The GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY of LABOR

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by

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with the assistance of

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PREFACE[1]

The geographic mobility of labor is one of the basic processes of adjustment in the economy of the United States. As new developments occur in technology, demand, and transportation, changes take place in the location of productive activity. Failure of human resources to adjust to these changes leads to inefficiency, poverty and dependency. The study reported here is intended as a contribution to knowledge about one mechanism of adjustment, adjustment through geographical mobility. Social as well as economic aspects of the adjustment are considered.

This volume is a report on a large scale research study of geographic mobility. The authors hope that it will be read by academicians interested in the field, including both economists and sociologists. Similarly they hope that the volume may be useful as supplementary reading for courses concerned with labor economics and migration. The volume is also intended for a more general audience of people who are concerned with the problems of policy discussed here, especially those in government.

Some of the results of this investigation already have been made available to the public in a preliminary report and a series of five pamphlets. For most purposes these reports are superceded by the present volume, but the specialist will find that some tabulations in these reports have not been repeated here.[1]

The authors wish to acknowledge the collaboration and assistance of their associates at the Survey Research Center. The Center is a division of the Institute for Social Research, which is directed by Rensis Likert. The Director of the Survey Research Center is Angus Campbell; and of its Economic Behavior Program, George Katona. The sample design was the responsibility of Irene Hess. The field work was under the direction of Charles Cannell and Morris Axelrod;

[1]The preliminary report is *The Geographic Mobility of Labor: A First Report* by John B. Lansing, Eva Mueller, William Ladd and Nancy Barth, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, 1963. The five pamphlets were published by the Area Redevelopment Administration, U. S. Department of Commerce, in a series on Economic Redevelopment Research made available through the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office. They are as follows: *The Cost of Geographic Mobility* by John B. Lansing and Nancy Barth, April 1964; *The Propensity to Move* by John B. Lansing and William Ladd, July 1964; *Migration Into and Out of Depressed Areas* by Eva Mueller with Nancy Barth and William Ladd, September 1964; *Negro-White Differences in Geographic Mobility* by Eva Mueller and William Ladd, August 1964; and *The Geographic Mobility of Labor: A Summary Report* by John B. Lansing and Nancy Barth, September 1964.

the coding section, of Doris Muehl and Joan Scheffler. The authors are indebted to the interviewers who carried out the field work and to the respondents who gave of their time to the project. They especially wish to acknowledge the work in the preparation of the questionnaire of two of the Center's staff of field supervisors, Lilian Kleinberg and Dorothy Muller.

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PART I

The Problem of Mobility

INTRODUCTION[1]

One of the basic characteristics of the population of the United States is its geographic mobility. In the course of their lifetime most people move from one area to another. At the present time two heads of families out of three are living in a different area from that in which they were born. Even among the remaining one third, some have lived elsewhere and returned to their place of birth. The contrast to traditional societies, in which people may live for generations in the same village, is striking. In any short period of time the proportion of the population who move to a new area is smaller than the proportion who have moved at some time in their lives, but about 5 to 6 per cent of the population do move across county lines every year. As the total population of the nation approaches 200,000,000, the number of migrants is approaching the range of ten to twelve million a year. The movement of that many people from one place to another is in itself a social phenomenon of some importance.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF GEOGRAPHIC MOVEMENT

At the beginning of this report it may be helpful to indicate briefly the different intellectual approaches to the study of the geographic movement of people. The social scientists with the longest record of work in the field are the demographers. It may not be too great an oversimplification to state that their intellectual starting point has been the problem of measuring and describing migration. They have started, that is, with the phenomenon itself, and compiled an extensive body of information about it. The Census Bureau has been the most important but by no means the only source of basic data. In this work migration has been defined ordinarily as a change of residence involving a move across county lines.

Within the last decade or so, another group of social scientists, the economists, have shown a growing interest in the subject. That economic reasoning has played a central part in the work reported here is evident even from the title of this volume, which refers, not to migration, but to the mobility of labor. To oversimplify again, economists have become increasingly interested in the mobility of labor because of their increasing concern with economic growth and economic development. If the number one economic problem of the 1930's was unemployment, the number one problem of the postwar period has been growth. The connection between the movement of people and economic growth requires a word of explanation.

[1]This chapter was written by John B. Lansing.

The processes of growth require constant adjustment in the economy. Economic events such as the automation of industrial processes, the development or depletion of natural resources, or the development of new means of transportation require adjustments in production. These adjustments may require geographic movement of the labor force. In American economic history the leading example of such a shift has been the movement of manpower out of agriculture into non-agricultural industries, a process extending over many decades which has required the migration of millions of people, and is likely to require the migration of millions more.

In addition to shifts in the proportion of the population in different geographic areas, the processes of adjustment may require interchanges of personnel. Trained personnel may move in opposite directions. Carpenters may be needed in one area, accountants in another, and elementary school teachers in a third. As the economy develops and the labor force becomes better educated and at the same time more differentiated, it seems reasonable to suppose that this type of movement of people will increase.

To think of labor mobility as a process of adjustment of the labor force is to imply basic questions about mobility. Is the movement of labor the correct or optimal form of adjustment to the events taking place in the economy? An alternative would be the movement of capital from one part of the country to another. On the face of the matter it seems unlikely either that movement of labor invariably is a more economical adjustment than the movement of capital, or that the movement of capital invariably is less costly to society. Yet, the question remains: is the actual, observed movement of the labor force the optimal quantity of movement? Or is it too much, or too little? This general question leads to specific questions. One may ask whether any specific movements which have taken place represented excessive shifts, or overadjustments, and whether there are specific situations in which too little movement has taken place.

Before such questions can be answered, it will be necessary to examine the costs of the geographic movement of people. In considering whether a particular move or type of move was economically advantageous, the cost of the move must be related to the gains resulting from the move. In such a calculation both costs and gains may be defined narrowly so as to include only measurable financial magnitudes. (The possibility may also be considered of taking account in a rough or approximate way of gains and losses which cannot be quantified readily.)

Recently there has been increasing interest among economists in the analysis of migration in terms of the movement of human capital.

As the level of education rises, the sums invested in people also rise. The movement of people comes increasingly to involve movement of social capital. This view raises new questions about the geographic incidence of the social cost and the social benefits of the geographic movement of labor.

Such questions as these have been raised recently in connection with the problems of areas of chronic unemployment or persistent low incomes. Such areas can be aided directly by the expenditure of federal funds to improve local economic opportunities, or they can be aided indirectly by measures aimed at raising the general level of employment and economic activity. The proper mix between the two approaches may be regarded as one of the issues in the recent debate over whether the correct diagnosis is structural unemployment versus unemployment resulting from a general failure of demand.

Among economists, broadly speaking, there are two views about migration. One view is that the *volume* of movement of the labor force depends on broad economic forces, and its *incidence* on the characteristics of the worker.[2] Assume a need to shift 1000 workers from county A to county B. Who moves, according to this view, is a separate and essentially secondary question. Given the jobs in county B, the adherents of this view would expect the movement to take place.

The second view is that the total volume of movement is impeded by limits on the number of people who move readily. Thus, it may be that there are 500 workers who are willing to shift their homes from county A to county B, but there may not be 1000, and the total movement may fall short of what would be desirable. Adherents of this view would not be surprised to find unemployed workers in county A and unfilled jobs in county B at the same time. Such a conflict of opinion requires study of the facts, with special attention to such matters as obstacles to moving and the processes of dissemination of information about jobs.

Economists are, therefore, interested in the geographic movement of people. Yet it is certainly inappropriate to think of the movement of people exclusively in economic terms. If migration is to be analyzed in terms of the goals of the migrants, it must be recognized immediately that not all movements of people are made for economic reasons. Some moves are made exclusively for family reasons, whether to join a relative who lives at a distance, or to get away from one's recently divorced spouse. Other moves are made exclusively for

[2]For example, see Lloyd G. Reynolds, *The Structure of Labor Markets*, 1951.

community reasons, for example, to go to live in a particularly desirable environment. Many moves are made, not for one single reason, but for a mixture of reasons. To analyze all these moves exclusively in economic terms is to invite errors of interpretation and errors of prediction.

Problems of migration require interdisciplinary consideration for another reason. Whatever the motives for a move, the entire person moves, not just the economic man, and if he has a family he takes it with him. Social consequences may be expected both for the people involved and for the communities. These consequences may be expected at both ends of the move; that is, there will be consequences both for the community which is the point of departure and for the community which is the destination. Questions about processes of social adjustment become appropriate which are analogous to the questions previously suggested about economic adjustment.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS STUDY

Considerations such as those briefly suggested above have led to a substantial volume of research. The contribution of this study must be understood in relation to the previous research. Economists have studied local labor markets intensively but have not focussed attention on geographic mobility. The people who have moved away ordinarily receive little attention in local studies. A limited number of studies have been made of the mobility of specialized occupational groups in certain periods. There are also a few studies of what happened in particular areas when a new industry entered or an old one vanished. There are excellent national data on migration but the studies which best represent the population are limited to such variables as the age, sex, race, place of residence, marital status and employment status of migrants and nonmigrants.[3] Some of the major findings of these studies are discussed later in this report.

This study has been conceived as a national study of the labor force as a whole. It differs in essential character, therefore, both from studies of local labor markets and from studies of particular categories of workers. There are interesting possibilities of fitting together such intensive studies and this investigation so that they may complement each other.

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[3]For example, Current Population Reports, "Mobility of the Population of the United States, March 1962 to March 1963," Series P-20, No. 134, March 25, 1965.

This study differs from the work of the Census Bureau in that this study covers a much broader range of variables but is based on a much smaller number of observations. Information about attitudes and motives is obtained here in addition to extensive information about migration history and the socio-economic characteristics of the people studied. The sample used, however, is much smaller than that in the Current Population Surveys, let alone the Census of Population. Again there are interesting possibilities of combining the results obtained by the different methods.

The research reported here also differs from some other work in the method of analysis. Although use is made of data on counties and labor market areas, the emphasis is on intensive analysis of the mobility of individuals with frequent resort to multivariate analysis. This type of analysis is appropriate to the type of data collected, which includes for the people studied detailed information on a range of topics related to mobility. On a number of topics the information gathered is more extensive than in any previous national survey.

The information gathered includes data about the causes of mobility and the obstacles to mobility; the process of mobility; and the consequences of mobility. The first step has been to differentiate between people who are geographically mobile and those who are not. For purposes of this study, a change of residence has qualified as a "move" if it took the respondent into a different labor market. Such a distinction has been made on the basis of *past* mobility history; that is, how often people had moved prior to the time they were interviewed. Secondly, people were differentiated according to *present* willingness to move. And, finally, a sample of the population were reinterviewed to determine their mobility *subsequent* to the first interview.

A wide variety of social, economic and psychological factors have been studied as potential predictors of mobility. For example:

Education
Financial status (including availability of reserve funds)
Automobile ownership
Ties to local community (place of birth, presence of relatives, membership in community organizations, home ownership, children in school, wife employed)

Outside contacts (travel, relatives or friends in other communities)

Vested interests in job or community (job seniority, pension fund rights, home ownership)

Motivational and attitudinal variables related to the desire to move

Data have been collected also which are intended to make it possible to study the process of moving by a detailed analysis of recent moves. Reports have been obtained on what motivated the move—the desire to live in another place, job reasons, or something else? What sources of information were used to facilitate the move itself and to find another job? What was the role of employment services? How much and what kind of help was received from relatives and friends? What were the costs of moving and how was the move financed? What problems were encountered?

Information was also obtained on how people perceive the effect of moving on their unemployment insurance and welfare payment privileges. How many and what kinds of people know how their rights are affected by moving?

METHODOLOGY

This report is based on sample surveys of the adult population of the United States living in private households. There are three waves of interviews with cross-sections of the population of the nation. When a family was selected for interview, the head of the family or the wife of the head was designated as the respondent on a random basis. In addition there were three special sample surveys of populations of special importance for this investigation. In the first of these projects a special sample was selected of families living in redevelopment areas in September-October 1962. Another special sample included all families in two other surveys who reported that they had moved in the year prior to interview in those projects. The purpose was to build up the sample of recent movers in this investigation. These families were taken from the 1962 and 1963 Surveys of Consumer Finances. Finally, there was a reinterview in the late summer and early fall of 1963 of respondents who had been interviewed a year earlier. This part of the project was intended to make possible analysis which would predict on the basis of variables measured in the first interview whether or not people would move in the period prior to the second interview. The details of the sample design are discussed in Appendix A. In brief, the data collection consisted of the following:

Date	Nature of sample	Number of interviews
(1) August-September, 1962	Cross-section of national population	1317
(2) September-October, 1962	Special sample to obtain extra interviews in redevelopment areas	433

(3) September-October, 1962 February, 1963	Reinterviews with people who reported moving in the 1962 or 1963 Survey of Consumer Finances	189
(4) November-December, 1962	Cross-section of national population	1352
(5) November, 1963	Cross-section of national population	1322
(6) August, 1963	Reinterview of respondents from (1) and (2)	1750

The interviewing methods used were those standard with the Survey Research Center. These methods have been discussed in detail elsewhere.[4] Personal interviews in the homes of the respondents were the type of data collection used in all parts of the project except the reinterviews in the sixth part of the data collection (see the list above). In these reinterviews the objective was simply to determine whether or not the family had moved since the first interview. This information was obtained by long distance telephone supplemented by mail.

