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ABSTRACT

The specific purpose of this study was to evaluate the role of several decades of high out-migration in the socioeconomic adjustment of households left behind in the Arkansas Ozarks and to identify meaningful labor force and social adjustments to poverty area industrialization. The study involved 12 counties in north-central Arkansas. The research design compared the same families over a period of time since the same 12 counties were studied in 1956. The sample consisted of 313 open-country households yielding information for 148 non-migrant and 165 in-migrant families. Survey data revealed that non-migrant households did not share equally in the socioeconomic progress experienced by the residual residents of the area; that 43% of the non-migrant families and 38% of the in-migrant households experienced some income deprivation; that nonwork incomes play an important part for the majority of families, and that in-migrants have a considerable advantage in the labor market. (PS)

MIGRATION AND THE SOCIOECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT OF HOUSEHOLDS LEFT BEHIND IN THE OZARKS

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The increasing concern of local, State, and Federal governments as well as many interested groups for comprehensive investigations and appraisals of the current economic situation and trends in rural America has been prompted by the realization that the problem of income inequality and poverty in rural areas and in our central cities are closely linked through migration. As a basic process of socio-economic adjustment, migration generally involves a search for economic opportunity and socioeconomic justice which is presumed to improve the well-being of nonmigrants, inmigrants and migrants from distressed areas.

While this study was designed to provide timely information related to the broad problem of rural poverty and upon which existing programs, policies, and activities associated with the economic status of rural people may be better coordinated or directed, its specific purpose is the evaluation of the role of several decades of high net out-migration in the socio-economic adjustment of households left behind in the Arkansas Ozark area and to identify meaningful labor force and social adjustments in response to industrialization in poverty areas.

Paper presented at the annual Rural Sociological Society meeting, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 25-27 August 1972.

The accelerating mobility associated with today's rural to urban exodus, when considered within the framework of formal economic theory, represents an adjustment process which is expected to contribute to the equalization of regional income levels as well as economic growth within a geographic region. More specifically, as out-migration continues from rural areas of the nations, it would be reasonable to expect that some individuals and families whether migrants or people left behind, experience a rise in socioeconomic status while others regress. Although the aggregate analysis of changes in such population characteristics as age, education, and income tell if growth or decline has occurred, these data may equally obscure the existence of meaningful changes in the socioeconomic status of poverty families, as well as, labor force and social adjustments of other native residents in the residual communities. More importantly, the particular aggregate analysis of such studies, does not provide timely information relative to the "how" and "why" of adjustments by the people left behind in rural America. At a time when public policymakers are expressing support for programs designed to aid the relocation of individuals and families from both urban and rural poverty areas in an effort to improve the socioeconomic well being of migrants and non-migrants alike, the study of the historical cross-sectional studies in identifying long-run factors in the adjustment process. In addition, the need for studies which attempt to assess the adjustments and effects of changing opportunities for the residual residents of low-income rural areas, is accentuated by the fact that recent national economic policies direct the development of jobs through industrialization (or industrial relocation) near geographic pockets of poverty. Yet, in a recent article by Bender, Green and Campbell[1], there is strong evidence to suggest that employment opportunities do not actually trickle-down to the poor who possess inferior work capabilities

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[1]Lloyd D. Bender, Bernal L. Green, and Rex R. Campbell, "Trickle-Down and Leakage in the War on Poverty", Growth and Change, University of Kentucky, Vol. 2, No. 4, October 1971.

relative to in-migrants to the area. The alternative to a careful analysis of such programs may lead some to simply blame poverty and the poor and stand-by idly watching the ghettoization of rural communities.

OBJECTIVES

In view of the fact that improved socioeconomic status is the necessary result of real upward mobility, the following research questions were posed:

1. How is migration to be viewed and explained as an adjustment process to depressed areas?
2. What are the problems of adjustment for the members of the residual community?
3. Do certain patterns of occupational change appear as a result of out-migration?
4. What relationship emerges between human skills and employment opportunities in the residual community as a result of out-migration?
5. Does the residual population offer enough favorable characteristics to motivate industrial leadership and planners to locate industry in rural areas?

Answers to these questions would prove useful in evaluating public programs designed to assist family relocation and/or industrialization in poverty areas.

