Areas within Tennessee ^a	(18)	(5.4)
Areas Outside Tennessee ^b	(31)	(9.3)
Countries Outside U.S. ^c	(2)	(0.6)
Total	332	99.8 ^d

^aAny county within Tennessee, except Putnam County and the seven adjacent counties.

^bAny state except Tennessee.

^cAny country except the United States.

^dTotal does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding error.

TABLE III
AGE DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE WHERE REARED OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD
HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Age Category Years	Place Where Reared			Percent
	Putnam County (N = 206)	Adjacent Counties (N = 75)	Other Areas (N = 51)	All Areas (N = 332)
Less than 24	7.8	6.7	13.7	8.4
25-59	10.7	10.7	15.7	11.4
30-34	8.7	8.0	11.8	9.0
35-39	4.9	9.3	7.8	6.3
40-44	6.3	12.0	7.8	7.8
45-49	11.2	6.7	2.0	8.7
50-54	12.6	13.3	7.8	12.0
55-59	9.7	9.3	11.8	9.9
60 and over	28.2	24.0	21.6	26.2
Total	100.1 ^a	100.0	100.0	99.7 ^a
Average Age (Years)	48.3	47.6	43.8	47.4

^aTotals do not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors.

$\bar{F}$ value between males in the three groups [$\bar{F} = 1.48$, $F_{.95}(2,329) = 3.03$].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties [$\bar{F} = 0.11$, $\bar{F}_{.95}(1,279) = 3.87$].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between natives of adjacent counties and natives of "other areas" [$\bar{F} = 1.55$, $\bar{F}_{.95}(1,124) = 3.92$].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between Putnam County natives and natives of "other areas" [$\bar{F} = 2.90$, $\bar{F}_{.95}(1,255) = 3.87$].

The largest percentages were consistently found in the older age categories in all the three groups. Natives of "other areas" had a higher percentage of individuals in the younger age categories as compared to the other two groups.

Statistical analysis for significant differences in age composition were done for the three groups. No significant differences were found. An F ratio of 1.48 was obtained when an F ratio of 3.03 was needed for statistical significance at the .05 level of confidence. Statistical analyses also showed no significant differences between any one pair of the three groups either.

Education by Place Where Reared

The percent of respondents by educational categories, who were reared in Putnam County, adjacent counties, and "other areas" are shown in Table IV. Natives of "other areas" had the highest average education as compared to the other two groups. The average education for Putnam County natives was 8.7 years as compared to 8.8 years for natives of adjacent counties and 12.7 years for natives of "other areas." The average education for all areas was 9.3 years.

The largest percentages in educational composition were consistently found in the 8-11 years and 12 years educational categories in all the three groups. Natives of "other areas" had the least percentage in the 0-4 years educational category, and the largest percentage in the 16 years or more educational category, as compared to the other two groups.

Statistical analyses for significant differences in educational composition were done for the three groups. Significant differences

TABLE IV

EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE WHERE REARED OF 332 MALE
HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Educational Category (Years)	Place Where Reared		
	Putnam County (N = 206)	Adjacent Counties (N = 75)	Other Areas (N = 51) All Areas (N = 332)
	-----Percent-----		
0-4	17.0	16.0	5.9
5-7	14.1	14.7	0.0
8-11	33.5	32.0	19.6
12	23.3	29.3	37.2
13-15	6.8	1.3	5.9
16 or more	5.3	6.7	31.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average (Years)	8.7	8.8	12.7

$\bar{F}$ value between males in the three groups [$\bar{F}$ = 20.02, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ = (2,329) = 3.03].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties [$\bar{F}$ = 0.00, $\bar{F}_{(1,279)} = 3.87$].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between natives of adjacent counties and natives of "other areas" [$\bar{F}$ = 28.57, $\bar{F}_{(1,124)} = 3.92$].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between Putnam County natives and natives of "other areas" [$\bar{F}$ = 37.70, $\bar{F}_{(1,255)} = 3.87$].

were found between the three groups. An F ratio of 20.02 was obtained when an F ratio of 3.03 was needed for significance at the .05 level of confidence. There was no statistical significance between Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties; however statistical differences existed between natives from adjacent counties and natives of "other areas," and between Putnam County natives and natives of "other areas." It is quite evident that heads from "other areas" were more educated than either Putnam County natives or natives of adjacent counties. Educational pattern of Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties were more or less the same in nearly all the educational categories.

Income by Place Where Reared

The percent of respondents by personal income categories, who were reared in Putnam County, adjacent counties and "other areas" are shown in Table V. Natives of "other areas" had the highest average income as compared to the other two groups. The average income of Putnam County natives was \$7,085, whereas for natives of adjacent counties it was \$6,626 and for natives of "other areas" it was \$10,437. For all areas average income was \$7,496.

The largest percentages were consistently found in the middle income categories, i.e., \$3,000-\$5,999 and \$6,000-\$9,999, in all the three groups. Natives of "other areas" had the highest percentage in the high income category, i.e., \$15,000 or more and the least percentage in the low income category, i.e., below \$2,999 as compared to the other two groups.

TABLE V

INCOME DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE WHERE REARED OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN
PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Income Category (Dollars)	Place Where Reared			All Areas N = 332
	Putnam County N = 206	Adjacent Counties N = 75	Other Areas N = 51	
	-----Percent-----			
0-2,999	21.4	26.7	13.7	21.4
3,000-5,999	24.8	33.3	19.6	25.9
6,000-9,999	27.2	20.0	23.5	25.0
10,000-14,999	19.4	13.3	15.7	17.5
15,000 or More	7.3	6.7	27.5	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average (Dollars)	7,085	6,626	10,437	7,496

F value between males in the three groups [$F = 5.71$, $F_{.95} (2,329) = 3.03$].

$F_{.95}$ value between Putnam County natives and natives from adjacent counties [$F = 0.27$, $F_{.95} (1,279) = 3.87$].

$F_{.95}$ value between natives from adjacent counties and natives from "other areas" [$F = 5.82$, $F_{.95} (1,124) = 3.92$].

$F_{.95}$ value between Putnam County natives and natives from "other areas" [$F = 12.59$, $F_{.95} (1,255) = 3.87$].

Statistical analyses for significant differences in income composition were done for the three groups. Significant differences were found between the three groups. An F ratio of 5.71 was obtained when an F ratio of 3.03 was needed for significance at the .05 level of confidence. Moreover there was no statistical significance between Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties; however statistical differences existed between natives of adjacent counties and natives of "other areas," and between Putnam County natives and natives of "other areas."

The analysis reveals the high income earning capacity of natives of "other areas" followed by Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties in that order.

Level of Living by Place Where Reared

Level of living was determined by the number of 20 selected home items possessed by the household heads, like telephone, refrigerator, television, etc. The percent of respondents by level of living or home items categories who were reared in Putnam County, adjacent counties and "other areas" are shown in Table VI.

Natives of "other areas" possessed the highest average number of home items than either of the other two groups. The average number of home items possessed by Putnam County natives was 12.2 as compared to 11.4 by natives of adjacent counties and 14.9 by natives of "other areas." For all areas it was 12.4 items.