PLAN OF THIS REPORT

The first sections of this report are concerned with the determinants of geographic mobility. Chapter II, which follows this *Introduction,* introduces the dependent variables in the analysis. Patterns of mobility are described including several measures of mobility selected for use in later analysis. This chapter also contains an introductory discussion of the effects of some basic independent variables on mobility.

The five chapters of Part II consider intensively the determinants of mobility. The first two of these chapters, Chapters III and IV, are concerned with economic determinants. Chapter III takes up personal economic incentives using data from individuals while Chapter IV considers the characteristics of labor market areas. Chapter V is concerned with family and community ties and their relation to mobility. Chapter VI considers three economic ties which, it has been proposed by some economists, may bind people to their present areas of residence: home ownership, participation in pension plans, and unemployment insurance. Other potential determinants of mobility are

[4]Robert Kahn and Charles Cannell, *The Dynamics of Interviewing,* Wiley, 1957. See also *Interviewers' Manual* , Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1966.

discussed in Chapter VII, including measures of psychological characteristics of the individual.

Part III is concerned with the process of moving. Attention is turned to how moving decisions are made in Chapter VIII with special attention paid to the part played in moving by different sources of information. Chapter IX is concerned with the cost of moving. These two chapters are closely related to the earlier discussion of determinants of mobility since either lack of information or high cost may tend to prevent mobility. Chapter IX also includes an evaluation of the success of moves as viewed by the people who have moved.

Part IV of this report is concerned with three topics related in different ways to the problem of poverty. Chapter X considers differences in mobility between negroes and whites. Chapter XI develops the analysis of differences among labor markets in Chapter IV with reference to depressed areas. Chapter XII is concerned with the relation between whether people have been on welfare or received public aid or assistance and their geographic mobility.

Part V summarizes the main findings of the investigation.

II PATTERNS OF MOBILITY[1]

This chapter has two purposes, as noted in the *Introduction*. It is intended to describe geographic mobility, different measures of which are dependent variables in the analysis in Part I of this report; and it is intended to introduce the discussion of the relation of selected independent variables to mobility, the fuller treatment of the effects of different independent variables on mobility being the subject of the remaining chapters in Part I.

Geographic mobility is a complex phenomenon. In the first sections of this chapter it is defined and its incidence in the population is reported. Alternative estimates of the frequency of mobility are presented referring to various periods of time. In addition to the past geographic mobility of the people studied, related phenomena are described: going away temporarily to work, desires to move, plans to move, and mobility of the adult children of the people interviewed.

Actual moves may be classified in various ways. Moves differ according to the distances moved. People may move more than once. It is possible to classify people according to the number of times they have moved. Moves may be compared to each other. A person's second move may be a movement back to the place of origin of the first move or an extension or continuation of the first move. Moves differ according to the places of origin and destination of the move, and may be grouped into migration streams defined in terms of groups of origins and destinations. Places of origin and destination differ according to their density of population as well as their geography. One speaks of the movement from farms to cities, for example.

Moves also may be classified according to the reasons which people report for making them. This discussion leads to the consideration of the determinants of mobility.

One of the most striking facts about mobility is the variation in mobility rates from one part of the population to another. In this chapter the relation between age, education and mobility is briefly described. Some of the other variables related to mobility are also introduced. As the number of independent variables increases and the relationships among them become complex it becomes necessary to employ multivariate statistical techniques which are introduced in the last section of this chapter. In subsequent analysis different sets of independent variables will be related to different measures of mobility.

[1]This chapter was written by John B. Lansing.

THE DEFINITION OF GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

In any study of the geographic mobility of labor a distinction must be made between mere shifts of place of residence within an area, such as a move to a newer, more attractive house consequent on a raise in pay, and moves between areas. In this study mobility is defined to include only moves across the boundaries of labor market areas as defined by the Department of Labor. In general the boundaries of labor markets coincide with the boundaries of metropolitan areas. Since some metropolitan areas contain more than one county, movement across county lines takes place which is not movement across labor market area lines.[2] In sections of the United States where labor markets have not yet been defined, county boundaries are used. It was decided to use labor market boundaries where possible, rather than political boundaries, because the mobility of people in the labor force is the main point of interest.

It must be pointed out, however, that by defining mobility in this manner, difficult questions were treated in a manner which is in some degree arbitrary. In his essay on "The Balkanization of Labor Markets" Clark Kerr defined a labor market as ". . . an area with indistinct geographical and occupational limits within which certain workers customarily seek to offer their services and certain employers to purchase them".[3] He went on to point out the importance of non-competing occupational groups, that is, of skill gaps as well as distance gaps between sub-markets. While the definition of a single set of labor market areas for all types of occupations is administratively convenient or even necessary, for highly trained personnel the skill gap is likely to be more important than the distance gap. The market for Ph.D's in chemistry, for instance, is essentially national, or even international, rather than local. In any one county both the number of sellers and the number of buyers of the services of this type of personnel is likely to be small. Nevertheless, the distance gap does exist and it is reasonable to consider separately those areas within which people can change employers without moving their place of residence. To continue the example, there may be some economic sense in thinking of a situation with one professor of chemistry and one college as a market with a bilateral monopoly. The chemist may hes-

[2]For a detailed description of the boundaries of labor market areas see *Supplement No. 7 to the Directory of Important Labor Market Areas*, Fourth edition, U. S. Department of Labor, February 1962.

[3]See the collection of essays, *Labor Mobility and Economic Opportunity*, by E. Wight Bakke, et. al., 1954, page 93.

itate to move his family, and the institution may be reluctant to undertake the search for a new man, even though both parties are aware of the larger market.

The fixed boundaries of labor market areas as defined may not coincide exactly with the underlying economic reality. A market, conceptually, consists of a group of buyers and a group of sellers who interact. A fixed geographic boundary is likely to exclude at least a few sellers of labor who actually sell their services inside the area in question. As transportation improves, there are changes in the distances people can travel to reach a job in a given length of time. Thus, improved highways tend to extend the boundaries of local labor markets. Buyers as well as sellers of labor may move to the outskirts of a city or out into the surrounding rural area. A person who has available a modern car on a modern, uncongested highway may easily cross the boundary of a labor market on his journey to work.[4]

Boundaries may also define areas which are too broad. Individuals living in one part of a metropolitan area may be unable to seek work in all other parts of the area without changing their places of residence. They may not be in a position to interact directly with buyers of labor whose places of business are, say, on the other side of the city. The justification for thinking of a large city as a single labor market is that there is enough freedom of movement within a city and, hence, enough overlap of buyers and sellers from one part of the area to another, so that the results are similar to what would obtain if there were a single directly interacting group of buyers and sellers.

As a matter of practical research strategy the advantages of the use of fixed boundaries for labor market areas in a study of this kind are so great that there is no real choice. There also seems to be little doubt that the boundaries used in this research represent the best choice among the practical alternatives. In some work migration is defined to include all moves across county lines even moves between counties in the same metropolitan area. Such moves may easily be mere changes in location of residence without changes in place of employment. From the point of view of someone interested in labor markets it does less violence to the facts to regard all such moves as moves within labor market areas rather than as moves between labor

[4]About one worker in four in metropolitan areas travels over 10 miles to his job. See John B. Lansing, *Residential Location and Urban Mobility: The Second Wave of Interviews*, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, 1966, Ch. V, "The Journey to Work".

market areas. Outside metropolitan areas, however, the county is a reasonable unit.

Once the definitions of the labor market areas had been specified for this investigation, it was important to attempt to see that the definitions were correctly applied. Interviewers were provided with maps indicating the boundaries of the areas, and could use the maps to settle questions in marginal cases as to whether a respondent's recent change of residence crossed the boundary of a labor market area.

THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH PEOPLE MOVE

The proportion of the population whom one considers to be mobile obviously depends on the definition of mobility one adopts. It also depends upon the length of time considered. While the proportion of the population who move in a year is low, the proportion who move in a lifetime is impressive.

Movement in One Year: Estimates published by the Bureau of the Census in its series of Current Population Reports provide the best estimates of the mobility of the population from year to year. They also show how much the proportion of the population who are defined as mobile depends on whether local moves within a county are considered, moves across county lines, or moves across state lines. The proportion of the population who moved from March 1962 to March 1963, for example, was reported as follows:

Mobility Status	Civilian Population One Year Old and Over		
Same house (nonmovers)	80.0%		
Different house in the U.S. (movers)	19.4		
Same county		12.6	
Different county (migrants)		6.8	
Within a state			3.1
Between states			3.6
Abroad at beginning of period	0.6		
	100.0%*		

*Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 150, April 14, 1966 Table 1. For data for earlier years see the same report.

Of the 19.4 per cent who moved, one in three, 6.8 per cent, migrated across county lines. Of the migrants about half, 3.6 per cent, moved

across state lines. If attention is restricted to the male population 14 years old and older, the proportion of migrants is slightly lower, 6.6 per cent instead of 6.8 per cent. Year to year variations in the annual migration rate have been small in recent years. From 1951 to 1961 the range was from 6.1 to 6.7 per cent. In the period 1935 to 1940, however, during the Depression, the annual migration rate was only about 2.4 per cent.[5]

The proportion of the population who move across labor market area boundaries in any one year must be slightly smaller than the proportion who move across county lines. This proportion was estimated at 5 per cent from August–September 1962 to September 1963 on the basis of reinterviews taken in this study (Table I). Thus, although migration as defined in the Census statistics is not identical with mobility across labor market boundaries, the difference in mobility rates by the two definitions is not large.

Movement over Longer Intervals than One Year: If a period of time longer than one year is considered, the proportion of the population who move will be larger. The 1960 Census collected data on residence in 1955 and, hence, shows estimated mobility over a five year period. The estimates are as follows:

Mobility Status	Population 5 Years Old and Over		
Same house (nonmovers)	49.9%		
Different house in the U.S. (movers)	47.3		
Same county		29.8	
Different county (migrants)		17.5	
Same state			8.6
Different state			8.9
Abroad in 1955	1.3		
Moved, place of residence in 1955 not reported	1.6		
Total	100.0%*		

*U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Subject Reports, Mobility for States and State Economic Areas*, Final Report, Pc (2) - 2 B, 1963. Table 1.

[5]Henry S. Shryock, Jr., *Population Mobility Within the United States*, 1964, page 68.

Half the population moved to a new address in five years. The proportion of inter-county migrants over the five year period, 17.5 per cent, is roughly three times the rate for a single year. Some people, of course, migrate more than once in a period of five years. It is entirely reasonable to find that the cumulative proportion who have moved over five years is less than five times the annual rate of mobility.

People were asked if they had moved across labor market boundaries in the last five years in the survey reported here, and, as shown in Table I, 15 per cent of heads of families reported they had moved.

Table 1

MOBILITY OF HEADS OF FAMILIES

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Per Cent Who				
Moved in the last year[a]	5	Moved in the last 5 years[b]	15	Moved since 1950[c]	29
Did not move in the last year	95	Did not move in the last 5 years	85	Did not move since 1950	71
Total	100%		100%		100%
Number of heads	1317		3991		3991

[a] "The last year" refers to the period from August-September, 1962 to September, 1963. These data are from a special reinterview of about 1/3 of the total sample.

[b] "The last 5 years" refers to 1957-1962 or 1958-1963, depending on when the interview was taken.

[c] "Since 1950" includes the 12 to 13 years between 1950 and 1962-63.

This proportion is about three times the proportion who report having moved in one year, just as was found in the Census.

In the survey people were asked also about movement over a period of about 12 to 13 years, from early 1950 to date of interview, and 29 per cent reported that they had moved across labor market boundaries. There are no directly comparable Census estimates.

Lifetime Mobility: For over a hundred years the Census of Population has included information on state of birth. Estimates have been prepared of the proportion of the native population born in one state and living in another at the date of the Census. In 1850 it was 24.0 per cent, and in 1960 25.5 per cent. The impression of stability in the rate is confirmed by data for the other decades. The rate for 1960 is the maximum observed, while the minimum was 20.6 per cent in 1900.[6]

Since the present survey is concerned with areas smaller than states, lifetime mobility is much higher. Also, this study concerns heads of families and leaves out the children, who often have not moved yet. Of all heads of families 68 per cent are living in a labor market area other than that in which they were born. Of the remainder 5 per cent report that at one time they lived elsewhere, leaving only 27 per cent who never have lived outside their present area of residence. (Table 2)

From the point of view of the student of labor markets, movement during people's childhood is of secondary importance. The more interesting question is, what proportion of the heads of families have moved since they reached an age where they can respond independently of their parents to forces in the labor market. The age of independent response may not be the same for everyone. In this study it has been approximated by the age when the person either graduated from high school or left school. People were asked where they were living at that time. Of all heads of families 57 per cent are now living in a different labor market (last section of Table 2).