STUDY AREA AND SAMPLING RESULTS

Many areas of the nation could have been selected for the study of the effects of out-migration on the people left behind, but the Arkansas Ozarks represents an area that has long experienced heavy out-migration, low industrial development, and low family and personal incomes. While losing approximately one-half of its rural population through out-migration in each of the ten year periods since 1940, poverty persists and overall the socioeconomic situation seems static; contrary to the economic theory of labor markets.

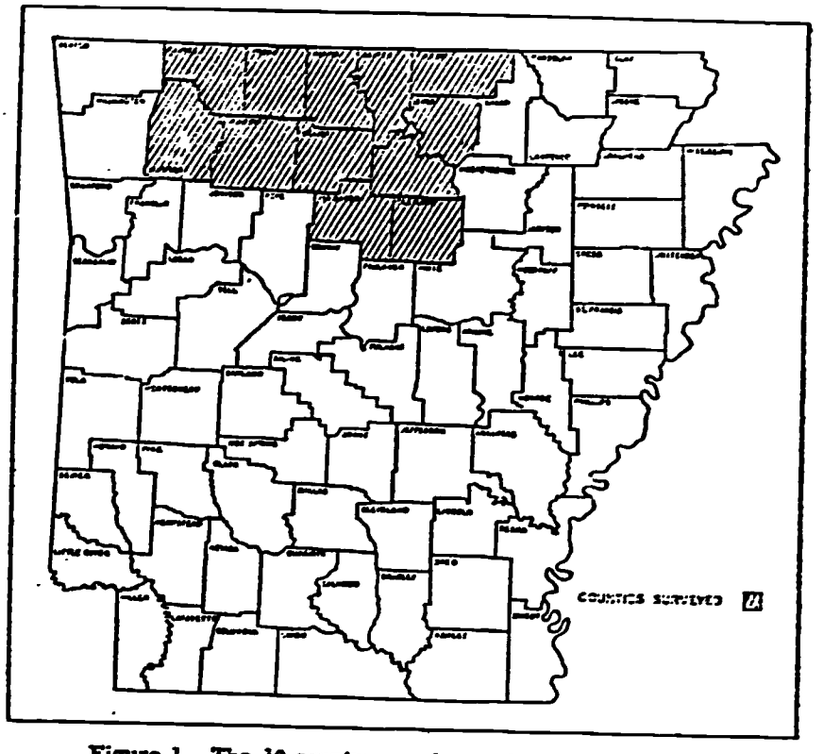

Figure 1. The 12-county area in northcentral Arkansas.

The research design presented a unique opportunity to compare the same families over time given an earlier study (1956) of the identical twelve county areas (Figure 1) by Metzler and Charlton.[2] The study involved the north-central Arkansas counties of: Baxter, Boone, Carroll, Cleburne, Fulton, Izard, Madison, Marion, Newton, Searcy, Stone, and Van Buren. Employing a selection of one-half of the geographic area segments sampled for the 1956 study, 313 open-country[3] households were interviewed yielding records for 148 non-migrant and 165 in-migrant families (those who moved into the area since 1956). Of the in-migrants, 17 percent (28) represent newly created families since 1956, while the remainder reflect geographic relocation. Missouri

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[2]William H. Metzler and J.L. Charlton, Employment and Underemployment of Rural People in the Ozark Area (Fayetteville: Agricultural Experiement Station, 1958), Bulletin No. 604.

[3]Open-country for the purposes of the study is defined as that area of the state not included within the boundaries of towns and cities of 100 or more population.

Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas provided 16 percent of these in-migrants while other states contributed 21 percent. Yet, the greater majority of the in-migrants (63 percent) relocated from elsewhere in Arkansas.

FINDINGS

To determine the socioeconomic status of the residual community, both objective and attitudinal questions were employed. Questions concerning respondents' attitudes relative to their financial well-being and future plans were utilized to characterize individual-psychological well-being of in-migrants compared with that of nonmigrant native residents. In addition, questions governing income and occupational change were used as objective measures of the better-offness of in-migrants compared with that of nonmigrants.

Occupational Adjustment

Migration is generally associated with changes in family income and occupational-tenure status. In-migrants reported the following changes between their present and prior locations:

Changes	Percent
Same income status	35
Same occupation-tenure status	37
Lower income status	25
Lower occupation-tenure status	25
Higher income status	36
Higher occupation-tenure status	34

Various combinations of changes in socioeconomic status may exist as a result of the occupational and employment characteristics in the 12-county area. Of the in-migrants 23 percent experienced both higher income and higher occupational-tenure status, while 16 percent reported both lower income and lower occupational-tenure status as a result of their relocation.