The largest percentages were consistently found in the 9-12 and 13-16 home items categories in all the three groups. Natives of "other areas" had the highest percentage in the 17 or more home items category

TABLE VI
HOME ITEMS DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE WHERE REARED OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD
HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975^a

Home Items (Number)	Place Where Reared		
	Putnam County N = 206	Adjacent Counties N = 75	Other Areas N = 51
			All Areas N = 332
		-----Percent-----	
0-8	17.5	22.7	2.0
9-12	35.9	36.0	27.5
13-16	30.1	25.3	31.4
17 or More	16.5	16.0	39.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average (Number)	12.2	11.4	14.9
			12.4

^aThe 20 selected home items were: telephone, two or more telephones, refrigerator, deep freezer, automatic clothes washer, electric or gas range, clothes dryer, television, color television, wall to wall carpeting, piped in water, hot water heater, flush toilet, bath or shower, two or more bathrooms, dishwasher, stereo, air conditioning, central air conditioning, and air conditioning in car.

$\bar{F}$ value between males in the three groups [$\bar{F}$ = 11.50, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (2,329) = 3.03].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties [$\bar{F}$ = 1.99, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,279) = 3.87].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between natives of adjacent counties and natives of "other areas" [$\bar{F}$ = 20.67, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,124) = 3.92].

$\bar{F}_{.95}$ value between Putnam County natives and natives of "other areas" [$\bar{F}$ = 18.09, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,255) = 3.87].

and also had the least percentage in the 0-8 home items category as compared to the other two groups.

Statistical analyses for significant differences in home items composition were done for the three groups. Significant differences were found between the three groups. An F ratio of 11.50 was obtained when an F ratio of 3.03 was needed for significance at the .05 level of confidence. Moreover there was no statistical significance between Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties. However, statistical differences existed between natives of adjacent counties and natives of "other areas" and between Putnam County natives and natives of "other areas."

The analysis on the level of living variable showed that natives of "other areas" enjoyed a higher standard of living since they comprised the highest percentage in the possession of 17 items or more category and the least percentage in the 0-8 items category. They were followed by, in terms of standard of living, Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties.

Occupation by Place Where Reared

The percent of respondents by occupational categories, who were reared in Putnam County, adjacent counties, and "other areas" are shown in Table VII. For ease of analysis and presentation, the occupational categories were collapsed into single categories.

The largest percentages were consistently found in the combined occupational categories of the retired and the physically handicapped in all the three groups. Large percentages were also found in the combined

TABLE VII
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE WHERE REARED OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD
HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975^a

Occupational Category	Place Where Reared			
	Putnam County N = 206	Adjacent Counties N = 75	Other Areas N = 51	All Areas N = 332
	-----Percent-----			
Professional	1.0	4.0	15.7	3.9
Semi-Professional	11.2	5.3	13.7	10.2
Trade	10.7	16.0	3.9	10.8
Factory	13.1	9.3	5.9	11.1
Farmer	11.7	16.0	2.0	11.1
Unskilled/Semi-Skilled/ and Self-Employed	21.4	20.0	19.6	20.8
Unemployed	4.4	4.0	5.9	4.5
Student/Military	1.5	1.3	11.8	3.0
Retired/Physically Handicapped	25.2	24.0	21.6	24.4
Total	100.2 ^b	99.9 ^b	100.0	99.8 ^b

^aThe occupational categories of factory, trade, farmer, the combined categories of professional and semi-professional, and the combined categories of unskilled, semi-skilled and self-employed were used to compute the Chi-Square values. The rest of the occupational categories were excluded in computing Chi-Square values.

^bTotals do not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors.

Chi-Square value between males in the three groups [$\chi^2 = 23.24$, $\chi^2 = (8 \text{ d.f. } .95) = 15.50$].

Chi-Square value between natives of Putnam County and Natives of adjacent counties [$\chi^2 = 3.11$, $\chi^2 = (4 \text{ d.f. } .95) = 9.48$].

Chi-Square value between natives of adjacent counties and natives of "other areas" [$\chi^2 = 17.39$, $\chi^2 = (4 \text{ d.f. } .95) = 9.48$].

Chi-Square value between natives of Putnam County and natives of "other areas" [$\chi^2 = 16.51$, $\chi^2 = (4 \text{ d.f. } .95) = 9.48$].

occupational categories of the unskilled, semi-skilled and the self-employed in all the three groups. Natives of "other areas" had the highest percentage in the combined occupational categories of professionals and semi-professionals and the least percentages in the occupational categories of trade, factory, and farmer, as compared to the other two groups. The percentages for the combined occupational categories of professionals and semi-professionals in the three groups were 12.2 percent for Putnam County natives, 9.3 percent for natives of adjacent counties, and 29.4 percent for natives of "other areas."

Statistical analyses for significant differences in the occupational composition were done for the three groups using only occupational categories of factory, trade, farmer, the combined categories of professionals and semi-professionals, and the combined categories of unskilled, semi-skilled and the self-employed. They constituted 69.1 percent of Putnam County natives, 70.6 percent of natives of adjacent county natives and 60.8 percent of natives of "other areas." Student and military occupations were of a temporary nature and the rest of the occupational categories were not really work related. Hence these categories were excluded in computing Chi-Square values. Significant differences were found between the three groups. A Chi-Square value of 23.24 was obtained when a Chi-Square of 15.50 was needed for significance at the .05 level of confidence. Moreover there was no statistical significance between Putnam County natives and natives from adjacent counties. However, statistical differences existed between natives of adjacent counties and natives of "other areas" and between Putnam County natives and natives of "other areas."

The analysis of the occupation variable in Table VII, p. 27, showed a pattern where Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties were concentrated more in the low skilled occupations whereas natives of "other areas" tend to be highly concentrated in the professional and semi-professional occupations. This kind of occupational pattern among the three groups very well agreed with Bogue's hypothesis where he stated that "whereas unskilled jobs [nontechnical] usually are filled by local residents, more technical and skilled jobs tend to be filled through region-wide or even nation-wide competition and recruitment."²⁰

²⁰Donald Bogue, Principles of Demography (New York: Wiley, 1969), p. 771; also see E. Katz, "Occupational Contact Networks," Social Forces (October 1958) Volume 37, pp. 52-58.

CHAPTER III

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY TYPE OF MIGRANT

I. SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NONMIGRANTS, RETURN MIGRANTS, AND PRIMARY MIGRANTS

Socioeconomic characteristics of the 332 male household heads were analyzed by migrant type or the type of migration. The three groups that were used in the analyses were nonmigrants, return migrants, and primary migrants. Return migrants numbered 79 (38.5 percent), and primary migrants, 126 (61.5 percent) in the counterstream to Putnam County. In all information was available for 332 male household heads. The analyses in this section took into consideration not only where the individuals were reared but also their migration patterns. The variables analyzed were age, education, income, home items, or level of living and occupation.

Age by Migrant Type

The percent of nonmigrants, return migrants, and primary migrants by age categories are shown in Table VIII. Nonmigrants had the least mean age as compared to return and primary migrants. The difference in mean age between nonmigrants and primary migrants was very small. The mean age of nonmigrants was 45.7 years as compared to 52.4 years for return migrants and 46.0 years for primary migrants. Mean age for all three groups was 47.4 years.