For statistical analysis of mobility using cross-section data, thus, there is a choice of measures of mobility. If attention is focussed on past mobility between labor market areas, the proportion who are movers depends on the length of time considered, ranging from 5 per cent in one year up to 57 per cent or 68 per cent over people's lifetimes. Other things being equal it is preferable for statis-

[6]Shryock, op. cit., page 74. Shryock adjusted the data slightly from the original census report.

tical analysis to work with dependent variables which divide the population into more or less equal groups rather than into one very large group and one very small group. On the other hand if one wishes to predict mobility on the basis of the situation prior to the move, the longer the period covered the more difficult it is to reconstruct the situation at the start of the period. Alternatively, if one wishes to predict mobility between an initial interview and a reinterview one must work with a low percentage of movers or solve the administrative problems of reinterviewing after a lapse of several years. In later sections of this report, therefore, different definitions of mobility are used depending on the relative importance of these conflicting considerations for the particular independent variables at hand. For example, the effect on mobility of whether people have liquid assets enough to pay for a move must be studied using current data about mobility at the time of interview or thereafter since liquid asset holdings years in the past are not easy to measure. However, the effect of age on mobility may be investigated using data about past moves since it is easily possible to calculate the age of a person in the past if one knows his age at time of interview.

WORKING AT A DISTANCE

The boundaries of labor market areas are not rigid. It is possible to maintain a residence at one location and to work at a distance. The worker either may commute over long distances, traveling back and forth every day or at longer intervals, or he may leave home temporarily to work at a distance. These two types of arrangement shade into one another; they are distinguished by how long it is between visits home; they also shade into our concept of geographic mobility.

Seven per cent of all heads of families at some time between 1950 and 1962-1963 travelled back and forth to a job 50 miles or more away from home. These workers fall into three groups: those who commuted daily or several times a week (2 per cent); those who commuted weekly (2 per cent); and those who commuted at longer intervals (3 per cent) (Table 3).

That such arrangements for most people are temporary is apparent from the reasons people give for not moving closer to their jobs. The most frequent answer was that the job itself was temporary. The second most frequent was that it was impossible to move closer to the job, typically because the job involved travel (section B of Table 3).

Seven per cent of heads of families have gone away temporarily to work somewhere else since 1950 (Table 3). These people include 2

Table 2

CUMULATIVE MOBILITY OF FAMILY HEADS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

Lifetime Mobility	Per Cent of Heads of Families
Moved to present area within last 5 years	16
Moved to present area since 1950 but not in last 5 years	14
Lived in present area since 1950 but born elsewhere	38
Lived in present area since 1950, born there, but once lived somewhere else	5
Lived in present area since 1950, born there, never lived anywhere else	27
Total	100%
Mobility Since High School	
No longer live in area where graduated or left high school	57
Live in area where graduated or left school, once lived away in service	4
Live in area where graduated or left school, once lived elsewhere (other than service)	8
Live in area where graduated or left school, never lived elsewhere	31
Total	100%
Number of heads of families	3991

Table 3

WHETHER FAMILY HEADS EVER COMMUTED TO A JOB

OR WENT AWAY TEMPORARILY TO WORK[a]

(Percentage distribution)

A. Whether Family Heads Ever Commuted	Per Cent of All Heads of Families
Yes	7
Daily; several times a week	2
Weekly	2
At longer intervals	3
No	93
Total	100%
Number of family heads	3991

B. Reasons for Not Moving Closer When Family Heads were Commuting	Per Cent of Heads of Families Who Commuted
Temporary job	31
Economic obstacles; home ownership	12
Family or community obstacles	7
Other (could not find housing)	18
Plan to move closer	9
Could not move closer (travel job)	23
Total	100%
Number of heads	367

C. Whether Family Heads Went Away Temporarily to Work	Per Cent of All Heads of Families
Yes	7
Followed work whose location moved often	2
Took a temporary job	2
Seasonal work	1
Other reasons	2
No[b]	93
Total	100%
Number of family heads	3991

Table 3 - continued

D. Whether Either Commuted or Went Away Temporarily to Work	Per Cent of All Heads of Families
Did both	2
Commuted, but never went away temporarily	6
Went away temporarily, but never commuted	5
Did neither	87
Total	100%
Number of family heads	3991

[a]The questions were: "Since 1950 did (HEAD) at any time travel back and forth to a job at a place more than 50 miles from home?" "Why didn't (HEAD) move closer to his job?" "Since 1950 has (HEAD) ever gone away temporarily to work somewhere else?"

per cent who followed work whose location shifted frequently, such as construction jobs; 2 per cent who took a temporary job; and 1 per cent who held seasonal jobs at some time during the 12 year period.

In view of the difficulty of distinguishing precisely between long distance commuting and going away temporarily to work, it is appropriate to ask, how many heads of families have done either of the two? As shown in the last section of Table 3, 13 per cent of all heads of families did the one or the other at some time between 1950 and the date of interview. At any one date, of course, the proportion of workers who are commuting long distances or away temporarily would be smaller. That proportion is not easy to estimate from a sample survey since the people involved are not easy for an interviewer to catch at home. Since the arrangements tend to be temporary and only 13 per cent of all family heads were involved over 12 years, it is probable that a small percentage are involved at any given time.

Since not much is known about this type of labor market behavior, we may pause to consider in some detail the characteristics of the

family heads who have participated in it. One would expect that young people would be more likely to be involved since they are generally more mobile. In fact the proportion who have commuted over 50 miles or gone away temporarily to work since 1950 does fall with age but it falls slowly. It is still 9 per cent for those 55-64 at the date of survey (Table 4). People in their thirties, forties, and fifties may find it more difficult to move their families than those 18-24. Middleaged people seem to resort to temporary absences from home to avoid or postpone changes in place of residence. It would be a mistake to come to the conclusion that people who commute or go away temporarily are a completely different group from those who move. People who have moved since 1950 are much more likely than those who have not moved to have worked at a distance from their place of residence. Of those who have moved three or more times about one in three has worked at a distance (Table 4). On the other hand one out of ten nonmovers went away temporarily to work or commuted. Thus, there seem to be two groups of people—those for whom working at a distance is a substitute for a permanent move and others for whom the two go together.

Is working at a distance characteristic of people of low or high socio-economic status? To this question the answer seems to be, both. Those for whom unemployment is a usual experience are about twice as likely to work at a distance as those who never are unemployed. Under pressure of unemployment people extend the radius within which they will accept work. On the other hand heads of families who have been to college are more than twice as likely as those with a grade school education to work at a distance from thier places of residence.

Professional and technical workers are the occupation group in which going away temporarily to work is most common. This result is consistent with their generally higher mobility rates. Professional people, of course, were not often employed during the period 1950-1962. They form a quite different segment of the population from those frequently unemployed. It is remarkable that there should be two such diverse groups which are likely to engage in the same behavior, maintaining a home in one place and holding down a job in another.

DESIRES TO MOVE AND PLANS TO MOVE

While people may be asked about their past moves, at any point in time they may also be asked questions concerning their propensity to move in the future. Two dimensions of their propensity to move should be considered separately: people may be grouped either according to whether they wish to move or according to whether they

Table 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY HEADS WHO COMMUTED OR WENT AWAY TEMPORARILY TO WORK ANY TIME SINCE 1950

(Percentage distribution of family heads)

Characteristics	Whether Commuted or Went Away Since 1950: Did One or the Other	Did Neither	Total	Number of Family Heads
ALL	13	87	100%	3931
A. Age of Family Head				
18-24	17	83	100%	231
25-34	20	80	100%	734
35-44	17	83	100%	798
45-54	15	85	100%	803
55-64	9	91	100%	592
65 or over	1	99	100%	727
B. Number of Moves by Family Heads Since 1950				
None	10	90	100%	2773
One	17	83	100%	523
Two	22	78	100%	292
Three	32	68	100%	152
Four	35	65	100%	93
Five or more	32	68	100%	91
C. Unemployment Experience of Head				
Usual; seasonal	32	68	100%	193
Occasional	28	72	100%	137
Unusual; never unemployed	15	85	100%	2049
Not in labor force; self-employed	8	92	100%	1441
D. Occupation of Head				
Professional, technical	21	79	100%	444
Other white collar	15	85	100%	637
Blue collar	16	84	100%	1389
Self-employed	16	84	100%	315
Farmers	10	90	199%	157
Not in labor force	3	97	100%	868
E. Education of Family Head				
Grade school or less	8	92	100%	1188
High school	13	87	100%	1731
College	19	81	100%	974

actually expect to move in some specified future period of time.

Many Americans are restless. When asked whether, if they could do as they please, they would stay in their present area or move away, one out of five would prefer to move (Table 5).

The porportion who actually expect to move in the coming year is only about half as large. About one in ten (11 per cent) expect to move away or are uncertain. The actual mobility rate, it will be recalled, is about 5 per cent per year for movement across labor market boundaries. Thus, actual mobility is about half of expected mobility, and expected is about half of desired mobility.

In some of the analysis reported later in this volume expected or desired mobility is the dependent variable rather than actual mobility. There is some advantage in the use of these measures of the propensity to move in that they refer to a particular point in time and can be related to the situation in which people find themselves at that point. Actual mobility during an interval of time may be a response, not to the situation at the beginning of the period, but to the situation in which people find themselves at some time during the period. For example, a man may be interviewed on a given date when his job outlook seems good and he has no plans to move. A few months later the situation may have changed, he may have lost his job or been offered a better one, and he may move. Yet his moving plans at date of interview may be analyzed in the light of his situation at that time.

MOBILITY OF RESPONDENTS' ADULT CHILDREN

In this investigation attention is restricted for the most part to the mobility of heads of families and their dependents. The longest period ordinarily considered is, thus, the lifetime of one human being. From the point of view of society, however, a broader perspective is of some interest. For example, movement out of a distressed economic area may be movement by young adults, the children of heads of families who themselves remain in the area. The location of young adults may be studied in relation to the location of their parents.

Accordingly, information was obtained in this investigation about the present location of adult children. Attention was restricted to those aged 18-29. While a broader age range would be of interest, there is the difficulty that the older the child the less likely the parents are to be living. The information asked about the young adults differed in the different waves of the survey, and, while both sexes were covered in the first two cross-sections, only sons were discussed in the third.

Table 5

PREFERENCES AND EXPECTATIONS REGARDING MOVING

(Percentage distribution of respondents)

Preferences[a]	Per Cent
Strongly prefer to stay	3
Prefer to stay	75
Indifferent	2
Prefer to move	19
Strongly prefer to move	1
Total	100%
Number of respondents	2478
Whether Expects to Move[a]	
Definitely will move	3
Probably will move	2
Uncertain; it depends	6
Definitely will not move	89
Total	100%
Number of respondents	3991

[a]The questions were: "If you could do as you please, would you like to stay in (LABOR MARKET AREA) or would you like to move?" "Do you think there is any chance you people will move away from (LABOR MARKET AREA) in the next year? Would you say you definitely will move, you probably will, or are you uncertain?"

Of all adult sons aged 18-29 about 61 per cent are living in the same labor market area as their parents while 39 per cent live elsewhere. If attention is restricted to adult sons who have college degrees, the proportion who live in the same area as their parents falls to 42 per cent (Table 6). It should not be inferred that exactly 58 per cent of the young men have moved away. While ordinarily it is the young people who do the moving, in some instances it is the parents who move away. That the majority of young men with college degrees live in a different area from their parents is another indication of the high level of mobility in the country.

DISTANCES MOVED

For some purposes it is useful to take into account the distances people have moved. Short moves may cross labor market boundaries but not be long enough to bring people into areas where economic conditions are different. People who have moved out of their county or metropolitan area sometimes have not gone vary far. In Table 7 people who are still in the area of their birth are grouped with those who have crossed the boundary but report that the town or place where they were born is under 25 miles from their present home. By this criterion 40 per cent of heads of families are now living in the area of their birth. The distances which the others are now living from their birthplace are also shown in Table 8. As would be expected, the distribution is J-shaped. If one thinks of a series of concentric rings of equal width around the place of birth, the proportion living in any ring falls as one proceeds from the innermost ring outwards. Nevertheless, 28 per cent of heads of families report that they live 500 miles or more away from the place of their birth, including 21 per cent over 1000 miles.

These proportions living at a great distance may seem high in view of the Census estimate of only 25.5 per cent of the total population in a different state. That estimate, however, includes the young children and excludes the foreign born. A recalculation of the 1960 Census data shows 31.3 per cent of the total population aged 20 or over were not born in the state in which they now reside.[7] An estimate for heads of families only, excluding married women and aged dependents, no doubt would be slightly different. The estimate of 34 per cent over 300 miles away in Table 7 is not obviously inconsistent. It should be understood that the distances in the table are based on people's own

[7]Calculated from Table 15, U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Subject Reports, State of Birth, Final Report PC (2) - 2A.* 1963.

Table 6

WHETHER ADULT SONS LIVE IN SAME AREA AS PARENTS

BY EDUCATION OF SON

(Percentage distribution of adult sons)

		Education of Adult Son				
Whether Sons Live in Same Area	All	Grade School	Some High School	High School	Some College	College Degree
Live in same area	61	66	68	62	61	42
Do not live in same area	39	34	32	38	39	58
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of adult sons[a]	850	71	179	309	202	89

[a]"Adult sons" include living male children between the ages of 18 and 29.