The 148 nonmigrant households (47 percent of the sample population) were sampled in the 1956 survey. They are the low-income families revealed

in the initial survey (71 percent with family income less than $2,000 in 1956). Thus the progress of these initial informants is of special interest. They may be referred to loosely as the "hard-core" low-income families left behind in this high out-migration area. If industrialization and commercial development plans and proposals are to reduce poverty successfully, they must reach the poor among the nonmigrant members of a depressed area's labor force. Otherwise, public subsidies to promote out-migration of surplus labor and to attract industry may lead to regional progress, but will not be direct cures for inequality and poverty among area residents.

Table 1 portrays the employment among area residents considered eligible for work by their type of residential heritage. Approximately 1 in 3 of the in-migrant persons report some nonfarm work experience during 1969, compared with only 1 in 5 nonmigrant members of the labor force. Farming, the traditional and declining economic base, includes one-fourth more nonmigrant than in-migrant members of the labor force. The numbers of retired and disabled individuals are approximately the same in both groups. The fact that many in-migrants brought with them independent sources of income (such as investments and pensions) while out-migration from the area removed some of the surplus young and untrained members of the labor force is a favorable adjustment for the economic growth of the area.

Table 1. Kind of Work Reported by Persons 14 Years Old and Over During the Preceding Year, by Migration Type, 1970

Kind of work or major activity	Migration type			
	In-migrant		Nonmigrant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All individuals	409	100	341	100
Farms				
Farm operators	44	11	61	18
Unpaid farm worker	1	*	0	0
Farm wage work	1	*	0	0
Nonfarm work				
Own business or profession	8	2	2	1
Other nonfarm	126	31	76	22
Other activities				
Armed forces	3	1	1	*
School	60	14	34	10
Keeping house	89	22	93	27
Retired	42	10	45	13
Disabled	27	7	19	6
Unemployed	8	2	10	3

*Less than .005.

Occupational changes in the 12-county Arkansas Ozark area over the past 20 years are presented in Table 2. Major occupational groups were weighted by a number which, when multiplied by 1,000, represents the 1960 median earnings for each major occupational group in rural Arkansas.[4] Total index values for each major occupational group in the 1950 and 1970 labor forces reveal approximately 20 percent upward labor mobility over the 20 years. Larger components of this change are the doubling of the manager-official-proprietor group and the significant increase in numbers of craftsmen and operative

[4] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Arkansas, Detailed Characteristics," U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Table 124, pp. 348 & 349, 1962.

workers, while farm owners or managers decreased. When the occupation structure and the net mid-period family income are applied to a breakdown of the residual population, the markedly lower status of nonmigrants is revealed.

Table 2. Occupational Status and Mobility of Employed Members of the Labor Force, 1970 and 1950

Occupation Group	Median Earning[1]	Occupation status, 1970[2] all		In-migrant		Nonmigrant		Status, 1950[3] all	
		%	Score	%	Score	%	Score	%	Score
Professional, technical	(4.8)	6	28.8	5	24.0	5	24.0	5	24.0
Manager, official, proprietor	(5.0)	14	70.0	18	90.0	9	45.0	7	35.0
Sales and clerical	(3.8)	3	11.4	3	11.4	5	19.0	7	26.6
Craftsman or foreman	(3.5)	15	52.5	16	56.0	12	42.0	9	31.5
Operative worker	(2.6)	24	62.4	28	72.8	16	41.6	9	23.5
Service or laborer	(1.9)	11	20.9	10	19.0	12	22.8	11	20.9
Farm owner or manager	(1.6)	26	41.6	18	28.8	41	65.6	48	76.8
Farm Laborer	(0.8)	2	1.6	2	1.6	0	0	4	3.2
Total index score.....			289.2		303.6		260.0		241.4
Absolute change from 1950 base.....			47.8		62.2		18.6		
Percent increase from 1950 base.....			19.8		25.8		7.7		

FORMULA: (Median Earnings) X (% Distribution) = SCORE

[1]The weights (given in parentheses) are the median earnings (per $1,000) for 1959 in major occupation groups for rural Arkansas, derived from the U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Arkansas, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

[2]Data for the 313 sample households of the 12-county area.

[3]Data apply to the total rural population of the 12 counties, from U.S. Census of Population, 1950, Arkansas, General Characteristics.