TABLE VIII

AGE DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF MIGRANT OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS
IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Age Category (Years)	Migrant Type			All Types N = 332
	Nonmigrants N = 127	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	
	-----Percent-----			
Less than 24				
25-29	11.8	1.3	9.5	8.4
30-34	15.0	3.8	12.7	11.4
35-39	9.5	7.6	9.5	9.0
40-44	3.9	6.3	8.7	6.3
45-49	6.3	6.3	10.3	7.8
50-54	9.5	13.9	4.8	8.7
55-59	10.2	16.5	11.1	12.0
60 and Over	7.8	12.7	10.3	9.9
	26.0	31.6	23.0	26.2
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9 ^a	99.9 ^a
Average Age (Years)	45.7	52.4	46.0	47.4

^aTotals do not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors. $\bar{F}$ value between males in the three groups [$\bar{F}$ = 4.62, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (2,329) = 3.03]. $\bar{F}$ value between nonmigrants and return migrants [$\bar{F}$ = 7.87, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,204) = 3.89]. $\bar{F}$ value between nonmigrants and primary migrants [$\bar{F}$ = 0.02, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,251) = 3.87]. $\bar{F}$ value between return migrants and primary migrants [$\bar{F}$ = 8.01, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,203) = 3.89].

The largest percentages were consistently found in the older age categories in all the three groups. Nonmigrants and primary migrants had higher percentages of individuals in the younger age categories than return migrants. In the middle age categories (35-49 years), nonmigrants had the least percentage as compared to the other two groups.

Statistical analysis for significant differences in age composition were done for the three groups. It was statistically significant, since an F ratio of 4.62 was obtained when an F ratio of 3.03 was needed for significance at the .05 level of confidence. Moreover, there was no statistical significance between groups of nonmigrants and primary migrants. However, statistical differences existed between groups of nonmigrants and return migrants, and between return migrants and primary migrants. The analysis revealed a pattern where all three groups had high percentages in the older age categories. Nonmigrants and primary migrants had lower percentages in the younger age categories than return migrants. Moreover, nonmigrants also had a lower percentage of individuals in the middle age categories than either the other two groups.

Age at First and Last Migration: Return Migrants and Primary Migrants

Data on characteristics of migrants in this study were obtained after and not before their change of residence. Furthermore, the changes in residence could have occurred any time before the study period. This problem makes the interpretation in the above section on age more like a post-factum explanation than an explanation based on logical time-ordered observations. In order to overcome this problem, in this section, the

age variable in the migrant groups were analyzed, at the time when they made their first and last migration. The percent of respondents by age categories at the time of first and last migration for return and primary migrants are shown in Tables IX and X.

The average age at first migration for return migrants was 25.0 years and it was 25.8 years for primary migrants. The average age at last migration was 34.9 years for return migrants and 32.8 years for primary migrants.

The largest percentages were consistently found in the younger age categories in both migrant groups. Eighty-one percent of return migrants and 78.5 percent of primary migrants were aged 29 years and below when they first migrated. Analysis of age at last migration revealed the concentration of large percentages of heads in the younger age categories in both the migrant groups. Percentage of return migrants 43.1 and 50.0 percent of primary migrants were aged 29 years and below when they last migrated. For ages 39 years and below, return migrants comprised 72.1 percent and primary migrants 74.6 percent at last migration. The last migration was into Putnam County. There was a tapering off in percentages for ages 50 years and over in both groups for first and last migration. Statistical analyses for significant differences in age composition for first and last migration were done for the two groups. No significant differences were found among the two groups, for variable age, at first and last migration.

Research on migration generally corroborates the proposition that individuals in their late teens, twenties, and early thirties are very

TABLE IX

AGE DISTRIBUTION AT FIRST MIGRATION BY TYPE OF MIGRANT
OF 205 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY,
TENNESSEE, 1975

Age Category (Years)	Migrant Type		
	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	All Types N = 205
	-----Percent-----		
24 and Less	65.8	57.9	61.0
25-29	15.2	20.6	18.5
30-34	6.3	7.1	6.8
35-39	3.8	2.4	2.9
40-44	2.5	4.8	3.9
45-49	2.5	3.2	2.9
50-54	1.3	0.0	0.5
55-59	2.5	0.0	1.0
60 and Over	0.0	4.0	2.4
Total	99.9 ^a	100.0	99.9 ^a
Average Age (Years)	25.0	25.8	25.5

^aTotals do not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors.

F value between the two groups [F = 0.36, F_{.95} (1,203) = 3.89].

TABLE X
AGE DISTRIBUTION AT LAST MIGRATION BY TYPE OF
MIGRANT OF 205 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN
PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Age Category (Years)	Migrant Type		
	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	All Types N = 205
	-----Percent-----		
24 and Less	22.8	27.0	25.4
25-29	20.3	23.0	22.0
30-34	11.4	10.3	10.7
35-39	17.7	14.3	15.6
40-44	6.3	8.7	7.8
45-49	7.6	5.6	6.3
50-54	3.8	4.8	4.4
55-59	3.8	0.8	2.0
60 and Over	6.3	5.6	5.9
Total	100.0	100.1 ^a	100.0
Average Age (Years)	34.9	32.8	33.6

^aTotal does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors.

F value between the two groups [F = 1.50, F_{.95} (1,203) = 3.89].

migratory. Eldridge in his study showed that

Most of return migration occurs soon after first migration
 For a ten year interval [difference in ages at first
 and last migration] should fall in the age group 35-39, and
 for a five year interval, between ages 25 and 35.²¹

The average migration interval among return migrants was 9.9 years and 6.9 years for primary migrants in this study. The analysis showed strong support for Eldridge's proposition, where return migration occurred early and reflected the high mobility of the cohort in its early ages. In this study, the same phenomenon also held true for primary migrants. The results here also agreed with Eldridge's proposition that the "peak rates [for migration occurs at 20-24 [age] for both primary and secondary migration. . . ." ²² The special condition at ages 50 years and over for age at last migration indicates "retirement" migration in both groups. The small percentage tends to refute the general idea that return migration was a phenomenon of retirement. The higher average age for return migrants as a whole was due to the fact that returnees were older since a migrant could not be a return migrant until after he has been a primary migrant to some other region outside Putnam County. However, in this study the difference in average ages for last migration between the two groups was relatively small, 2.1 years.

Economically, migration is a form of investment in human capital. With increasing age, the expected gains from mobility decline and income

²¹Hope T. Eldridge, "Primary, Secondary, and Return Migration in the United States, 1955-60." Population Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania, Demography, 2:44, 1965, p. 445.

²²Ibid., p. 447.

increase. As Becker puts it "if people do migrate in order to increase their future earnings, economic rationality will dictate doing so at an early point in their lives."²³ On the other hand, sociologically, the higher mobility occurring among young persons indicates probably the sharpest break in the life cycle, which may be the attainment of adulthood and departure from home. It can also frequently be expressive of the changes and adjustments, early in life like marital commitments, completing formal schooling, entry into labor market, serving in the armed forces or marrying and forming families. All these factors may predispose frequent and repeated movements for most of those in the younger age categories. These conclusions will be more explicit when the reasons for moving for the two migrant groups are reviewed elsewhere in this thesis.

At the time of the survey, the average duration of residence for return migrants was 17.4 years and for primary migrants it was 13.2 years since their last migration to Putnam County (Table XI). The same table shows 56.9 percent of the 332 household heads responding that they will not move again; in other words they indicated a zero probability of moving again in their lifetime. In this category, return migrants comprised 68.4 percent, primary migrants 46.0 percent, and nonmigrants 60.6 percent. On the other hand only 4.8 percent of all household heads

²³Gary S. Becker, Human Capital (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 29 and 50; also see Larry A. Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," Journal of Political Economy (October 1962) Volume 70, Supplement pp. 80-93.