Table 7

DISTANCES HEADS ARE NOW LIVING FROM BIRTHPLACE

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

Distance (Miles)[a]	Per Cent
Still living at birthplace or within 25 miles of birthplace	40
25-49	5
50-99	6
100-199	10
200-299	5
300-499	6
500-999	7
1000 or over	21
Total	100%
Number of heads of families	3991

[a]Estimates of the distances were obtained from the respondents themselves.

Table 8

DISTANCES OF MOST RECENT MOVES OF HEADS

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves)

Distances (Miles)[a]	Per Cent
Less than 15	5
20-40	15
50-90	14
100-190	17
200-390	17
400-590	10
600-990	8
1000-1490	7
1500 or over	7
Total	100%
Number of moves	639

[a]Distances were estimated by measuring on a large map of the U.S. the distance between the relevant origin and destination. Estimates thus obtained were rounded to the nearest 10 miles.

reports. Only approximate accuracy was asked. They are presumably distances by highway rather than air line distances. The cumulative effect of their lifetime record of mobility has been to so distribute heads of families in the United States that five out of ten are over 100 miles away from their birthplace and two out of ten are 1000 miles away. Another way to summarize the situation is to say that six out of ten are living 25 miles or more from their birthplace. Half of those who have moved away are over 400 miles from where they were born.

People may not have reached their present location in a single move. The distribution of most recent moves by distance is shown in Table 8. These distances were estimated by locating the origin and destination on a large map of the United States and measuring the straight line distance between these points. Straight line distances, of course, are considerably shorter than highway distances. (A rule of thumb estimate is that highway distances are 20 per cent longer than straight line distances.) On this basis about half of the moves were for 190 miles or more, and half, for shorter distances. A few moves, 5 per cent of the total, were for less than 15 miles. Adding in the other short moves, 34 per cent were for less than 100 miles. About an equal number, 32 per cent, were for distances of 400 miles or more.

Comparisons of Tables 7 and 8 should be made cautiously since the lifetime mobility information in Table 7 is based on respondents' estimates rather than on measurements. It may be noted, however, that the typical (median) distance away for those who have left their birthplace is roughly 430 miles. The median distance of the last move is about 190 miles, or, allowing for circuity, perhaps 230 miles. It is obvious that many people must have moved more than once. We may turn our attention, therefore, to the subject of repetitive movement.

REPETITIVE MOVEMENT

Movement may be repetitive in several senses. A single individual may move more than once in a given period of time. If he does move more than once, he may or may not return to his starting point or to a point where he has lived at some time during his career. If he does move repeatedly, how long he remains in any one area becomes a matter of interest. Each of these topics will be discussed here.

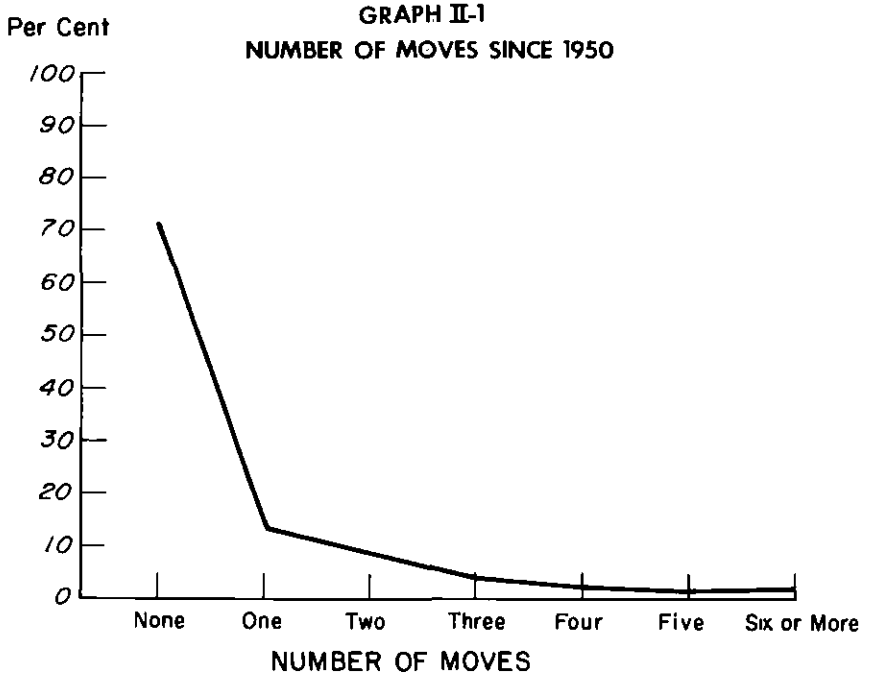
Number of Moves: The mean number of moves made by each person who has moved since 1950 can be estimated from the data discussed earlier. If 4.9 per cent of the population move in a year, in a period of $12\frac{1}{2}$ years 61.2 per cent would move if no individual moved more than once. Since only 29 per cent did move altogether, the mean number of moves per mover must be about 2.1.

The mean number of moves per mover can be estimated independently on the basis of people's reports of how often they moved. The mean number of moves estimated from that distribution is 2.2. This result tends to confirm that the number of moves reported by respondents is reasonably correct.

The mean of 2.2 moves per mover is consistent with an infinite number of hypothetical frequency distributions. The survey results provide an estimate of the actual distribution, which is as follows:

Number of Moves Since 1950	Per Cent of Heads of Families
None	71
One	13
Two	8
Three	4
Four	2
Five	1
Six or more	1
Total	100%
Mean number of moves	2.17

GRAPH II-1
NUMBER OF MOVES SINCE 1950



These results are also shown in the accompanying graph. Of all heads of families 13 per cent moved only once over the period, while 16 per cent moved more than once. Of those who moved more than once, about half moved more than two times.

Length of Period of Residence: For people who have moved, it is possible to estimate the length of time they had lived in the place they left up to the date of their departure. (For people leaving their place of birth this period would be equal to their age at the time of the move.) The distribution of periods of residence by length is as follows:

Length of Time Heads of Families Who Moved Remained in Each Place of Residence	Per Cent of Periods of Residence Since 1950
One year or less	33
Two	16
Three	9
Four	7
Five	5
Six	4
Seven	3
Eight or more	23
Total	100%
Number of periods of residence tabulated	2137

Note that this tabulation shows, for moves made in the period from 1950 to date of interview, the number of years the people moving reported that they had stayed in the place they left. One move out of three was from a place where the person had lived for a year or less. About half were from a place where the person had lived two years or less. These proportions seem high. They indicate that a large fraction of all moving is done by people who are shifting from place to place in quick succession.

Return Moves: A move may be a return in several different ways. It may be a return to where the mover had been living at some

specified date, say, at the beginning of 1950. More generally, a move may be a return to any place where the person had lived for a time within a given span of years, such as a return to any place where he had lived at some date during the interval since 1950. Even more generally, a move may be a return to any place where a person had ever lived. The proportion of moves which are considered "return moves" obviously will depend on what type of return is being considered.

Estimates of the proportion of moves which were return moves in four different senses are shown in Table 9. In the most inclusive sense, 20 per cent of moves were returns to places where the head of the family had lived at some time. Fifteen per cent were returns to places he had lived at some time since January 1950. Twelve per cent were returns to the particular labor market area where he was living as of January 1950. Nine per cent were returns to his birthplace. To repeat, four moves out of five are not in any sense return moves. A few people no doubt oscillate back and forth from one area to another in a movement which resembles the swing of a pendulum, but most mobility is not of this character.

Another way of looking at repeated moves is to consider the distribution of the number of labor market areas in which people have lived since 1950. This distribution is as as follows:

Number of Labor Market Areas	Per Cent
One; have not moved since 1950	71
Two	16
Three	7
Four	3
Five	2
Six or more	1
Total	100%
Number of heads	3991

If every move were to a new area, people who have moved once would have lived in two areas, people who have moved twice would have lived in three areas, and so forth. The average number of areas in which people have lived would equal the average number of moves, plus one. The actual average number of areas is 2.9 for those who have moved at least once since 1950. The average number of areas, less one, would be 1.9, which equals the number of moves, 2.2, less 15 per cent to allow for the return moves in this period.

The repetitive character of mobility presents a problem for the statistical analyst. One technique is to analyze each move separately. Another possibility is to consider people's locations at the beginning and end of an interval of time without regard to the number of intervening steps. In any analysis it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that a single move may be only a part of a sequence of moves.

MIGRATION STREAMS

Census data allow a much more detailed analysis of migration streams than is possible by the use of survey methods. The major currents of movement in American history have been remarkably persistent and are well known. They include the movement to the West; the movement out of the South to the Northeast and North Central regions; and the movement from the rural areas to the cities.[8] To these should be added for some purposes the movement from the cities to the suburbs, but from the present point of view this flow is not of special interest since it is largely within labor market area boundaries.

Cross-classification of heads of families by region of place of birth and region of residence at the time of interview is possible with the present survey, and is shown in Table 10. This table may be compared with Table 11 based on the 1960 Census. The survey results show 7.8 per cent of all heads of families to be living in the West although born in the Northeast, North Central region or the South. The Census shows 6.3 per cent of native-born heads of families to have migrated to the West. (The difference is within the range readily attributable to sampling error.) The movement out of the South to the Northeast and North Central regions involved 5.0 per cent of heads of families according to the survey and 4.0 per cent according to the Census. Thus, there is approximate agreement between the Census and the survey data as to the magnitude of these two of the three migration streams mentioned above.

The cumulative effect of the third movement, the flow from farms to urban areas, has been estimated from the survey with the

[8]See, for example, Conrad Taeuber and Irene B. Taeuber, *The Changing Population of the United States*, John Wiley & Sons, 1958, Ch. 5., "Internal Migration".

Table 9

WHETHER MOVES WERE RETURNS

(Percentage distribution of moves since 1950)

Whether Moves Were Returns	Per Cent
A. To Birthplaces	
Yes	9
No	91
Total	100%
B. To Places of Residence as of 1950	
Yes	12
No	44
First move since 1950	44
Total	100%
C. To Places Where Heads Had Lived at Sometime Since 1950	
Yes	15
No	41
First move since 1950	44
Total	100%
D. To Places Where Heads Had Lived at Anytime	
Yes, to a previous residence	20
Yes, to a place visited before	1
No	79
Total	100%
Number of moves	3099

Table 10

REGION HEADS LIVED IN AT BIRTH BY REGIONS LIVED IN AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Region at Interview			
Region at Birth	All	Northeast	North Central	South	West
Northeast	19.9	16.5	1.0	1.6	0.8
North Central	29.6	0.8	21.5	2.9	4.4
South	35.0	1.2	3.8	27.4	2.6
West	7.5	0.1	0.2	0.3	6.8
Other (foreign)	8.0	3.3	2.3	0.6	1.9
Total	100.0%	21.9%	28.8%	32.8%	16.5%
Number of heads	3991	875	1150	1305	661

Table 11

REGION AT TIME OF BIRTH BY REGION AT TIME OF 1960 CENSUS[a]

(Percentage distribution of native-born heads of families)

		Region at Time of Census			
Region at Birth	All	Northeast	North Central	South	West
Northeast	24.3	21.3	.8	1.3	.9
North Central	30.7	.6	25.3	1.5	3.3
South	35.0	1.3	2.7	28.9	2.1
West	10.0	.1	.4	.4	9.1
Total	100.0%	23.3%	29.2%	32.1%	15.4%

[a]Derived from U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Subject Reports. State of Birth. Final Report PC (2)-2A, Table 4, page 2.

results which follow:

Farm-Urban Mobility[a]	Per Cent of Heads of Families
Farm-urban area migrants	23
Farm-town migrants	7
Residents of metro areas, never lived on a farm	41
Residents of small cities or towns, never lived on a farm	6
Residents of rural areas	23
Total	100%
Number of heads	3991

[a]This measure concerns lifetime mobility. The classifications of urban areas, small cities and towns, and rural areas are the classifications of the Bureau of the Census. The questions used in developing the measure were: "Where was (HEAD) born?" "Have you (or your SPOUSE) ever lived on a farm for at least a year?"

A very substantial proportion of all heads of families have participated in this shift. Of all heads of families 23 per cent now live in urban areas but at some time in their lives lived on a farm. If the 7 per cent who are farm-town migrants are added to these people, the total reaches three out of ten heads of families! This estimate leaves out of account people who still live in rural areas but may have changed from farming to some other occupation. By some criteria the movement of human resources out of agriculture may not have been fast enough, but a very considerable shift has taken place.

REASONS FOR MOVING

Comparisons with Previous Studies: One of the features of this research has been an attempt to distinguish moves according to purpose instead of lumping all moves together. Stated reasons may contain an element of rationalization. People are likely to offer socially acceptable reasons for their actions. Yet stated reasons also may provide direct insight into causation. One method of learning about why people move is to ask them!