Nonmigrant members of the 1970 labor force experienced an 8 percent change in upward occupational mobility since 1950 while their in-migrant counterparts showed a 26 percent gain in occupational mobility over the 1950 area labor force. Apparently benefits of occupational readjustment, brought about by years of selective net out-migration and industrial growth, do not accrue to the long-time low-income residents of the area. The in-migrant members of the labor force, who by their move into the area demon-

strate greater job mobility, appear to have advantage over nonmigrants in competing for new and vacant jobs. Thus, the competition of in-migrants may tend to restrict the opportunity for advancement of the poor among the nonmigrants.

Income and Employment

Although vertical job mobility through occupational restructuring does not appear to benefit the nonmigrant members of the area, upward mobility through increased wages and reduced underemployment may relieve their distress.

Table 3. Relative Income Deprivation in 1969, by Migration Type Based on the Relationship of Family Income to Household Size[1]

Household income	Degree of deprivation				
	Serious	Definite	Marginal	Probably Not	Definitely Not
	Number of households				
In-migrant households					
Under $1,000	4	3	....[2]	....	....
$1,000 to $1,999	0	13	4	....	....
$2,000 to $2,999	1	2	14	1	....
$3,000 to $4,999	....	0	18	21	1
$5,000 to $7,999	....	....	3	32	18
$8,000 to $9,999	....	....	....	0	10
$10,000 and over	....	....	....	0	20
All households (165)					
Number	5	18	39	54	49
Percent	3	11	24	33	30
Nonmigrant households					
Under $1,000	3	2	....	....	....
$1,000 to $1,999	0	15	11	....	....
$2,000 to $2,999	0	2	25	2	....
$3,000 to $4,999	....	2	4	20	4
$5,000 to $7,999	....	....	0	10	31
$8,000 to $9,999	....	....	....	0	11
$10,000 and over	....	....	....	0	6
All households (148)					
Number	3	21	40	32	52
Percent	2	14	27	22	35

[1] For full explanation of the number of persons per income class see John L. McCoy, "Rural Poverty in Three Southern Regions," Agr. Econ. Report 176, U.S. Dept. of Agr., Econ. Res. Serv., p. 20, 1970.

[2] Dashes indicate inapplicable cells.

A $1,100 differential between the median household incomes of in-migrant and nonmigrant families does not necessarily reflect greater deprivation on the part of nonmigrant households. Nonmigrant households are generally smaller and the income required for subsistence would be less. Applying the criteria for establishing relative income deprivation based on family size (Table 3) presents the degree of deprivation for in-migrant and nonmigrant households, respectively.

Households experiencing poverty conditions when income is related to family size account for 38 percent of the in-migrant families and 43 percent of the nonmigrant. Fourteen percent of the in-migrant families and 16 percent of the nonmigrant families are seriously or definitely deprived. The in-migration of relatively low-income families into a low-income depressed area represents what Bender and Green refer to as the ghettoization of poverty in an area or region.[5] Further support for this argument is the fact that approximately 11 percent of the in-migrant households reported receiving some degree of State welfare payments, compared with 22 percent of the nonmigrant families (Table 4).

In general, in-migrant households show a greater degree of income stability and much less diversity in sources of income than nonmigrants. Typically, nonmigrant families are receiving social security and some income from farm sales and/or land rental. Of in-migrant families 44 percent reported income from work only and another 12 percent from pensions only.

For both in-migrants and nonmigrants, the average number of days of employment remains well below the 260-day standard applied by the U.S. Department of Labor; workers from in-migrant households averaging 249 days of work,

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[5]Lloyd D. Bender and Bernal L. Green, "Industrialization as a Poverty Policy: Revisited," Mimeographed staff paper, Dept. of Agr. Econ., Univ. of Ark., 1970, p. 19.

compared with 233 days for nonmigrant workers. In terms of household well-being, the differential between male family heads for the two groups is more revealing. Although in-migrant male heads average 273 days, nonmigrant family heads worked only 248 days during 1969. Female in-migrant workers averaged approximately one month more work than female nonmigrants, although no difference exists for female family heads.