TABLE XI

DURATION OF STAY AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROBABILITY OF FUTURE MIGRATION BY TYPE OF
MIGRANT OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Migration ^a Probability (Percent)	Non Migrants N = 127	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	All Types N = 332
	-----Percent-----			
0	60.6	68.4	46.0	56.9
10	26.0	16.5	23.0	22.6
25	7.9	6.3	11.9	9.0
50	2.4	5.1	7.1	4.8
75	1.6	1.3	2.4	1.8
100	1.6	2.5	9.5	4.8
Total	100.1 ^b	100.1 ^b	99.9 ^b	99.9 ^b
Average Duration of Stay in Putnam County (Years)		17.4	13.2	

^aRespondents were asked the probability of their moving again in their lifetime.

^bTotals do not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors.

expressed 100 percent probability of moving again. This analysis supported Becker's hypothesis of economic rationality in moving at a younger age.

Education by Migrant Type

The percent of nonmigrants, return migrants, and primary migrants by educational categories are shown in Table XII. Return migrants had the least mean educational followed by nonmigrants and primary migrants. The mean education for all the three groups was 9.3 years. It was 8.9 years for nonmigrants, 8.4 years for return migrants, and 10.4 years for primary migrants.

The analyses showed that sizeable percentages of all three groups were found in the 8-11 years and 12 years educational categories. Combined together, they made up for 56.7 percent of nonmigrants, 57 percent of return migrants, and 59.5 percent of primary migrants. In the combined educational categories of 0-4 and 5-7 years, primary migrants comprised the least percentage, followed by nonmigrants, and return migrants. Sharp variations were also evident in the highest education category which was 16 years or more. Primary migrants constituted the highest percentage in this category followed by nonmigrants and return migrants.

Statistical analyses for significant differences in educational composition were done for the three groups. It was statistically significant since an F ratio of 5.92 was obtained when an F ratio of 3.03 was needed for statistical significance at the .05 level of confidence. Moreover there was no statistical significance between groups of nonmigrants and return migrants. However statistical differences

TABLE XII

EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF MIGRANT OF 332 MALE
HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Educational Category (Years)	Migrant Type			
	Non Migrants N = 127	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	All Types N = 332
	-----Percent-----			
0-4	16.5	17.7	11.9	15.1
5-7	12.6	16.5	8.7	12.1
8-11	31.5	36.7	27.0	31.0
12	25.2	20.3	32.5	26.8
13-15	7.9	5.1	3.2	5.4
16 or More	6.3	3.8	16.7	9.6
Total	100.0	100.1 ^a	100.0	100.0
Average (Years)	8.9	8.4	10.4	9.3

^aTotal does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding error.

$\underline{F}$ value between males in the three groups [$\underline{F}$ = 5.92, $\underline{F}_{.95}$ (2,329) = 3.03].

$\underline{F}$ value between nonmigrants and return migrants [$\underline{F}$ = 0.73, $\underline{F}_{.95}$ (1,204) = 3.89].

$\underline{F}$ value between nonmigrants and primary migrants [$\underline{F}$ = 6.51, $\underline{F}_{.95}$ (1,251) = 3.84].

$\underline{F}$ value between return migrants and primary migrants [$\underline{F}$ = 10.13, $\underline{F}_{.95}$ (1,203) = 3.84].

existed between groups of nonmigrants and primary migrants and between return migrants and primary migrants.

Over the last decade, the findings of a considerable number of studies add support to the proposition that, while controlling for a wide range of socioeconomic factors, migration was highly selective with respect to education. The rationale was simply that the higher an individual's level of educational attainment the more likely he will be aware of differential opportunities, amenities, etc. to be had at alternative places of residence. Within this context, the analysis in this section shows it to be true with respect to primary migrants, who were highly educated and many employed in professional and semi-professional occupations. Only a limited number of return migration studies have investigated the level of educational attainment of return migrants. Deaton and Anchel in their study of return and permanent migrants in Eastern Kentucky concluded that "return migration is clearly selective among migrants for the less educated. . . ." ²⁴ Analyses in this study agreed with this conclusion since return migrants were the least educated group. This kind of selectivity for less education among return migrants contradicts and calls into question the general conclusions found in migration literature that education was positively associated with mobility. The difference in average education between return migrants and nonmigrants was only 0.5 years but this was not

²⁴Brady J. Deaton and Kurt R. Anchel, "Migration and Return Migration: A New Look at the Eastern Kentucky Migration Stream." Southern Journal of Agricultural Economics (July 1974):189.

statistically significant. Since return migrants were a part of the pool of out-migrants from Putnam County in the past, it is plausible that outward migration of Putnam County natives in the past might also have been selective of the less educated.

Using measures such as years of school completed cannot take the quality of education or differential achievement within the same level into consideration. This is aptly stated by Lansing and Morgan in their study

That proper comparisons can be made only between people of similar backgrounds who received the same quality of education so as not to confuse the effects of mobility with effects of disadvantages which the mobility reduced but could not eliminate.²⁵

An attempt was made in this study to take this proposition into consideration by limiting the age at first migration to 16 years so that nonmigrants and return migrants would be equally matched on education at least up to high school. This would to some extent limit the bias introduced when quality of education is neglected in the analyses of migrant characteristics.

From this analysis it can be concluded that the population already present in the county (nonmigrants) and return migrants (who were reared in the county) served as a surrogate for the educational requirements for the nonprofessional jobs in the county. The presence of primary migrants, who held more professional and semi-professional jobs than

²⁵John B. Lansing and James N. Morgan, "The Effect of Geographical Mobility on Income." The Journal of Human Resources, 2 (Fall 1967).

either nonmigrants or return migrants indicated the necessity of having high education and skills for such jobs in the county. This had necessitated in-migration of successful applicants from elsewhere. However, there was still a need to compare the migrant groups according to characteristics other than education for a fundamental question involves the degree to which different groups translate their education into income, since income is the most widely used measure of the "pay off" of different kinds of migration.

Income by Migrant Type

The percent of nonmigrants, return migrants, and primary migrants by personal income categories are shown in Table XIII. Primary migrants had the highest average income as compared to the other two groups. The average income of nonmigrants was \$7,147, whereas it was \$6,986 for return migrants and \$8,169 for primary migrants. Average income for all the three groups was \$7,496.

The largest percentages were consistently found in the middle income categories, i.e. \$3,000-5,999 and \$6,000-9,999 in all the three groups. In the two income categories combined, the percentages were 52.8 percent of nonmigrants, 50.6 percent of return migrants, and 49.2 percent of primary migrants. Primary migrants had the highest percentage in the high income category, i.e. \$15,000 or more, than either return or nonmigrants. They also had the least percentage in the \$10,000-14,999 income category as compared to the other two groups.

Statistical analyses for significant differences in income composition were done for the three groups. No statistical differences

TABLE XIII

INCOME DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF MIGRANT OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD
HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Annual Income Category (Dollars)	Migrant Type			All Types N = 332
	Non Migrants N = 127	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	
-----Percent-----				
0-2,999	19.7	24.1	21.4	21.4
3,000-5,999	26.8	21.5	27.8	25.9
6,000-9,999	26.0	29.1	21.4	25.0
10,000-14,999	21.3	16.5	14.3	17.5
15,000 or More	6.3	8.9	15.1	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average (Dollars)	7,147	6,986	8,169	7,496

$\bar{F}$ value between males in the three groups [$\bar{F}$ = 0.97, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (2,329) = 3.03].

$\bar{F}$ value between nonmigrants and return migrants [$\bar{F}$ = 0.04, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,204) = 3.89].

$\bar{F}$ value between nonmigrants and primary migrants [$\bar{F}$ = 1.24, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,251) = 3.87].