Previous national studies of migration ordinarily have not included data on people's reasons for moving. To this generalization there are two major exceptions, the Current Population Survey of October 1946, and a study of Geographic Mobility and Employment Status conducted by the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics in March 1963. The distribution of reasons for the last civilian move by

"primary migrants" aged 18-64 in the period August 1945 to October 1946 was reported in the former study. Primary migrants are "those who made the basic decisions", and appear to be the heads of families.[9] The distribution follows:

Reason	Per Cent of Reasons Given	Males Only
To take a job	40.2	49.9
To look for work	11.7	13.2
Housing problems	14.7	15.0
Change in marital status	10.1	3.5
Health	2.9	2.7
Other reasons	20.4	15.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%

This classification shows that about 63 per cent of moves made by males of working age were made either to take a job or to look for a job, and 37 per cent were made for other reasons. This conclusion must be taken as approximate since the categories of reasons are not mutually exclusive. For example, a move may have been both to take a job and because of housing problems. One may even imagine that some young men "changed their marital status", thereby acquiring "housing problems", which they solved by looking for and finding jobs in different areas. Shryock reports, however, that ordinarily only a single reason for each move was recorded.

The 1963 B. L. S.—Census study used an improved classification. For males 18-64 who migrated in the year ending in March 1963 the distribution of reasons was as follows:

Reason	Per Cent of Reasons Given
Work related reasons	49.5
To take a job	29.5
To look for work	11.9
Job transfer	8.1
Marriage and family	14.6
Other	35.3

[9]See the summary account in Shryock, op. cit., pages 404-405. As is standard in Census tabulations, migrants are those who moved between counties.

(continued)

Reason	Per Cent of Reasons Given
Not available	0.6
Total	100.0% *

Special Labor Force Report, *Geographic Mobility and Employment Status, March 1962 and March 1963,* Bureau of Labor Statistics, May 1964.

This distribution is roughly similar to the earlier distribution in that "work related reasons" are the most important, but the total of work related reasons is somewhat less than the sum of such reasons in 1949, 49.5 versus 63.1 per cent. The other categories of reasons are not directly comparable between the two studies.

The possibility that there might be two or more reasons for the same move was thought important in the development of the classification of reasons for moves used in this project. The reasons for the most recent move might be revealed in answer to any of the following questions:

B39 How did (Head) happen to leave (mention name of place)?
B39a Any other reason?
B44 What first brought up the idea of moving here?
B48 Why did you move just at the time you did?

The reasons given may be summarized as follows:

Reason	Per Cent of Moves*
Purely economic reasons (no non-economic reasons given)	58
Partly economic reasons (economic plus either family or community reasons or both)	14
Non-economic reasons	23
No reason given	5
Total	100%
Number of moves	737

*Note that this distribution refers to the most recent moves of heads of families who moved in the last five years. It is based on all available data including the extra sample of moves from reinterviews with movers originally interviewed in other surveys. Less inclusive tabulations and tabulations based on all moves from 1950 to date of interview may be expected to lead to slightly different results.

The more intensive discussion of reasons for moving had the effect of increasing the proportion of moves for which an economic reason was given. The 58 per cent of purely economic moves is roughly of the order of magnitude of the 63 per cent work related reasons in 1946 and 50 per cent in 1963. Partly economic moves, however, account for an additional 14 per cent, bringing the total to 72 per cent for this survey. Making allowance for the moves for which no reason was reported, three moves out of four were, according to people's explanations, at least partly economic in purpose, while one out of four was made for non-economic reasons exclusively. The nature of the reasons given for moving will be considered in detail in later chapters.

These results already suggest that while the most important causes of the movement of people between labor market areas are economic, non-economic factors also are important. In subsequent chapters we shall consider non-economic as well as economic predictors of mobility.

VARIATIONS IN MOBILITY RATES

This introductory discussion would be incomplete without reference to one of the most striking characteristics of mobility: it is highly selective. For some elements in the population mobility rates are much higher than the average for the population as a whole, while for others, the rates are much lower. Of the attributes of the population associated with mobility two are especially important, age and education. In all investigations of mobility these two characteristics have been found to be important.

Age: The peak years for mobility are the age bracket 22-24. The variation in migration rates with age can be shown most satisfactorily using the annual data from the Current Population Reports of the Bureau of the Census since the large samples used permit a detailed breakdown by age. Migration rates for the population one year old and older for the year ending in March 1965 were as follows:[10]

Age	Per Cent Who Were Migrants
1-4	11.3
5-6	8.1
7-13	5.8

[10]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Mobility of the Population of the United States, March 1964 to March 1965*, Current Population Reports. Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 150, April 14, 1966. See page 18.

(continued)

Age	Per Cent Who Were Migrants
14-17	4.4
18-19	9.9
20-21	14.2
22-24	17.8
25-29	13.1
30-34	8.8
35-44	4.8
45-64	3.2
65-74	3.0
75 and over	2.6
All	6.8

Migration rates for females are slightly higher than for males in the age range 18-21 and slightly lower in the age range 22-64, but in general migration rates are similar for the sexes. Ordinarily, of course, husband and wife migrate together. It is that fact which has made it possible to focus attention on the mobility of heads of families in the present study. Men or women who are not married are here considered to be heads of families even if the family consists of only one person.

The relation between mobility in the last five years and the age of the head of the family estimated from this survey is shown in Table 12 and the accompanying graph. People now aged 18-24 are seven times as likely to have moved in the past 5 years as those aged 65 or over. Of those 18-24 35 per cent have moved, but of those 65 or over only 5 per cent. Adjusting age to what it was five years ago, of those 13-19 at that time, 35 per cent moved in the ensuing five years, compared to 5 percent of those aged 60 or over. (Strictly speaking, we should say, of those aged 60 or over who survived the five year period, 5 per cent moved during the period.) The decline in mobility rates with age occurs rather rapidly. Of those 35-44 at time of interview, i.e. 30-40 at the start of the period, 14 per cent moved, a rate less than half of the rate for the youngest age group.

Why should mobility rates decline so rapidly with age? It is hardly reasonable to propose that the physiological processes of aging are directly responsible. Age must operate indirectly, perhaps through reducing the gains from mobility in some manner or increasing its cost as the individual views the matter.

Table 12

WHETHER MOVED IN LAST FIVE YEARS BY AGE OF HEAD

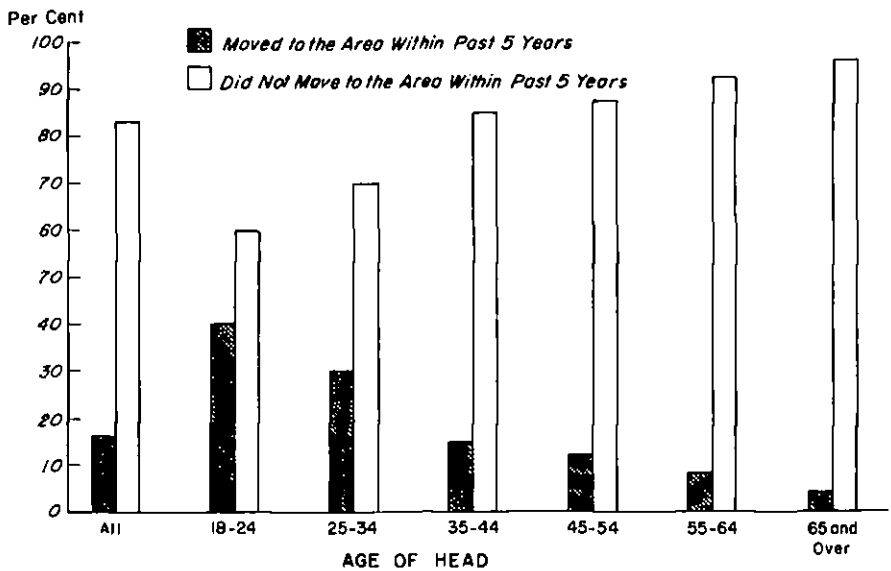
(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

Whether Moved in Last Five Years	All	Age 18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 or Over
Moved in last five years	15	35	28	14	11	8	5
Did not move	85	65	72	86	89	92	95
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	3991	237	750	809	815	611	753

The problem of the relation of migration to age has been discussed by Gary S. Becker.[11] Becker treats migration as a form of investment in human capital. He argues that if young people have an incentive to migrate in order to increase their future earnings, they will have an incentive to do so immediately. Looking at the problem at an age, say, of 18, it they see an opportunity to earn more at a new location, they may be expected to seek to enjoy the larger earnings immediately. Those who do not migrate presumably have little incentive to do so. Becker also draws a distinction between general training and specific training. Very specific training would be useful in a particular job in a particular organization, but not elsewhere. If people receive general training from their formal education and specific training on their jobs, one would expect their mobility to be greatest before they have received much specific training. Becker's example is the training of French lawyers, who could not become American lawyers without investing in learning English as well as American law and legal procedures. A more common type of specific training would seem to be learning the specific procedures and processes used in an organization and becoming familiar both with its formal and its informal structure.

Emphasis on the importance of specific training is consistent with the finding that the rate of transfers turns out to reach its peak at

GRAPH II-2
PAST MOBILITY BY AGE



[11] *Human Capital.* See especially pages 29 and 50.

an age later than moves to a new job. Those who transfer within an organization need not lose any investment they have made in specific training. From the point of view of the organization, also, there may be no loss of any organizational investment in their training. Indeed, it may be that the training is *more* valuable to the organization at the new location.

Another possible explanation of the effect of age on mobility is that age is a proxy for stage in the family life cycle. The hypothesis may be proposed that the "cost" of moving depends upon the number of people in the unit to be moved. "Cost" in this sense includes both financial cost and non-economic cost, which includes what might be called the disruption effect of mobility. If a single adult moves to a new community, only one person must transport his belongings, find a new home, make new friends, and develop a new daily routine. If a family of two adults moves, the disruption involves two people, and if a family with children moves, three, four, or more people. Such considerations also would lead to a decline in mobility after people pass the early twenties. Some support for this interpretation comes from the Census tabulation of migration rates by age shown above, which shows low migration rates for children of school age.

Education: A second basic determinant of mobility is education. Mobility rates in general tend to rise with education. This relation has been well established on the basis of Census data. For example, the proportion of adult males aged 25 or over who migrated between counties, March 1964 to March 1965, varies with education as follows:[12]

Education	Per Cent Who Migrated
Elementary: 0-8 years	4.0
High School: 1-3 years	4.8
4 years	6.0
College: 1 year or more	8.8

As a first approximation, in this year the mobility rate was about twice as high for people who had been to college as for those with an elementary education.

Age and education are associated in the population since each successive cohort of young people receives more formal education than its predecessors. In order to examine more closely the relation between education and mobility, then, it is useful first to divide the

[12] *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 150, April 14, 1966, page 20.

population into age groups. Table 13 shows for this study the relation between education and mobility in the five years prior to interview for heads of families under 35 and 35 or over (see also Graph II-3). No matter what his level of education, a family head under 35 is more likely to have moved than is a family head 35 or older. Within these two age groups, however, education does exert a powerful influence on mobility. Of family heads under 35, those with at least some college training are much more likely to have moved than those with a grade school education (37 versus 24 per cent). Among family heads 35 or older, those who have been to college are almost three times as likely to have moved as those who did not get beyond grade school (17 versus 6 per cent).

The interpretation of the effect of education on mobility poses a problem similar to the problem of interpreting the effect of age. One interpretation has been suggested already in the context of this discussion of the boundaries of labor markets. It was there argued that the markets for highly trained personnel are not local. These people tend to cross "labor market" boundaries frequently because they actually sell their services in markets which are geographically broader. The "skill gaps" are more important than the "distance gaps" in the markets for trained personnel. Complex shifts of trained personnel from area to area, thus, may take place in order to balance out supply and demand for each type of specialty. There is no economic reason to transfer unskilled labor from one place to another, however, except when there is a general shortage of manpower in some areas and a surplus elsewhere.