Table 4. Sources of 1970 Family Income, by Migration Type

Sources of Family Income	Migration Type			
	In-migrant		Nonmigrant	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
All households	165	100	148	100
Work only	72	44	36	24
Investments only	2	1	0	0
Pension only	19	12	11	7
Welfare only	8	5	3	2
Work and investments	19	12	21	14
Work and pensions	13	8	23	16
Work and welfare	5	3	3	2
Work-investment-welfare	1	...	0	0
Work-investment-pension	8	5	19	13
Work-pension-welfare	2	1	4	3
Work-investment-pension-welfare	1	...	5	3
Investments and pensions	11	7	6	4
Investments and welfare	0	0	1	1
Investments-pension-welfare	1	...	1	1
Pensions and welfare	3	2	15	10

While underemployment is being solved for both groups of residents, greater underemployment appears to be more usual among nonmigrant households and particularly for female members of the labor force. The continued underemployment of nonmigrant workers necessarily means that a higher proportion of them will experience income inequality and poverty.

Employability Attributes

Much of the occupational restructuring and socioeconomic change that has taken place among residual residents of the area can be explained or associated with various employability attributes of in-migrants and nonmigrants. Even though the economic base of the area is diversely spread among farming, timber-sawmilling, construction, commerce, and manufacturi[illegible]ch characteristics as advancing age, low levels of formal education, and physical handicaps serve to discriminate heavily against a large percentage of the population--notably, the nonmigrant members.

Study data revealed a significant age differential in favor of in-migrants, i.e., a median age of 48 years compared with 62 years for the nonmigrants. Given present institutional practices which place older job applicants at a disadvantage, it becomes apparent why 40 percent of the nonmigrant household heads report farm ownership and management as their major occupation. Within the more desirable age group of 25 to 59, approximately 3 in 4 in-migrant household heads would be available for employment, compared with only 2 in 5 nonmigrant heads. Present and future public efforts to encourage industrial location and job formation in rural areas as a poverty program[6] would not appear helpful in improving the economic situation of the chronically low-incomed. In fact, such policy decisions, unless carefully considered, may stimulate greater income disequilibrium. From the standpoint of age, it seems impossible to help many rural Ozark area families except through programs associated with income transfers, such as social security, welfare, and retirement programs.

[6]See for example: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, "Rural Poverty and Regional Progress in an Urban Society," Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 4th Report, pp. 37 to 39, 1969.

The problem of advancing age is intensified by the low levels of formal education for area household heads. An extreme gap in educational achievement was found to exist between in-migrant and nonmigrant household heads. Nine [illegible] of in-migrant and 23 percent of nonmigrant breadwinners can be considered functional illiterates with less than a fifth grade education. A high school education normally is considered desirable for industrial development and human resource development potential. Yet, only 10 percent of the nonmigrant household heads and 38 percent of the in-migrant heads had accomplished this level of educational achievement. Nonmigrant residents of the area are seriously prevented from upward mobility, which implies an increase in wages associated with a job move, as a result of their relatively low level of formal education.

Collectively, in terms of age and level of formal education, both groups of area residents fail to offer the minimal to motivate industrial planners to locate industry in the area, although it appears that in-migrants have an advantage over nonmigrants in competing for nonfarm employment opportunities.

Training and Skills

In a highly dynamic market economy, mobility of labor is essential for efficient use of resources. Labor mobility and the nature of labor-force adjustments for an area depend to some extent on the kind and nature of marketable skills possessed by labor-force participants.

Table 5 reports the quality of skilled manpower among area residents. In-migrant household heads are more highly trained with 35 percent reporting occupational skills, compared with 15 percent of nonmigrant heads. From the point of view of industrial development, 20 percent of in-migrant household

heads, compared with 4 percent of nonmigrant heads, have received some training in mechanical, technical, or industrial skills, but for the entire labor force, 10 and 2 percent, respectively, have industrial training. Twenty-five

Table 5. Nonfarm Training of Household Heads and of All People 14 Years Old and Over, by Migration Type, 1970

Kind of nonfarm training or skills reported	Migration Type			
	In-migrant		Non-migrant	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Household heads				
All households	165	100	148	100
Mechanical, technical, and industrial Skills	33	20	6	4
Commercial training	7	4	3	2
Construction skills	10	6	9	6
Teacher training	8	4	3	2
Service skills	2	1	1	1
No training or skills	105	65	126	85
All persons				
All persons (14 years old and over)	409	100	341	100
Mechanical, technical, and industrial skills	39	10	7	2
Commercial training	23	6	5	1
Construction skills	11	2	12	4
Teacher training	26	6	13	4
Service skills	4	1	7	2
No training or skills	306	75	297	87

percent of all members of in-migrant households 14 years and over report training and skills, compared with 13 percent of the nonmigrant households.