$\bar{F}$ value between return migrants and primary migrants [$\bar{F}$ = 1.13, $\bar{F}_{.95}$ (1,203) = 3.89].

were found. Statistical analyses also revealed no statistical differences between any one pair of groups either.

The general conclusions found in migration literature are that primary migrants generally exhibit higher income profiles than either nonmigrants or return migrants. Results in this study could not refute this proposition. However there was no statistical significance. In a study by Kiker and Traynham, it was found that return migrants exhibit earning profiles which are similar to nonmovers.²⁶ In another study the same authors showed that "with the exception of nonwhite males, migrants who returned to the Southeast have adjusted earnings that generally are equal to those of cohort nonmovers."²⁷ Results in this study in general agreed with Kiker and Traynham's findings where the earnings profile of nonmigrants and return migrants were more or less similar because no statistical significance was indicated.

Initial higher unemployment or lower seniority on jobs experienced by return migrants for a certain period of time results in their earnings below those of nonmigrants of similar age and education. After this initial period return migrants may be able to earn higher incomes than nonmigrants, since migration should be looked upon as an investment that requires a certain (variable) period of time to result in its ultimate

²⁶B. K. Kiker and Earle C. Traynham, "The Economic Experience of Return and Non-Return Migrants for the Southeast." Columbia: University of South Carolina, Working Paper in Human Capital, 1973.

²⁷B. F. Kiker and Earle C. Traynham, "Return and Non-Return Migration for the Southeast: 1960-1970." Essays in Economics, Number 30, 1974, Division of Research, College of Business Administration, University of South Carolina, p. 71.

pay-off. This is a fact which was often overlooked in migration studies. In this study when the data was collected, the duration of residence for return migrants was long enough to overcome this bias, in a limited sense since income profiles at different periods of time were not available. Results in this study showed that return migrants failed to translate their mobility experience into higher earnings than nonmigrants even though both groups on the average had nearly equal education. However, this is not to imply that return migrants had not improved their economic status by returning to their region of origin.

Level of Living by Migrant Type

Level of living was determined by the number of 20 selected home items possessed by the household heads, like telephones, refrigerators, televisions, etc. The percent of nonmigrants, return migrants and primary migrants by level of living or home items categories are shown in Table XIV. Return migrants possessed the highest average number of home items, followed by primary migrants and nonmigrants. An average of 11.8 home items was possessed by nonmigrants, whereas return migrants had an average of 12.9 home items, and primary migrants had an average of 12.8 home items. For all the three groups the average for home items was 12.5.

The largest percentages were consistently found in the 9-12 and 13-16 home items categories in all the three groups. Taken together these two categories showed 66.1 percent of nonmigrants, 65.8 percent of return migrants, and 60.3 percent of primary migrants. Primary migrants had the highest percentage in the 17 or more home items categories than

TABLE XIV

HOME ITEMS DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF MIGRANT OF 332 MALE
HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Home Items (Number)	Migrant Type			All Types N = 332
	Non Migrants N = 127	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	
	-----Percent-----			
0-8	20.5	12.7	14.3	16.3
9-12	35.4	36.7	32.5	34.6
13-16	30.7	29.1	27.8	29.2
17 Items or More	13.4	21.5	25.4	19.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average (Number)	11.8	12.9	12.8	12.4

$\underline{F}$ value between males in the three groups [$\underline{F}$ = 2.69, $\underline{F}_{.95}$ (2,329) = 3.03].

$\underline{F}$ value between nonmigrants and return migrants [$\underline{F}$ = 4.16, $\underline{F}_{.95}$ (1,204) = 3.89].

$\underline{F}$ value between nonmigrants and primary migrants [$\underline{F}$ = 3.69, $\underline{F}_{.95}$ (1,251) = 3.87].

$\underline{F}$ value between return migrants and primary migrants [$\underline{F}$ = 0.05, $\underline{F}_{.95}$ (1,203) = 3.89].

either of the other two groups. Return migrants had the least percentage in the 0-8 home items category followed by primary and nonmigrants.

Statistical analyses for significant differences in home items composition were done for the three groups. No significant differences were found between the three groups. An F ratio of 2.69 was obtained when an F ratio of 3.03 was needed for statistical significance at the .05 level of confidence. However, significant difference was found between nonmigrants and return migrants. There were no significant differences between nonmigrants and primary migrants or between return migrants and primary migrants.

The results of the analysis in this section generally agreed with the results in the income category section where no significant differences were found. The statistical significance found in the home items category between nonmigrants and return migrants can be explained by the fact that nonmigrants were not investing in materialistic goods as the return migrants. This was because of the presence of a higher percentage of older aged heads in the return migrant group who naturally accumulated more materialistic goods than the younger aged individuals in the nonmigrant group.

Occupation by Migrant Type

The percent of nonmigrants, return migrants, and primary migrants by occupational categories are shown in Table XV. For ease of analysis and presentation some categories were collapsed into single categories.

The largest percentages were consistently found in the occupational categories of the retired and the physically handicapped in all the three

TABLE XV
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF MIGRANT OF 332 MALE HOUSEHOLD
HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975^a

Occupational Category	Migrant Type			
	Nonmigrants N = 127	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	All Types N = 332
	-----Percent-----			
Professional	0.8	1.3	8.7	3.9
Semi-Professional	11.8	10.1	8.7	10.2
Trade	9.5	12.7	11.1	10.8
Factory	15.8	8.9	7.9	11.1
Farmer	11.0	12.7	10.3	11.1
Semi-Skilled/ Unskilled/ and Self-Employed	23.6	17.7	19.9	20.8
Unemployed	3.9	5.0	4.8	4.5
Student/Military	1.6	1.3	5.6	3.0
Retired/Physically Handicapped	22.0	30.4	23.0	24.4
Total	100.0	100.1 ^b	100.0	99.8 ^b

^aThe occupational categories of factory, trade, farmer, the combined categories of professional and semi-professional, and the combined categories of unskilled, semi-skilled, and the self-employed were used to compute the Chi-Square values. The rest of the occupational categories were excluded in computing Chi-Square Values.

^bTotals do not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors.

Chi-Square value between males in the three groups [$\chi^2 = 6.49$, $\chi^2 = (8 \text{ d.f.}, .95) = 15.50$].

Chi-Square value between nonmigrants and return migrants [$\chi^2 = 2.70$, $\chi^2 = (4 \text{ d.f.}, .95) = 9.48$].

Chi-Square value between nonmigrants and primary migrants [$\chi^2 = 4.57$, $\chi^2 = (4 \text{ d.f.}, .95) = 9.48$].

Chi-Square value between return migrants and primary migrants [$\chi^2 = 1.61$, $\chi^2 = (4 \text{ d.f.}, .95) = 9.48$].

groups. Large percentages were also consistently found in the three groups in the combined occupational categories of the unskilled, semi-skilled, and the self-employed. Primary migrants had the highest percentage in the combined occupational categories of professionals and semi-professionals with 17.4 percent, as compared to return and nonmigrants who had 11.4 percent and 12.6 percent respectively. Primary migrants had the least percentage in the combined occupational categories of the factory, trade, and farmer followed by return and nonmigrants.