Other Socio-economic Characteristics: It is also possible to examine one at a time the relation between measures of mobility and other socio-economic characteristics of the population. Such an exercise, however, is of limited usefulness given the importance of age and education. Unless these two variables are somehow taken into account it is difficult to draw conclusions about the importance of other characteristics known to be associated either with age or with education or with both. For example, consider race. Negroes on the average have less education than whites. Therefore, one would expect them to be less mobile than whites (under conditions prevailing at the time of this study). The interesting question, to which we shall return, is whether they are less mobile when education is taken into account. Similarly, there are well known relations among age, education, and income. Young people, of course, tend to have lower incomes than those farther along in their careers while well-educated people tend to have higher incomes than poorly educated. These opposing tendencies must be taken into account in any study of the relation between mobility and income. For some purposes, however, two variable relationships

GRAPH II-3

PAST MOBILITY BY AGE AND EDUCATION

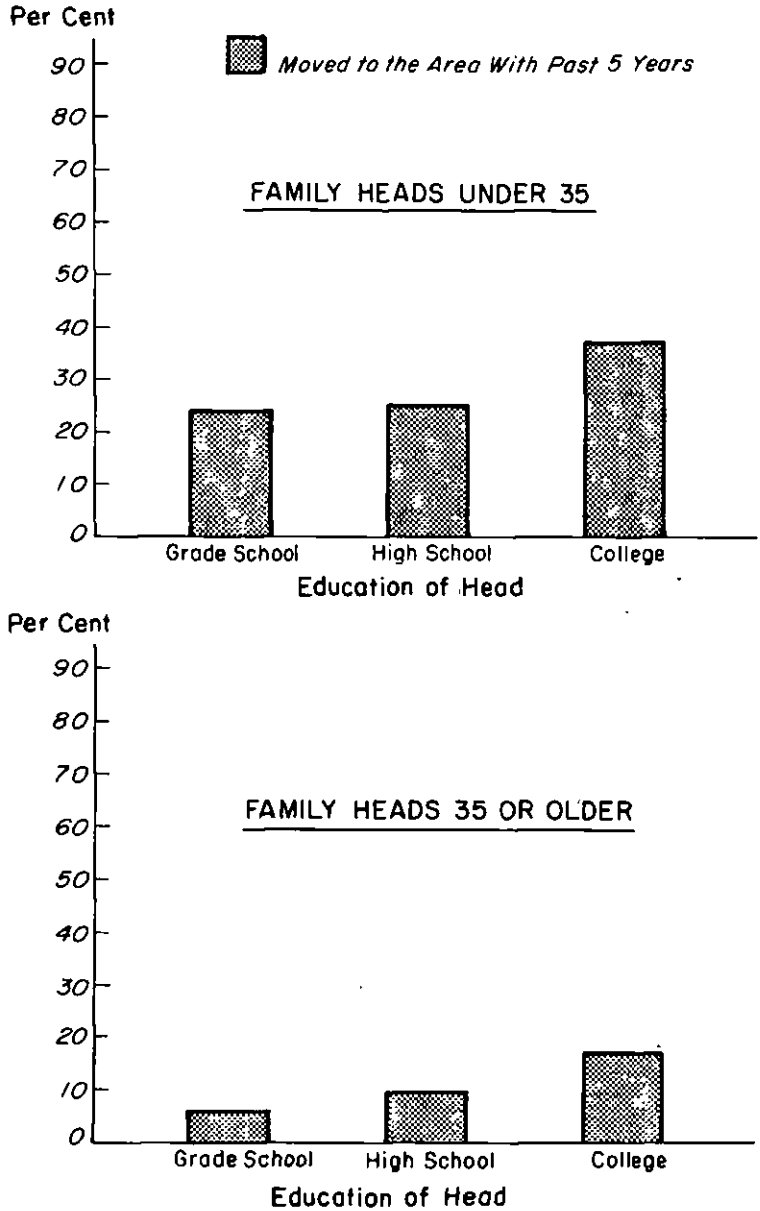


Table 13

WHETHER MOVED IN LAST FIVE YEARS BY AGE AND EDUCATION

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

Whether Moved in Last Five Years	All	Family Heads Under 35			Family Heads 35 and Over		
		Grade School or Less	High School	College	Grade School or Less	High School	College
Moved in last five years	15	24	25	37	6	9	17
Did not move	85	76	75	63	94	91	83
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	3991	98	510	374	1100	1246	608

between mobility and other characteristics may be of interest. The interested reader will find some tabulations of this type in Appendix C.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF MOBILITY IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

In view of the intercorrelations among the variables considered as possible predictors of mobility, the greater part of the analysis in this book makes use of multivariate statistical techniques. We have introduced these techniques into the discussion with some hestitation since they make the manuscript more difficult to follow for readers who are not familiar with the methods used. We have attempted to present the results of the calculations in such a way that they can be understood without detailed knowledge of the statistics involved. A description of the methods used intended for non-statistical readers appears below. It is followed by a statement intended for readers familiar with multiple regression analysis.

Format Used to Present Multivariate Analysis: The results of an analysis of mobility during the five years prior to interview appear in Tables 14 and 15, which refer to heads of families aged under 35 and 35 and over, respectively. In these tables only column (3), "adjusted deviations", presents any difficulty in interpretation greater than that involved in the use of percentages. The basic idea underlying column (3) will be discussed below. (See pages 52-53.)

Column (1) simply shows percentages. The first entry in Table 14 is the percent of all family heads considered in the table who moved in the five years prior to interview, 28.3 per cent. This percentage, to repeat, refers only to the 947 cases included in the table (see column 4). A few family heads under 35 were omitted because of missing information on one of the predictors included in this analysis.

The next three entries in Column (1) show the percentage of those in each education category who moved. Of those who went to college 36.2 per cent moved during the five years compared to 23.7 per cent of those who attended only high school and 23.2 per cent of those who had less than a high school education.

Column (2) shows the percentages in Column (1) expressed as deviations from the mean. Since 36.2 per cent is 7.9 points higher than the mean of 28.3, the unadjusted deviation for those who attended college is +7.9. There were 354 interviews with people under 35 who attended college, (Column 4). Those who attended high school were less mobile than the average; they show a negative deviation of -4.6

Table 14

ANALYSIS OF MOBILITY DURING THE FIVE YEARS PRIOR TO INTERVIEW

OF FAMILY HEADS UNDER 35 YEARS OF AGE

Independent Variables	(1) Means	(2) Unadjusted Deviations from the Mean	(3) Adjusted Deviations	(4) Number of Cases
Per cent who moved during the five year period				
All	28.3%			947
Education				
Attended college	36.2	+7.9	+2.8	354
Attended high school	23.7	-4.6	-2.1	494
Elementary school; no formal education	23.2	-5.1	+0.5	99
Race				
Negro	9.9	-18.4	-11.4*	81
Not Negro	30.0	+1.7	+1.1	866
Occupation				
Professional; technical	45.0	+16.7	+14.1*	180
Other white collar employees	36.5	+8.2	+8.2*	159
Blue collar employees	22.0	-6.2	-4.8	416
Other (includes farmers, self-employed, members of armed forces, those not in the labor force)	19.3	-9.0	-9.7	192
Characteristics of county of residence in 1957 (or, for repeated movers, county of residence prior to last move)				
County is in a standard metropolitan area	22.0	-6.3	-6.9*	615
County is rural farm[a]	32.5	+4.2	+6.2*	237
County is neither in a metropolitan area nor rural farm	58.9	+30.6	+29.1	95

*Significant at the .05 level.

[a]At least 20 per cent of land area in farms.

Table 15

ANALYSIS OF MOBILITY DURING THE FIVE YEARS PRIOR TO INTERVIEW

OF FAMILY HEADS 35 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER

Independent Variables	(1) Means	(2) Unadjusted Deviations from the Mean	(3) Adjusted Deviations	(4) Number of Cases
Per cent who moved during the five year period				
All	8.9%			2969
Education				
Attended college	15.4	+6.5	+4.6*	603
Attended high school	8.3	-0.6	-0.8	1238
Elementary school; no formal education	6.1	-2.8	-1.7	1128
Race				
Negro	4.1	-4.8	-3.4*	266
Not Negro	9.4	+0.5	+0.3	2703
Occupation				
Professional; technical	19.2	+10.2	+7.0*	262
Other white collar employees	10.7	+1.8	+0.9*	475
Blue collar employees	9.1	+0.2	+1.4	973
Other (includes farmers, self-employed, members of armed forces, those not in the labor force)	6.0	-2.9	-2.8	1259
Characteristics of county of residence in 1957 (or, for repeated movers, county of residence prior to last move)				
County is in a standard metropolitan area	7.8	-1.1	-1.6*	1841
County is rural farm[a]	8.4	-0.5	+0.5*	872
County is neither in a metropolitan area nor rural farm	19.1	+10.2	+10.1	256

*Significant at the .05 level.

[a]At least 20 per cent of land area in farms.

points. For those who went to elementary school the deviation from the mean is -5.1 points. Since the three education groups together exhaust the population, the positive deviations from the mean necessarily balance the negative deviations, the number of cases being taken into account.

The entries for race may be interpreted similarly. Only 9.9 per cent of Negroes moved, an unadjusted deviation of -18.4 from the mean of 28.3 per cent. Of whites under 35, 30.0 per cent moved, an unadjusted deviation of +1.7 from the mean.

As far as occupation is concerned, professional and technical employees show a deviation of +16.7 and other white collar employees, +8.2, while blue collar employees have a deviation of -6.2 and the rather mixed group of "others", a deviation of -9.0. These results are of interest as they stand. Differences in mobility between professional and technical employees and, say, blue collar employees, are substantial.

Finally, Table 14 also shows differences in mobility rates associated with the degree of urbanization of the counties in which people live. The percentage of people who move is lowest in metropolitan areas.

As noted above, the number and variety of independent variables and the association of these variables with each other pose problems for analysis. For example, as remarked earlier, Negroes differ from whites in education, occupation, and place of residence as well as in race, and one would like to know whether the observed low mobility rates for Negroes may be explained entirely in terms of these other characteristics or whether Negroes are less mobile when the other characteristics are taken into account. The adjusted deviations in Column (3) are essentially just such estimates of the net effect of each predictor when the other variables specified are taken into account. Thus, it is estimated that mobility rates for Negroes average 11.4 points less than the average for the entire population when education, occupation, and the urbanization of the county are taken into account. In other words the unadjusted deviation of -18.4 is reduced to -11.4 when the other variables are introduced.

The same type of observation may be made about the other independent variables. The adjusted deviations for education are much reduced when the other variables are simultaneously considered. The positive deviation for those who attended college, for example, falls from +7.9 to +2.8. This large reduction implies statistically that the original effect of education is largely attributable to the relation of

education to the other factors. Since formal education influences a person's subsequent career through its effect on his occupation, it is not surprising that the effect of education on mobility is reduced when occupation is taken into account.

Table 15 is exactly parallel to Table 14 except that Table 15 refers to family heads aged 35 or over. As one would expect from the discussion earlier in this chapter of the relation between age and mobility, the mean for the older family heads is much lower than 28.3—it is in fact 8.9 per cent. Comparisons may also be made of the effect of each of the independent variables on the mobility of those in the two age groups. As it turns out, for each variable the direction of the effect on mobility is the same. The adjusted deviations for the independent variables, however, are in general smaller for family heads aged 35 or over. For example, the adjusted deviation for Negroes is only -3.4 whereas for those under 35 it is -11.4. It is as if age damped down the effect of the predictors as well as reducing the average percentage who moved. We shall return in later chapters to some of the substantive results which appear in these tables. Our present concern is primarily with the method of analysis.

The reader should note that all of the variables used in Table 14 and 15 may reasonably be supposed either to have the same value as of time of interview as five years earlier or to have changed in a known manner. No difficulty arises with race or age in this respect, and the amount of formal education a person has does not usually change after he once leaves school. Information about the county of residence was specifically obtained in the questionnaire. There is a margin of uncertainty, however, as to whether it is correct to assume that people's broad occupation group has not changed in five years. Some people undoubtedly have changed occupation groups. The estimates of mobility rates by occupation are probably reasonably correct but they would be more precise if occupation five years prior to interview had been known accurately.

A Note for Readers Familiar with Multiple Regression: The basic technique used in this study has been multiple regression. Selected regression equations appear in Appendix D. Extensive use has been made of dummy variables in these equations to handle the problems of how to scale non-numerical independent variables and how to allow for possible non-linearity in numerical variables.[13] Standard regression programs for the I. B. M. 7090 were used.

[13]See Daniel B. Suits. "Use of Dummy Variables in Regression Equations", *J. A. S. A.*, 55 (1957), pages 548-551.

The regression coefficients have been transformed into the format associated with multiple classification analysis and it is in this format that the results are presented in Tables 14 and 15, and in tables interspersed through the remainder of this report.

A major reason for the departure from more standard forms of presentation of the regression results is that the standard form is an awkward way to present results when extensive use has been made of dummy variables as predictors. When what analytically is a single variable is broken down into, say, k categories each of which is treated statistically as a separate independent variable, only k-1 variables are introduced into the regression equation. The kth category in effect is constrained to have a regression coefficient of zero. The regression coefficients of the remaining k-1 categories become essentially deviations from the coefficient of the kth category, i.e. deviations from zero. The transformation into the multiple classification format reintroduces the kth category explicitly into the results and adjusts all regression coefficients into deviations from the grand mean. The values of the transformed coefficients are independent of which category in each set was selected for omission from the regression equation.

A discussion of the calculations which lie behind Tables 14 and 15 may clarify the method. The dependent variable in these tables is whether or not the head of the family moved in the five years prior to interview. Two regression equations on this variable, one for heads of families under 35 and the other for heads of families aged 35 or over, appear in Appendix D. They are numbers 2-013A-08 and 2-013B-08.[14] These equations are intended to show the effect on mobility of four analytical variables, the education of the head of the family, his race, his occupation, and the urbanization of the county where he was living in 1957. Eight dummy variables were used, two for education, one for race, three for occupation, and two for the county. Four categories were omitted from the calculations, one for education, race, occupation, and urbanization of the county. The results in the multiple classification format which appear in Tables 14 and 15 are based on the regressions in Appendix D.

Note that the interval between categories on the scale for an analytical variable is the same in the regression format in the Appen-

[14]The system of numbering equations, which is less formidable than it appears, is explained in the Appendix. Briefly, the first part of the number specified the dependent variable: the second, the sub-division of the total sample for which calculations were made: and the third, the number of independent variables. These equations refer to dependent variable 2(mobility in the last five years); they divide the samples on age of head, which is variable 13; and they employ 8 predictors.

dix and the multiple classification format. For example, in the equation for heads under 35 the difference between the regression coefficients for those with a high school and a college education is the difference between -.03 and +.02, or, in absolute amount, .05. Similarly, the "adjusted deviations" for these categories in Table 14 are +2.8 per cent and -2.1 per cent, or, in absolute amount .049, which rounds to .05.