Thus in-migrants are in a better position to exploit their advantage over nonmigrants for vacant and newly-formulated employment opportunities, given equal labor force information. If the older and unskilled persons who characterize the nonmigrant labor force are to benefit from subsidization plans for industrial location in rural areas, attention must be given to

attracting industry with less demanding labor-force requirements and hiring policies favorable to area residents.

Job Mobility and Financial Aspirations

The measures of occupational aspiration used for this study were designed to indicate the relative intensity of social and economic desire among rural adults in the South.[7] Job and income goals are focused on a hypothetical situation involving a respondent's willingness to take a new job at higher wages in light of specific undesirable conditions related to the employment. For both heads and homemakers, a different type of six-item "Guttman Scale"[8] was employed which combines multiple items into a composite measure so that an affirmative response to a higher value on the scale predicts an affirmative response to all lower conditions.

The degree of willingness of in-migrant and nonmigrant household heads to accept a new job at higher pay under stated conditions is indicated in Table 6. Both in-migrant and nonmigrant households rank fairly high in financial aspirations, with median scores of 4.1 and 4.2, respectively. For each migration type, approximately 1 in 4 household heads would not accept a new job at twice his present wage "under any circumstances"; this would seem to imply that the assumption of "economic man" may not be altogether valid for rural family heads.

The failure of nonmigrant household heads to achieve the higher levels of income and occupation realized by in-migrants apparently does not result

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[7] John E. Dunkelberger, "Measures of Job Mobility or Financial Aspiration," Scaling Social Data, So. Coop. Ser. Bul. 108, pp. 30 to 45, 1965

[8] Louis Guttman, "A New Approach to Factor Analysis: The Radex," ed. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences, The Free Press, Glencoe, p. 259, 1954.

from lack of incentive. Twenty-one percent of the nonmigrant family heads indicated high aspiration levels, compared with 17 percent of the in-migrant household heads.

Table 6. Financial Aspiration Scale Score for Household Heads, by Migration Type, 1970

Score value	Hypothetical working conditions required for new job and level of aspiration	Migration type			
		In-migrant		Nonmigrant	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Seriously low aspiration level					
0	Would not take new job under any circumstances	17	21	11	24
Low aspiration level					
1	You would have to work nights	6	7	3	6
2	Your family would have to leave community	6	7	1	2
Medium aspiration level					
3	You would have to give up your spare time	6	7	5	11
4	You would have to work harder	34	41	17	36
High aspiration level					
5	You would have to be away from your family for some time	5	6	7	15
6	Your family would have to move around a lot	9	11	3	6
	Median scale score	4.1		4.2	

When housewives were asked under what conditions they would be willing to accept a doubling of incomes for their husbands, a slightly different situation was portrayed (Table 7). While 1 in 5 in-migrant homemakers had a seriously low level of financial aspiration, nearly 2 in 5 nonmigrant housewives reported they would not want their husbands changing jobs under any conditions. Nonmigrant homemakers scored well below their male household heads with a median aspiration score at 3.4, whereas in-migrant homemakers scored slightly ahead, at a 4.3 median scale value.

A significant difference exists in the proportions of housewives and male household heads who exhibit high aspiration levels. Forty-five percent of the in-migrant homemakers had high aspirations, compared with 37 percent of the nonmigrants, reversing the slight difference in favor of nonmigrant heads. However, all area homemakers reveal an unwillingness to impose extra work burdens on their husbands in order to upgrade family incomes.

Table 7. Financial Aspiration Scale Score for Homemakers, by Migration Type, 1970

Scale score	Hypothetical working conditions required for husband's new job, and level of homemakers aspiration	Migration type			
		In-migrant		Nonmigrant	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Seriously low aspiration level					
0	Would not want husband to change jobs	19	20	22	38
Low aspiration level					
1	Your husband would have to work nights	4	4	2	4
2	You would have to leave your friends in this community	16	17	3	6
Medium aspiration level					
3	Your husband would have to give up his spare time	6	6	5	9
4	Your husband would have to be away from the family for some time	8	8	3	6
High aspiration level					
5	You would have to keep quiet about your religious views	17	18	8	14
6	Your husband would have to work harder	25	27	13	23
	Median scale score	4.3		3.4	

To assess the job mobility aspirations of in-migrant and nonmigrant households, responses of both household heads and homemakers from a single household were combined. The scale involved assigning a score in terms of the dichotomized favorable and unfavorable responses of the couples to the statements which appear in Tables 6 and 7. A score of five points was assigned on the basis of a favorable response by both partners, two points was assigned for a favorable response by either the head or the homemaker, and no points were given for a negative response by both husband and wife. The scores were totaled and divided by three to yield a ten-point scale.