Statistical analyses for significant differences in the occupational composition were done for the three groups using only occupational categories of factory trade, farmer, the combined categories of professionals and semi-professionals, and the combined categories of unskilled, semi-skilled, and the self-employed. They constituted 73.5 percent of nonmigrants, 63.4 percent of return migrants and 66.6 percent of primary migrants. Student and military occupations are of a temporary nature and the rest of the occupational categories were not really work related. Hence these categories were excluded from the analysis. No significant differences were found between the three groups. A Chi-Square value of 6.49 was obtained when a Chi-Square value of 15.50 was needed for statistical significance at the .05 level of confidence. Moreover, there was no statistical significance between any one pair of the three groups in occupational makeup.

Present Occupation and Occupation Before Final
Move to Putnam County: Return Migrants
and Primary Migrants

Migrants do not always tend to remain in the same occupations after they move. Since the data was collected sometime after the final move was made, bias may have been introduced due to the post-factum explanation in the above section. To overcome this bias the occupational categories during the time of the study and before final move to Putnam County of the two migrant groups were analyzed.

Table XVI shows the extent of changes in occupations before final move to Putnam County and occupations at the time of the study. The analysis showed additions in job categories of trade and semi-professionals. There were also additions in the unemployed and the combined categories of retired and the physically handicapped. There was no gain or loss in the professional occupation category. However, a considerable loss occurred in job categories of factory, farmer, combined categories of semi-skilled, unskilled, and self-employed. Occupational loss was also evident in the combined categories of student and military.

Statistical analyses were done for the two groups on present occupations and occupations before final move to Putnam County using only occupational categories of factory, trade, farmer, the combined categories of professionals and semi-professionals and the combined categories of unskilled, semi-skilled, and the self-employed. Since return migrants comprised 63.4 percent in present occupation and 92.2 percent in last occupation before final move to Putnam County. In the same order, primary migrants comprised 66.4 percent and 88.8 percent respectively. The rest of the categories were not used in computing Chi-Square values as some of them

TABLE XVI
DISTRIBUTION OF PRESENT OCCUPATION AND OCCUPATION^b BEFORE
FINAL MOVE TO PUTNAM COUNTY BY TYPE OF MIGRANT OF
205 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY,
TENNESSEE, 1975^a

Occupational Category	Migrant Type				
	Return Migrants		Primary Migrants		All Types N = 205 Net Gain or Loss
	N = 79		N = 126		
	Before Move	At Present	Before Move	At Present	
	-----Numbers-----				
Professional	0	1	12	11	0
Semi-Professional	2	8	10	11	+7
Trade	8	10	13	14	+3
Factory	27	7	21	10	-31
Farmer	7	10	27	13	-11
Semi-Skilled/Unskilled and Self-Employed	29	14	29	25	-19
Unemployed	0	4	2	6	+8
Student/Military	5	1	10	7	-7
Retired/Physically Handicapped	1	24	2	29	+50
Total	79	79	126	126	0

^aChi-Square values were computed for factory, trade, farmer, the combined categories of professional and semi-professional, and the combined categories of unskilled, semi-skilled, and the self-employed. The rest of the occupational categories were excluded in computing Chi-Square values.

^bMigrants were asked to report their last occupation before entering Putnam County.

Present Occupation: Chi-Square value between males in the two groups [$\chi^2 = 1.61$, $\chi^2 = (4 \text{ d.f.}, .95) = 9.48$].

Last Occupation before Final Move to Putnam County: Chi-Square value between males in the two groups [$\chi^2 = 23.18$, $\chi^2 = (4 \text{ d.f.}, .95) = 9.48$].

were not work related and some of them were of a temporary nature. There was no statistical difference between the two groups for present occupations. However, there was statistical significance for occupations before final move to Putnam County, between the two migrant groups. A Chi-Square value of 23.18 was obtained when a Chi-Square value of 9.48 was needed for statistical significance at .05 level of confidence.

The analysis reveals a significant addition to the ranks of the retired and physically handicapped after the final move to Putnam County. This is because most of the primary and return migrants decided to stay in Putnam County with no intention of making further moves. The long duration of stay by these two groups is supportive of this fact. Table XVII shows that before moving to Putnam County 31.7 percent of all migrants moved with neither a job nor a job lead. This type of uncertain move explains to some extent the net loss in some of the occupational categories among the two migrant groups. It probably signifies that some migrants may be guided by the location of friends and relatives rather than by new economic opportunities. This will be more explicit when the reasons for moving by the migrants are analyzed in the next section.

TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BEFORE FINAL MOVE TO
PUTNAM COUNTY BY TYPE OF MIGRANT OF 205 MALE HOUSEHOLD
HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Occupational Status Before Final Move to Putnam County	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	All Types N = 205
	-----Percent-----		
Worked in Putnam County Before Moving	2.5	7.1	5.4
Accepted a Job in Putnam County Before Moving	11.4	27.8	21.5
Moved to Putnam County Without a Job but with Job Leads	8.9	11.1	10.2
Moved to Putnam County Without Job and Job Leads	40.5	26.1	31.7
Miscellaneous ^a	36.7	27.8	31.7
Total	100.0	99.9 ^b	100.1 ^b

^aIncluded retired, student, army, physically handicapped, widowed, and housewife.

^bTotals do not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors.

CHAPTER IV

MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS AND REASONS FOR MOVING:

RETURN MIGRANTS AND PRIMARY MIGRANTS

Despite numerous migration studies, broad generalizations about mobility are few owing to the diverse factors like economic, social and cultural, that activate or discourage movement. This is more pronounced, especially in the case of counterstream migration. Some general conclusions in migration literature on migrant's reasons for moving are that individuals migrating long distances tend to do so chiefly for economic reasons and those moving locally are typically acting on neighborhood preferences and changing requirements for housing. However, it is difficult to define how much is "long distance" and "short distance" by studying total moves into and within different political units by different migrant groups. Studies done so far attest to the fact that most of the moves by migrants cover only a short distance. For example, Long and Boertlien, using census data around 1970, showed

That more than one-half of moves in the United States are within the same county—61.9 percent of moves in a 1 year period and 55.7 percent in a 5 year period take place within the same county.²⁸

Within this framework an analyses of the migration patterns, number of

²⁸Larry H. Long and Celia Boertlien, "The Geographic Mobility of Americans: An International Comparison." Current Population Reports. Special Studies Series P-23, Number 64, 1976:19.

moves, and the reasons for moving to Putnam County by the two migrant groups were done in this section.

I. PATTERNS OF MIGRATION BY MIGRANT TYPE

The analysis of migration patterns of return and primary migrants is shown in Table XVIII. Out of a total of 79 return migrants 75 (94.9 percent) had migrated beyond the boundaries of adjacent counties to Putnam County and returned. Only 4 (5.1 percent) return migrants migrated to adjacent counties and returned. Among 126 primary migrants, 48 (38.1 percent) were natives of adjacent counties who moved directly to Putnam County. Another 27 (21.4 percent) regional natives moved elsewhere and then moved to Putnam County. The rest of the primary migrants, 51 (40.5 percent) of "other areas" who resided outside the boundaries of the adjacent counties, included individuals who either moved directly or made multiple moves elsewhere before moving to Putnam County.

In this sample, if moves from areas outside the boundaries of adjacent counties are considered as long distance moves, then 153 migrants (74.6 percent) of all migrants had made long distance moves. The rest of the migrants, 52 (25.4 percent) can be considered as having made short distance moves. It can be concluded in general, then, most migrants had a high rate of long distance movement. But a significant portion of them had also made short distance moves. There is a limitation to this summary, since it does not give any indication of the average distance of moves of the different migrant groups.