Note, also, that asterisks are used in Tables 14 and 15 to indicate which adjusted deviations are based on regression coefficients which were found statistically reliable. These indications of reliability are approximations. They are based on calculations for individual coefficients, not on calculations for all dummy variables in each set. Also, they are based on standard errors which were computed on the assumption that the calculations were made from observations collected in a simple random sample. As discussed in the Appendix, the actual sample is both clustered and stratified, and the true standard errors are larger, probably by a factor of about one-third.

SUMMARY

Geographic mobility is a complex phenomenon. Before turning to detailed analysis of the determinants of mobility we may review the main facts brought out in this chapter. In any one year only about 5 per cent of families move between labor market areas. Yet the cumulative effect is that 68 per cent of heads of families are now living in a labor market area other than that in which they were born. Twenty-one per cent are 1000 miles or more from their place of birth.

Repeated mobility is not unusual. The mean number of moves made by each head of a family who has moved since 1950 is about 2.1 moves. This mean, however, is strongly influenced by a small number of people who have moved several times. About one move in five is a return to a place where the person had lived at an earlier time.

The movement of people may be classified into streams of migration. Particularly noteworthy has been the movement from farms to towns and cities. About 30 per cent of all heads of families in the U. S. have lived on a farm for at least a year but are now living in a town or urban area.

In addition to moving, people may commute long distances or leave home temporarily to work at a distance. Thirteen per cent of all heads of families did one or the other at some time in a period of 12 to 13 years.

Three moves out of four are undertaken at least partly for economic reasons to people's reports.

Mobility rates differ greatly by age and education. The most mobile group are the highly educated young adults. The variables which predict mobility are highly intercorrelated with one another with the result that multivariate analysis is necessary. One such analysis shows that mobility over a five year period is related to race, occupation, and degree of urbanization of county of residence in addition to age and education.

PART II

The Determinants of Geographic Mobility

III PERSONAL ECONOMIC INCENTIVES AND MOBILITY[1]

According to traditional labor market theory, the demand for and supply of labor in particular areas and localities should be brought into balance through the geographic mobility of workers. The theory implies not only that the total size of the labor force in different areas should adjust itself through migration, but people with particular skills and specific training and experience should be attracted to the places where they are most needed, regardless of overall labor requirements. The guiding mechanism should be the attraction of higher income or wages and the prospect of more jobs or steadier work in places where demand is most acute.

Evidence regarding the effectiveness of economic incentives in stimulating and guiding worker mobility is mixed. On the one hand, we see the persistent movement of population out of rural and into urban industrial areas throughout this century, and even earlier, no doubt largely for economic reasons. On the other hand, as Kuznets has pointed out, the real income of persons in agriculture remained for decades below 6/10 of the income per worker in other sectors of the economy.[2] North-South wage differentials also have persisted for years. These discrepancies suggest that the response of migration to economic incentives is not sufficient to achieve anything like an ideal geographic allocation of workers. The existence of depressed areas confirms this point.

No doubt the response of workers to economic incentives is limited by the many other factors which affect the decision to move. Moreover, the well-known variations of domestic migration in accordance with the business cycle suggest that economic incentives may operate differently in different economic environments.[3] One must therefore ask - What kinds of people respond to economic incentives and under what conditions? One objective of this chapter is to throw light on these questions.

Another objective is to assess the relative importance of work availability vs. the desire to earn more as incentives to move. At the

[1]This chapter was prepared by Eva Mueller.

[2]Simon Kuznets and Dorothy S. Thomas, "Internal Migration and Economic Growth" *Selected Studies of Migration Since World War II*, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1958, page 202.

[3]Simon Kuznets, *Capital in the American Economy*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Princeton, 1961, pages 322-327; also Hope T. Eldridge, "A Cohort Approach to the Analysis of Migration Differentials," *Demography*, Vol. 1, 1964, pages 212-219.

same time the question is posed whether mobility is stimulated primarily by the "push" of adverse economic circumstances or by the "pull" of attractive opportunities elsewhere. Thus while unemployment or low income might represent a "push" to leave home, it is conceivable that mobile people have average, or even above average, incomes before they move (given their age, education, and occupation) and then improve their position further by moving. In that case the "pull" of well-paying job openings would be decisive. The term "push" denotes dissatisfaction with economic conditions prior to the move, i.e. a repellent force. The term "pull" implies awareness of an advantageous economic opportunity elsewhere, i.e. an attractive force. There are non-economic moves, where neither "push" nor "pull" is present, as well as moves where both are operative. Yet, a good many moves may be differentiated according to the role which the two forces play in bringing them about. The distinction is of particular importance for policy purposes.

We shall begin by examining in the next section of this chapter the explanations which people gave, when asked *why* they made their most recent move. Of particular interest is the contrast between the kinds of people who mentioned economic reasons for moving as against those who confined themselves to non-economic reasons. Of further interest are the kinds of economic reasons which emerge most frequently. Family and community reasons for moving will be considered at greater length in Chapter V. In the second section of this chapter the impact of unemployment of the family head on the likelihood that a family will move will be analyzed. The third section will be concerned with the relation between the level of family income and mobility. Some broad conclusions are developed in the last section.

HOW PEOPLE EXPLAINED THEIR REASONS FOR MOVING

The motivation for moving may be studied by asking people directly why they moved; or motivation may be inferred from certain characteristics of the family such as its unemployment experience before the move or its income relative to its education, age, occupation, etc. Both approaches are used in this chapter. We start with people's own explanations.

As explained in Chapter II, people were asked a series of questions to elicit the reason or reasons for their most recent move. Table 16 presents the major categories of reasons given by all movers, and it also presents separate breakdowns for members of the labor force, three major occupation groups, and families whose head is not in the labor force.

It is clear that members of the labor force move largely for economic reasons: sixty-one per cent mentioned economic reasons *only*. This proportion was much smaller for retired families and households headed by housewives. When the group outside the labor force *did* mention economic reasons, they sometimes spoke of entering the labor force, or they explained that they moved to a place where the cost of living or taxes were lower. Besides those who were motivated by economic reasons *only*, there was a group (comprising 16 per cent of movers in the labor force) who reported a combination of economic and non-economic reasons. For example, a man would explain that he moved to New York where his brother was living; the brother had written that he could get him a well-paying job in a super-market. In this particular case the family reason may well have been decisive. In other cases of multiple reasons the reverse may be true, in that non-economic considerations merely make an economically motivated move more palatable. Not unexpectedly, wives were somewhat more likely than husbands to mention a combination of economic and non-economic reasons. The third major group consists of people who did not mention any economic reasons for their move. This group comprises 18 per cent of movers in the labor force but two-thirds of movers not in the labor force. The kinds of non-economic factors which lead a family to move will be discussed in detail in Chapter V. For the moment it suffices to say that both family and community considerations are of some importance among non-economic motives.

A comparison of the major occupational categories appearing in Table 16 indicates that 74 per cent of movers in the professions mentioned economic reasons only. The corresponding percentage is 67 for other white-collar workers, but only 51 for blue-collar workers. Economic motivations for moving are shown by income and education in Chart III-1. These data disclose a pronounced increase in economic motivations for moving with higher income and educational attainment.

One other category of people who exhibited a very high proportion of economically motivated moves are the highly mobile families. While among all family heads in the labor force 60 per cent said they moved for economic reasons *only*, the proportion of purely economic moves was 76 per cent for those who had made 5 or more moves since 1950.

Age is another factor which seems to have a bearing on motivations for moving. People between 35 and 55 are most likely to move for economic reasons only. Younger people often mentioned a combination of economic and non-economic incentives; like those in the middle age groups, they seldom move for non-economic reasons only. A sharp drop in economic reasons for moving in the 55-64 age group is noteworthy, since most family heads in that group are still members of the labor force.

Table 16

REASONS FOR MOVING BY WORK STATUS AND SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

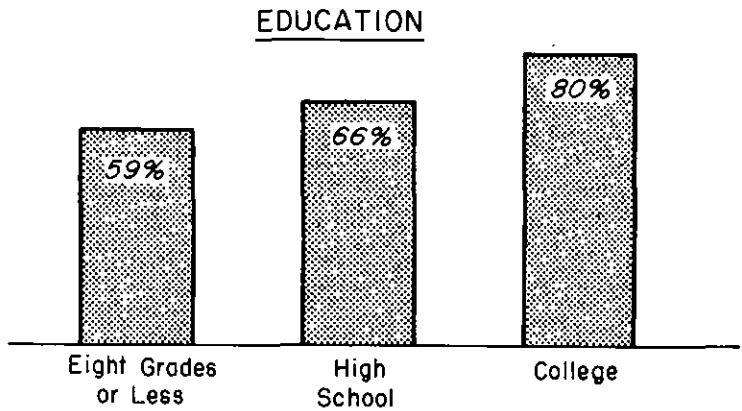
(Percentage distribution of heads of families who moved in the last five years)

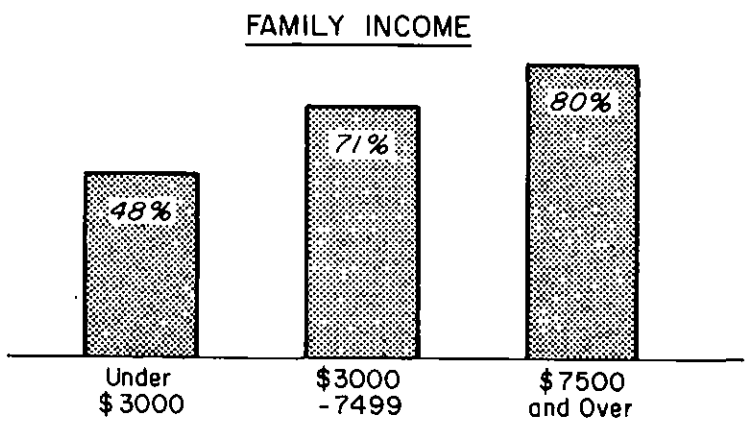
Work Status	Reasons for Moving: Economic Reasons Only	Both Economic and Non-economic Reasons Mentioned	Non-Economic Reasons Only	No Reasons Mentioned	Total	Number of Cases
ALL	58%	14%	23%	5%	100%	583
In the Labor Force						
Total in Labor force	61	16	18	5	100%	502
Professional, technical	74	13	11	2	100%	140
Other white collar	67	15	16	2	100%	117
Blue collar	51	18	25	6	100%	203
Not In The Labor Force	19	4	68	9	100%	70

CHART III-1

ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING BY EDUCATION AND FAMILY INCOME

(Per cent of heads of families who moved in the last five years who expressed economic motivations for moving)[1]





1 Includes people who gave both economic and non-economic reasons, as well as those who gave economic reasons only, for moving.

The predominance of economic motives among the very population groups which have a high propensity to move suggests that it would be instructive to view the incidence of major stimuli to mobility not only in relation to *movers* (as was true in Table 16 and Chart III-1) but also in relation to *all families*. Table 17 utilizes this larger population base. We see there that non-economic moves show very little variation in frequency between major socio-economic groups. Between 2 and 5 per cent of all groups made a recent move for purely non-economic reasons. The frequency of economically motivated moves shows a much wider range. Indeed most of the differences in mobility between major socio-economic groups seem to be due to moves which are made for economic reasons. It appears, on the basis of people's own explanations at least, that economic reasons for moving occur with particular frequency among the young, the college-educated, the professional, and to a lesser extent other white-collar groups.

Evidence that people in blue-collar occupations, those with less education and lower incomes are less likely than others to move for economic reasons need not imply that these groups are unresponsive to economic incentives. Their knowledge and skills are less specialized for the most part than those of the upper occupational strata. Hence there is less need to move in order to match a particular skill with a particular job opening. In addition, when in much of the nation there is a surplus of unskilled and semi-skilled labor the economic incentives which might induce these people to move are bound to be weak.

What are the economic incentives which make for geographic mobility? The major kinds of economic reasons people mentioned together with their relative frequency were:

Transfer, reassignment of head	25%
Unemployment; desire for more or steadier work; to enter labor force	20
Higher rate of pay; better prospects or chances for advancement	39
Other economic reasons	16
Total economic reasons	100%

These figures represent a distribution of economic reasons given by people whose most recent move during the past 5 years was motivated, according to their own reports, by economic considerations. A fourth of these moves were transfers, that is, they were made for the most part at the initiative of the employer.[4] About one in five was

[4]To be precise, according to people's reports one-half of transfers occurred at the wish of the employer, one-fourth at the wish of the employee, and the remaining fourth at the wish of both.