Table 8. Family Job Mobility Aspirations, by Migration Type

Scale score and aspiration level	Migration type			
	In-migrant		Nonmigrant	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Low aspiration level				
1.0 to 2.9.....	17	23	8	19
3.0 to 3.9.....	5	7	5	12
Medium aspiration level				
4.0 to 4.9.....	15	21	4	10
5.0 to 6.9.....	15	21	10	25
7.0 to 7.9.....	4	6	3	7
High aspiration level				
8.0 to 9.9.....	4	6	2	5
10.0	11	15	9	22
Median aspiration level.....	4.8		6.0	

The combined measure of occupational and/or income aspirations of household heads and homemakers from the same household are presented in Table 8 by migration type. Nonmigrant households exhibited a significantly higher median level of aspirations at 6.0, relative to a median score of 4.8 for in-migrant

households. Apparently nonmigrant households are highly motivated and interested in seeking new employment opportunities. Their failure to realize any degree of real upward job mobility over the period of study implies that they had been discriminated against by institutional practices regarding age, education, and physical condition or disability, rather than lack of concern for the economic conditions in which they find themselves.

Anomia

The feeling of hopelessness and discouragement is normally measured by the Strole Scale which presents a series of postulates worded in such a manner that they can be answered either "agree," "disagree," or "no opinion."

Table 9. Attitude Scale Scores for Household Heads, by Migration Type, 1970

Score value	Attitude statements associated with levels of anomia	Migration type			
		In-migrant		Nonmigrant	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent
No personal anxiety or despair					
0	Disagrees with all six statements..	30	20	20	15
Low level of anomia					
1	Agrees that nowadays a person doesn't really know whom he can trust.....	13	9	11	9
2	Agrees that public officials are not interested in the problems of the average man.....	27	18	6	5
Marginal level of anomia					
3	Agrees that the situation for the average man is worse.....	23	15	17	13
4	Agrees that today a person must live for the present and let tomorrow take care of itself.....	16	10	33	25
High level of anomia					
5	Agrees that it's not really fair to bring children into this world today.....	22	15	33	25
6	Agrees that things have usually gone against him in his life.....	19	13	10	8
Median level of anomia.....		3.2		4.3	

This study employed the modified version of the scale developed in the Southern Regional Project S-44 by Seung Moon and Glenn McCann.[9] This modified version lends itself to a Guttman-type scoring index, in which a high score is associated with a high level of anxiety and despair.

Table 9 shows the attitude scale scores of area household heads by their migration type. Eighty percent of in-migrant household heads and 85 percent of nonmigrants are affected by a psychological state of mind bordering on uncertainty, hopelessness, or abject despair. The relatively higher degree of despair on the part of nonmigrants also is reflected in a median level of anomia, registering 4.3 compared with only 3.2 for in-migrant household heads. Apparently the lower levels of living, lower family incomes, and lower occupational mobility experienced by nonmigrant household heads relative to their in-migrant co-residents is beginning to weaken specific social values, leading to some degree of fatalism and despair.

SUMMARY ANALYSIS

Summary of Findings

Survey data clearly revealed that nonmigrant households did not share equally in the socioeconomic progress experienced by the residual residents of the area over the period of study. While 2 in 3 in-migrants were able to locate nonfarm employment, only 1 in 2 nonmigrant labor-force participants reported nonfarm work experience during 1969. Thus, a substantial number of nonmigrants remain engaged in low-income agriculture, which is the fastest declining element in the area's economic base. Even here, in-migrants score

[9] Seung G. Moon and Glenn C. McCann, "Anomia Scales," Scaling Social Data So. Coop, Ser. Bul. 108, pp. 55 to 64, 1965.

higher in the application of farming practices and mechanization than nonmigrant households.

Occupational change and job mobility among nonmigrant and in-migrant household heads indicate vertical labor-force adjustments in response to out-migration and industrial growth. However, in-migrant household heads showed a 25.8 percent increase in occupational status over the 1950 area labor-force, compared with only 7.7 percent increase for nonmigrants, as measured by the employed index of occupational mobility.