TABLE XVIII

MIGRATION PATTERNS BY TYPE OF MIGRANT OF 205 MALE
HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Migration Patterns ^a	Number
<u>Return Migrants</u>	
Putnam County native who migrated outside regional boundaries and returned	75
Putnam County native who left Putnam County but not regional boundaries and returned	4
<u>Primary Migrants</u>	
Regional native who moved to Putnam County	48
Regional native who migrated outside regional boundaries elsewhere and then moved to Putnam County	27
Nonregional or "others" moving to Putnam County	<u>51</u>
Total	205

^aRegion includes adjacent counties to Putnam County.

II. NUMBER OF MOVES BY MIGRANT TYPE

Regardless of the distance involved in moving, the analysis of the number of moves by return and primary migrants is shown in Table XIX. The average number of moves made by 205 migrants was 2.4. This average was less than the average of 3.15 moves [migrations] that Skyrock and Larmon estimated from 1958 current population report data for all migrants.²⁹ In this study sample, the average number of moves by return migrants was 2.7 and an average of 2.3 moves by primary migrants.

A return migrant in this study, by definition, had to make at least two moves to be defined as such. Hence, for proper comparison a comparison was made for two moves of the return migrant to the one of the primary migrant. It was found that 67.1 percent of the return migrants made two moves, whereas 43.6 percent of primary migrants had made one move. Return and primary migrants who had made more than two moves constituted 32.9 percent and 33.4 percent respectively. Primary migrants who had made 2 moves constituted 23.0 percent. Regardless of the difference in average moves between the two groups the pattern of moves indicated that both the groups were equally mobile.

III. REASONS FOR MOVING BY MIGRANT TYPE

The percent of return and primary migrants by reasons for moving categories are shown in Table XX. Respondents were asked to list one or more important reasons for moving to Putnam County. They were also asked

²⁹Henry S. Skyrock, Jr., and Elizabeth A. Larmon, "Some Longitudinal Data on Internal Migration." Demography, 1965, Volume 2, p. 591.

TABLE XIX
DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF MOVES BY TYPE OF
MIGRANT OF 205 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN
PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975^a

Number of Moves	Migrant Type		
	Return Migrants N = 79	Primary Migrants N = 126	All Types N = 205
1	0.0	43.6	26.8
2	67.1	23.0	40.0
3	15.2	17.5	16.6
4	10.1	7.1	8.3
5	1.3	1.6	1.5
6	3.8	4.0	3.9
7	0.0	0.8	0.5
8	2.5	2.4	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average (Number)	2.6	2.2	2.4

^aBy definition a person reared in Putnam County and who had migrated at least once and returned back had made two moves.

TABLE XX

DISTRIBUTION OF "REASONS FOR MOVING" RESPONSES BY TYPE OF MIGRANT
OF 205 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN PUTNAM COUNTY, TENNESSEE, 1975

Reasons ^{a,b} (Important and Most Important)	Migrant Type					
	Return Migrants		Primary Migrants		All Types	
	Imp.	Most Imp.	Imp.	Most Imp.	Imp.	Most Imp.
	Reason ^c	Reason	Reason ^c	Reason	Reason ^c	Reason
	N = 79		N = 126		N = 205	
	-----Percent-----					
<u>Work Related</u>						
Higher Paying Job	21.5	1.3	34.1	9.5	29.3	6.3
Transfer by Employer	3.8	3.8	7.9	7.9	6.3	6.3
More Jobs Available	10.1	2.5	9.5	5.6	9.8	4.4
More Chance for Job Adv.	16.5	0.0	19.8	1.6	18.5	1.0
Greater Job Security	31.7	21.5	42.1	10.3	38.1	14.6
Reside Closer to Work	34.2	0.0	38.9	6.3	36.6	3.9
Earn Additional Income	6.3	0.0	5.6	1.6	5.9	1.0
<u>Social/Family Related</u>						
Relatives in Putnam County	88.6	22.8	41.3	15.1	64.4	18.1
Friends in Putnam County	65.8	1.3	38.9	2.4	49.3	2.0
Relatives Work at Same Place	1.3	0.0	2.4	0.0	2.0	0.0
Friends Work at Same Place	1.3	0.0	3.2	0.0	2.4	0.0
Marital Relationship Changes	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.2	2.0	2.0
<u>Living Conditions/Amenities</u>						
Better Living Conditions	30.4	2.5	39.7	3.2	36.1	2.9
Better Community Services	39.2	3.8	42.9	5.6	41.5	4.9
Better Housing	45.6	1.3	43.7	3.2	44.4	2.4
<u>Other</u>						
Miscellaneous Reasons	38.0	39.2	15.1	24.6	23.9	30.2
Total	100.0		100.1 ^d		100.1 ^d	

^aA respondent was asked to select from a number of reasons, the reason or reasons for the move. Then he was asked again to select one reason which he considered most important.

^bIn 11 instances, the head had commuted to work in Putnam County prior to moving. In these instances the most important reason for taking the job is shown then for moving.

^cThe figures in reasons column are the percentage of respondents who mentioned reason as an important one. More than one reason was often listed as important.

^dTotals do not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding errors.

to list the one most important reason for the move, irrespective of the important reason or reasons cited before. The series of reasons were categorized into (1) work related reasons; (2) social and family related reasons; (3) living conditions and amenities related reasons; and (4) miscellaneous reasons which included all reasons which did not fit into the three previous categories, like returning home, moving with parents, recreation, widowed, church affiliation, privacy, etc. Hence, there was good flexibility for the respondents to answer freely on their motivations to move. Since some respondents gave more than one important reason for moving, the sum of the important reasons adds to more than the total number of respondents and the percentages add to more than 100. The figures are to be interpreted as "the percentage of respondents who mentioned important reason X," although the same respondents may have mentioned other important reasons in addition. For final analysis, work related most important reasons were considered as economic reasons and the social/family reasons and the living conditions/amenities related most important reasons combined together were considered as noneconomic reasons. Miscellaneous reasons given as most important made up the third category, which in some instances might be partly economic or noneconomic. Analysis by percentage of the two migrant groups were as follows.

Return Migrants: Reasons for Moving

Among return migrants, for work related important reasons, residing closer to work was most frequently mentioned (34.2 percent). Among social/family related important reasons, relatives in county was most

frequently mentioned (88.6 percent). Among living conditions/amenities related important reasons, better housing in county was most frequently mentioned (45.6 percent). Thirty-eight percent of the respondents mentioned important reasons which were miscellaneous. When asked to list the one most important reason in each of the four categories of reasons, return migrants listed greater job security in county (2.15 percent), relatives in county (22.8 percent), and better community services in county (3.8 percent). Miscellaneous reasons given as most important was 39.2 percent. These percentages were the largest in each category, which is work related, social/family, living conditions/amenities and miscellaneous. Overall, among most important reasons, miscellaneous reasons constituted the highest percentage (39.2 percent), followed by work related reasons (29.1 percent), social/family related reasons (24.1 percent), and living conditions/amenities related reasons (7.6 percent). In the final analysis, noneconomic reasons was 31.7 percent, economic reasons was 29.1 percent, and miscellaneous reasons was 39.2 percent in the case of return migrants for moving to Putnam County.