Analysis of household incomes on the basis of relative family size, revealed 43 percent of the nonmigrant families and 38 percent of the in-migrant households experiencing some degree of income deprivation. Thus, although real differences in levels of adjustment exist between in-migrants and non-migrants in general, institutional factors within the community appear to mitigate against or prevent the elimination of income inequalities for a substantial number of both groups of residual residents. This factor would seem to weaken the regional objectives of uplifting real incomes and levels of living through market oriented programs. In addition, the fact that such a large proportion of in-migrant households has been empirically identified as adding to the deterioration or distress of the area, lends support to the belief that a form of ghettoization of poverty may be taking place in rural open-country areas. Theoretically, incomes should rise and lead to the elimination of inequalities in areas of population loss, as a result of an improved balanced between population and residual human and capital resources.

Much of the low-income problem in the 12-county area is not amenable to solution through industrialization or labor-force adjustments as a concomitant of migration, in the sense that only 1 in 4 nonmigrants and 2 in 5

in-migrant households receive work income only. Nonwork incomes play an important part for the majority of families, and especially for nonmigrant households.

Much of the failure of nonmigrant families to achieve the higher levels of socioeconomic adjustment reached by in-migrants can be attributed to various employability factors mitigating against their pace of social mobility. A significant age differential in favor of in-migrant heads of households, with a median age of 48 years, compared with 62 years for nonmigrants, gives in-migrants a considerable advantage in the pursuit of expanding job opportunities. In addition to their being younger, in-migrant family heads typically were better educated, with an average 9.7 school grades completed, relative to 8.2 grades among nonmigrant heads.

Thirty-five percent of the in-migrant sample heads of households reported previous job training and, of these, 1 in 5 possessed mechanical, technical, or industrial skills. Only 15 percent of nonmigrant household heads reported previous job training and 4 percent of these had industrially related skills. Thus, the skill composition of the area work force is relatively low, and expanding industrial employment opportunities can be expected to accrue to in-migrant heads of households as a result of their greater skill employability in this field.

When the employability attributes of the residual residents are collectively considered, in-migrants have a considerable initial advantage in the labor market. Relative to the labor force and social adjustments that have taken place over the period of this study, in-migrants appear to have exploited their more desirable attributes in competing for employment opportunities created by out-migration and industrial expansion throughout the period.

Although nonmigrants show up second best in share of changing economic opportunity, their attitude tests clearly emphasized a willingness to accept a good number of undesirable working conditions in order to upgrade family incomes. When the financial aspirations of household heads and their wives were combined to yield an indication of relative job mobility attitude, nonmigrant households scored 6.0 on a ten-point scale, compared with 4.8 among in-migrant households. However, well over one-half (58 percent) of nonmigrant household heads were deeply pessimistic and discouraged with regard to the achievement of their individual goals, compared with 38 percent of the in-migrant heads of households. This may reflect a growing awareness of the lack of effective competition for jobs and a growing mistrust of personal capabilities on the part of nonmigrant household heads. Nevertheless, the evidence of rather high rates of anomia among area residents suggests the need for social solutions that will allow for differential corrective action and match capabilities and desires of native residents--as well as in-migrants--with useful projects, and, thereby, adequately reward the services of <u>all</u> rural residents in low-income development areas.

Substantive Conclusions

Substantial differences between the two groups of people left behind in the process of net out-migration would imply that social theory and action designed to relieve the economic distress in low-income areas would be ill-advised to rely heavily on the aggregate analysis of migration and income by large regions, which may not reveal the existence of meaningful labor force and social adjustments in specific places. In addition, programs or plans designed to foster economic development and growth in

particular regions, through subsidies which would attract industry, may serve only to increase the socioeconomic divergence and income inequality that exists among area residents unless attention is given to institutional forms of employment practice.

The movement of people into distressed areas with more desirable employment attributes than native residents suggests the need for coordinated planning on the part of economic development officials particularly to aid non-migrants. In addition, policy makers concerned with the improvement of economic well-being in chronically low-income areas must necessarily take note of the fact that nearly 20 percent of the families surveyed who moved into the distressed area, are also poor.

Implications of this study suggest the need for closer tailoring of public programs to provide <u>all</u> rural people with improved employment opportunities. Labor market theory which relies on the out-directional movement of people from distressed areas to improved well-being of residents who remain does not seem appropriate when a simultaneous in-movement of people with greater employability occurs. Although a continuing emphasis on upgrading education and providing economically valuable training is needed, the immediate needs of heretofore disadvantaged native residents can only be met through programs of positive discrimination providing true equitability of results and not just equal opportunity or rights.