Primary Migrants: Reasons for Moving

Among primary migrants, for work related important reasons, greater job security was most frequently mentioned (42.1 percent). Among social/family important reasons, relatives in county was most frequently mentioned (41.3 percent). Among living conditions/amenities related important reasons, better housing in Putnam County was most frequently mentioned (43.7 percent). Miscellaneous reasons mentioned most frequently by respondents was 15.1 percent. The largest percentages for most

important reason in the four categories were greater job security (10.3 percent), relatives in county (15.1 percent), and better community services in county (5.6 percent) and miscellaneous reasons (24.6 percent). Overall, among most important reasons, miscellaneous reasons constituted the highest percentage (24.6 percent) followed by work related reasons (42.8 percent), social/family related reasons (20.6 percent) and living conditions/amenities related reasons (11.9 percent). In the final analysis noneconomic reasons was 32.5 percent, economic reasons was 42.8 percent, and miscellaneous reasons was 24.6 percent, in the case of primary migrants for moving to Putnam County. For all migrants, the economic reasons constituted 37.6 percent, noneconomic reasons 32.3 percent, and miscellaneous reasons 30.2 percent.

The analysis showed that in most of the past migration studies which ascribed a particular reason or reasons for the motivation to move were compounded in two ways. First the studies assumed that the migrants decision to move was rational, a type of decision balancing pros and cons. But this view was simplistic in the face of actual human behavior which is often "nonrational." Secondly, the migrant himself may not be aware of the exact reasons nor the subtle influences coming from spouse, family and friends. The multiplicity of suggested causes in this analysis suggest that residential mobility must be treated as a more complex phenomenon, where a variety of reasons were instrumental in the migrants decision to move.

Return migration studies have shown, in general, that return migrants are more likely to cite social as opposed to economic reasons for their

moves. Clear evidence of this proposition is not seen in this study. The high percentage of return migrants citing the presence of relatives in Putnam County shows that family ties had fostered return migration to a certain extent. However, in assessing data on return migration two points should be kept in mind: one theoretical and the other statistical. First, there were numerous reasons for a return migration decision, as observed earlier. The second is that the amount of return migration observed (and probably also the composition of return migrants in terms of motivation) might differ with the time span used.

Analysis of reasons for moving for primary migrants clearly shows that economic reasons dominated followed by noneconomic and miscellaneous reasons. Primary motivation which is economic in this case, agrees with most of the general conclusions in migration literature that primary migrants move primarily for economic reasons. Still a large portion of primary migrants cited miscellaneous and social/family related reasons as most important reasons for moving. It can be concluded that in both migrant groups jobs were the facilitator of the move which lowered the obstacles to migration and allowed individuals to enact their residential preferences such as amenities, nearness to relatives, etc. Living conditions/amenities were cited by 10.2 percent of all migrants as most important reason, indicating their liking for the physical and social environment in Putnam County. This could probably mean future demand for community facilities and services.

The findings in this section cannot be generalized beyond the area studied. The purpose here is to call attention to the likelihood that

change of residence may be a more complex phenomenon than has been assumed in previous research. Moreover most of the previous migration studies had not investigated reasons for moving by different migrant groups.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND REMARKS

In the present study data from a 1975 survey of household heads were analyzed. The objectives of this study were:

- (1) Determine the differences in socioeconomic characteristics between Putnam County natives, natives of adjacent counties to Putnam County, and natives of "other areas."
- (2) Determine the differences in socioeconomic characteristics of nonmigrants, return migrants and primary migrants in Putnam County.
- (3) Determine the migration patterns and the reasons for moving for return migrants and primary migrants.

Analysis of 332 male household heads by place where reared revealed the following observations on variables age, education, income, home items or level of living and occupation. Significant differences were observed among the three groups on all the variables except age. Analysis of age variable showed no significant difference between the three groups or between any one pair of the three groups. Moreover, no significant differences occurred between Putnam County natives and natives of adjacent counties on any of the five variables analyzed. Natives of "other areas" had on the average higher education, higher income, and higher level of living (home items) than the other two groups. In the occupations variable they had higher percentages of professionals and semi-professionals, but lesser percentages in the factory and trade occupational categories than the other two groups.

Analyses on 332 male household heads by migrant type which were groups of nonmigrants, return migrants, and primary migrants revealed the following observations. The variables analyzed were age, education, income, level of living or home items, and occupation. Analysis of the three groups showed significant differences only on variables age and education. Significant differences were evident on age between nonmigrants and return migrants and between return migrants and primary migrants. On education significant differences were found between nonmigrants and primary migrants and between primary migrants and return migrants. On the level of living variable nonmigrants differed significantly from return migrants. Analyses on income and occupation variables showed no significant differences between the three groups or between any one pair among the three groups. Analysis on age at last migration into Putnam County showed no significant differences between groups of return and primary migrants. Statistical differences existed in occupations before final move to Putnam County between return and primary migrants. Primary migrants had more education than the other two groups. Return migrants were on the average more aged than either nonmigrants or primary migrants. Return migrants also had a higher standard of living or possessed more home items than nonmigrants. Comparison of present occupations and occupations before final move to Putnam County showed additions in job categories of semi-professional and trade and losses in job categories of factory, farmer, combined categories of semi-skilled unskilled, and self-employed, student and military. There was an increase in the ranks of the retired and physically handicapped after move to Putnam County among all migrants. Analysis of migration patterns

revealed a fairly high rate of migrations among return and primary migrants. Analysis of reasons for moving for return migrants showed that miscellaneous reasons dominated followed by noneconomic and economic reasons. Among primary migrants economic reasons dominated followed by noneconomic and miscellaneous reasons.

Research on counterstream migration is relatively limited whether migration patterns of other regions change in similar fashion as in this study is a topic for further research. The importance of changes in total in-migration vis-a-vis total out-migration is very likely to depend on the relative representation of return migrants among all in-migrants which is the counterstream. In the long run it is possible that the compositional changes attributed to the population inflow may be more important than the size of the migration streams. Hence the task for future research should be to focus on decomposing regional migrational flows into primary and return migration components and measuring the degree to which these rates change together in response to changing economic opportunities in origin and destination areas.

The opportunities for research on characteristics of primary and return migrants are great. The complete phenomenon of the reported reasons for a migrant's move, as seen in this study, has policy implications. The analysis showed that both primary and return migrant groups attach a good deal of importance to both economic and noneconomic reasons for their moves. Communities attempting to attract industry and residents must pay particular attention to the variability and salience of particular incentives for the individual. From a policy

standpoint this suggests that changing people's disposition or indisposition to move will depend on more than just economic incentives alone. Instead a combination of measures would have to be tailored to the variety of reasons behind moving for different migrant groups.

In this study, for example, the inflow of middle aged return migrants with little wealth and education into Putnam County to take up jobs, supports the fact that industrialization programs designed to attract highly skilled migrants back to their home regions may be abortive. Policies operating on the inflow side of migration, for example, increased investment in education of nonmigrants would reduce the backflow of low skilled return migrants. In general, the unemployment reducing or wage increasing effects of employment expansion are attenuated in areas that were depressed and which have had a long history of out-migration. In such areas there is always greater potential for migrants returning back.

In this study the increased migration in the pre-retirement ages, and the long duration of stay of return and primary migrants signifies migration for retirement for some migrants to high amenity areas. Policy makers should be aware of the differences between those who would reject future industrial development because of its effects on aesthetic values and those who would welcome it for economic advantages that would ensue.

In general, the effects on social organization in the near future due to the interaction of individuals in nonmigrant and migrant groups is clearly evident. The consequences may be manifested through competition in work institutions, alteration of the stratification system in the residential segregation of newcomers and old timers, in possible

disagreements on priorities for neighborhood services and institutions, and possibly in conflicts in cultural interests, tastes, and lifestyles. The adaptability of the social organization in Putnam County to this changing population will be of increasing importance in future developmental efforts.

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