Table 17

TYPE OF MOVE BY DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

Demographic and Economic Characteristics	Moved For Economic Reasons Only	Moved For Both Economic and Non-Economic Reasons	Moved For Non-Economic Reasons Only	No Reasons Mentioned	Did Not Move In Last 5 Years	Total	Number of Cases
Age							
Under 35	18%	5	5	2	70	100%	982
35 and over	5%	1	3	*	91	100%	3009
Education							
Eight grades or less	4%	1	2	1	92	100%	1198
High school	7%	2	4	1	86	100%	1756
College	16%	4	4	1	75	100%	982
Occupation							
Professional, technical	23%	4	3	1	69	100%	453
Other white collar	12%	3	3	1	81	100%	645
Blue collar	7%	3	4	1	85	100%	1416
Not in labor force	2%	*	5	1	92	100%	876
Income							
Under $3000	3%	1	2	1	93	100%	884
$3000-7499	9%	3	4	1	83	100%	1742
$7500 and over	11%	2	2	1	84	100%	1179

* Less than half of one per cent.

precipitated by unemployment, fear of unemployment, or a desire to obtain more or steadier work. People who moved in order to enter the labor force also appear in this second category. Nearly twice as many moves, about two in five, were made to obtain higher income or a job which offered better prospects. The distinction between jobs which were more attractive in terms of employment and those which were financially more attractive was not always clear from the respondent's report. Hence the borderline between the second and third category is somewhat uncertain. "Other economic reasons" include moving to a place which has a lower cost of living or lower taxes, which is nearer to one's job or has better transportation to work, which offers a good opportunity to open a business, and the like.

There are interesting occupational differences in economic reasons for moving (Table 18). Transfers are most characteristic of white-collar workers, particularly sales and managerial workers. As Table 18 indicates, fully 40 per cent of the white-collar group (other than professionals) who moved said they were transferred; the proportion was about one-fourth for the professional group, and considerably lower still for blue-collar workers. As might be expected transfers are most frequent among college graduates, but hardly ever occur among people with less than a high school education. Two other groups which show a high frequency of transfers for the most recent move are families with incomes over $7500 and families which moved to a place where none of their relatives are living.

In a sense the frequency of transfers is understated by figures relating only to the most recent move. This is so, because the more frequently a family moves, the more likely it is that its move was a transfer. Among families who moved only once since 1950 barely 15 per cent of the moves were transfers. Among families who moved at least six times since 1950 about one-third of most recent moves were transfers. Thus if we had investigated *all* moves in the past 5 years or so (instead of the most recent move only), the proportion of transfers would have appeared even more important.

Returning to Table 18, it appears that avoiding unemployment, finding work, or obtaining a steadier job were most common as reasons for moving among blue-collar workers. It needs hardly to be reported that lack of steady work was frequently mentioned as the reason for moving by people who were unemployed at the time of the survey, people who reported that unemployment was a common experience for them, and those who lived before the most recent move in labor market areas suffering from chronic unemployment.

Among professional and other white-collar workers transfers and the desire for a higher rate of pay played a much larger role than

Table 18

KINDS OF ECONOMIC REASONS FOR MOVING BY OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION

(Percentage distribution of heads of families who moved in the last 5 years[1/])

	Kinds of Economic Reason						
	Transfer, Reassignment	Unemployment; Moved to Find New, More, or Steadier Work	Higher Rate of Pay; A Better Job	Other Economic Reasons	No Economic or Occupational Reasons Given	Total	Number of Cases
Occupation							
Professional, technical	23%	7	50	4	16	100%	108
Other white collar	41%	14	27	4	14	100%	102
Blue collar	13%	26	25	10	26	100%	179
Education							
Eight grades or less	9%	19	20	12	40	100%	78
High school	13%	21	24	13	29	100%	208
College	32%	7	36	7	18	100%	189
ALL	20%	15	29	10	26	100%	474

1/ Excludes moves in or out of armed forces and moves to and from college.

did the search for more work. Moves to improve income are particularly frequent among professional people, accounting for half of all moves in that group. Educational differences show a weaker relationship to income-motivated moves than do occupational differences. One-fifth of grammar school educated people said they moved in order to earn more and one-fourth of the high school educated as compared with over a third of college graduates.

"Other economic reasons" for moving were cited primarily by people not in the labor force and to a lesser extent by blue-collar workers, but very seldom by white-collar workers. They also were seldom mentioned by college graduates.

Some interesting age differences in reasons for moving emerge from Table 19. Transfers are infrequent among people under 25, but account for about one-fourth of most recent moves in all age brackets between 25 and 64. A third of moves by very young people are made to avoid unemployment or to find work. This rather high proportion reflects the process of search and experimentation in the early working years, and the high unemployment rate in that age group as well as moves made in order to enter the labor force. Significantly, unemployment also accounts for a high proportion of the economic reasons mentioned by older workers. Income reasons predominate in the middle age brackets. The data suggest that often it takes strong economic pressures (such as unemployment) to induce older workers to move. Workers in the 55-64 age group seldom move to improve their earnings. By contrast, the 25-54 age group seems to be particularly receptive to such incentives. Its economically motivated moves may be somewhat more optional than those of older workers.

Two broad generalizations may be put forth in concluding this analysis: First, judging by people's own explanations, the decision to move among members of the labor force is strongly dominated by job-related economic reasons. Secondly, economic incentives seem to play the greatest role among the groups in the labor force which have the strongest economic position - the well-educated, the middle-aged, and white-collar workers. The groups which are in a weaker position may move because of serious economic pressures (such as lack of work), or occasionally because the employer initiates a move. The more optional types of moves, directed primarily toward higher earnings or professional advancement, are relatively infrequent among blue-collar workers, older people, and the less educated. This inference will be examined further in the pages which follow.

Table 19

KINDS OF ECONOMIC REASONS FOR MOVING BY AGE

(Percentage distribution of heads of families who moved in the last 5 years[1])

	Kinds of Economic Reason						
	Transfer, Reassignment	Unemployment; Moved to Find New, More, or Steadier Work	Higher Rate of Pay; A Better Job	Other Economic Reasons	No Economic or Occupational Reasons Given	Total	Number of Cases
ALL	20%	15	29	10	26	100%	474
Age							
18 - 24	9%	33	26	11	21	100%	78
25 - 34	25%	11	37	8	19	100%	164
35 - 44	24%	11	31	9	25	100%	93
45 - 54	20%	13	30	12	25	100%	69
55 - 64	20%	20	8	13	39	100%	51
65 and over	0	3	3	13	81	100%	35

1/ Excludes moves in or out of armed forces and moves to and from college.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY

Unemployment affects the less mobile groups in the labor force more than it affects those groups which have a high propensity to move. Unemployment is associated with blue-collar occupations, low skill and educational levels, with advanced age, and with youth. Thus, except for young people finding their place in the labor force, the unemployed tend to be workers who ordinarily would not think of moving. Under what conditions will unemployment constitute a sufficient "push" to overcome their inertia?

At the outset the reader should be reminded that the survey was taken during a period when unemployment exceeded 5 per cent, and the demand for unskilled labor in particular was insufficient. In other words the "pull" of suitable employment opportunities elsewhere was not strong. The cyclical character of migration suggests that in an economy closer to full employment the mobility rate of unemployed workers might have been higher. Conversely, a still higher rate of unemployment than prevailed in 1962-63 might have reduced the mobility of the unemployed below the level observed in this survey.

It was shown in the previous section (Table 18) that 15 per cent of recent movers spoke of unemployment as the reason for their most recent move. It also was shown that moves made in order to secure more work are most common among blue-collar workers, very young people, and those who do not have a college education.

Spontaneous references to unemployment in reply to questions about reasons for moving are not sufficient for studying the relationship between unemployment and mobility. Some respondents may have been out of work before the move, but may have said that they moved to get a job near relatives in another town, failing to mention their unemployment. Among those who did mention unemployment, some may merely have sensed the threat of unemployment. A direct question therefore was asked to determine the unemployment experience of the head prior to the move and also following the move - "Was (HEAD) unemployed right before or right after (HEAD) moved here?" Twenty-six per cent of people who moved in the past 5 years and expected to work for a new employer answered that they were unemployed before their most recent move. This includes 18 per cent who were unemployed before the move only and 8 per cent who were unemployed both before and after the move. No directly comparable figures are available which would indicate whether the incidence of unemployment was equally high among non-movers in the five years preceeding the survey. However, an earlier Survey Research Center study indicates that in the

four years 1957-61 about 19 per cent of family heads experienced some unemployment.[5] It would appear on the basis of this figure that the incidence of unemployment among movers was above the incidence of of unemployment among non-movers, even though some of the most mobile groups in the population are least susceptible to unemployment.

While the question about unemployment before the move could not be asked of non-movers, a more general query about unemployment experience could be made regarding all family heads. The question was - "Some people are out of work for a time every year, others are unemployed every few years, and still others are almost never unemployed. What has been HEAD's experience?" In reply to this question about 8 per cent of family heads in the labor force reported that unemployment is a recurrent experience for them and another 6 per cent reported that they are unemployed from time to time. The figures below show a weak association between this longer-term measure of unemployment experience and mobility in the past 5 years:

	Unemployment Is Usual; Happens Every Few Years	Unemployment Is Unusual
Per cent who moved in the last 5 years	21%	18%
Number of cases	258	2134

It was also found that repetitive mobility is more common among people with recurrent unemployment than those without unemployment experience: in the first group 9 per cent moved four or more times since 1950, in the second group only 6 per cent.

These figures have the shortcoming that they do not distinguish between cases where unemployment occurred before and those where unemployment was the consequence of the move. Therefore, we turn next to the relationship between unemployment experience prior to the survey and plans to move at the time of the survey, a relationship which leaves no doubt about time sequence. The figures below show a slight tendency for people with recurrent unemployment to have moving plans more frequently than others; but as in the case of actual moves the indicated difference in mobility is far from dramatic.

[5]Eva Mueller and Jay Schmiedeskamp, *Persistent Unemployment, 1957-1961*, Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1962, pages 6 and 13.

Plans To Move In The Next Year	Unemployment Is Usual; Happens Every Few Years	Unemployment Is Unusual
Definitely or probably will move	6%	5%
Uncertain, may move	9	7
No chance of moving	85	88
Total	100%	100%
Number of cases	257	2126

Some association between unemployment and mobility also is evident when moving plans are compared for those who were and those who were not unemployed in the past year, within age and occupation classes (Table 20). In the age groups between 25 and 64 moving plans are more frequent among those who were unemployed in the year prior to the survey than among those without unemployment experience. By contrast, unemployment does not seem to raise the frequency of moving plans among people in the age bracket below 25. The answer "it depends" or "we are undecided" was considerably more frequent among the unemployed regardless of age, but this is of course a rather tenuous indication of future mobility. Within every major occupation group, those with unemployment experience again had more moving plans than those without. Within education groups unemployment likewise is associated with more frequent moving plans.

One further approach to studying the relationship between unemployment and mobility is made possible by reinterviews. One may measure people's unemployment experience in the year prior to the first survey and then determine a year or so later whether those who had reported unemployment in the first survey had moved more frequently in the following year than those who did not report an unemployment experience. The Bureau of Labor Statistics undertook such a reinterview in 1962-63 which indicates that unemployed men are twice as likely to move as employed men. The mobility rate was 10.9 per cent for the unemployed versus 5.7 per cent for the employed.[8] This differential did not hold true, however, for young men under 25, just as moving plans were not higher among the unemployed in that age group. If anything, the reinterview method understates the migration differential between the unemployed and others. The reason is that some movers who had no unemployment to report at the time of the first survey may have experienced unemployment between the first survey and the time of their move. Such people would be classified as "employed" rather than "unemployed".

[8]Samuel Saben, "Geographic Mobility and Employment Status, March 1962—March 1963," *Monthly Labor Review*, August 1964, page 875.

Table 20

EXPECTATIONS OF MOVING WITHIN MAJOR AGE AND OCCUPATION GROUPS

BY UNEMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE IN THE PAST YEAR

(Per cent of heads of families within each group[1/])

	Will or May Move		Uncertain, Depends		Number of Cases
	Some Unemployment	No Unemployment	Some Unemployment	No Unemployment	
Age					
18 - 24	9%	16%	21%	11%	231
25 - 34	9	8	15	10	832
35 - 44	5	2	10	6	891
45 - 54	5	3	6	4	873
55 - 64	3	2	8	3	558
Occupation					
Professional, technical	21%	7%	12%	12%	522
Clerical, sales	12	4	12	9	459
Craftsmen, foremen	5	4	16	5	592
Operatives	6	2	8	4	598
Laborers	4	2	5	3	431

1/ The table should be read as follows: Of the heads of families aged 18-24 who had some unemployment in the 12 months preceding the survey, 9% had expectations of moving; and 21% were uncertain about moving. Of those who had had no unemployment, 16% had expectations of moving and 11% were uncertain about it.

So far we have used a number of indicators of unemployment and related them to mobility during the same period for which the unemployment was measured, as well as to subsequent mobility and moving plans. Although each of the approaches utilized has some shortcoming, the results are consistent: the unemployed are more mobile than family heads who have not experienced unemployment. The next question - How much more mobile? - is more difficult to answer. It appears

on the basis of data examined so far that in the early 1960's family heads with unemployment experience may have moved between labor market areas about twice as often as family heads with steady employment. It also appears that between 15 and 25 per cent of all moves were related in some way to unemployment. In some cases unemployment may have been *the* major reason for moving; in others it may have been a precipitating circumstance. In still other cases the decision to move may have been brought about by a combination of several considerations, one of which was unemployment. Important decisions often have multiple motivations.

At the same time that we recognize the influence which unemployment has in leading people to move, it needs to be emphasized that the large majority of families with unemployment experience do *not* move. Using the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates, 11 per cent, or only one in nine, families with unemployment in the year prior to the survey moved in the following 12 months. From the point of view of achieving an optimal distribution of the labor force, it would probably be desirable if the unemployed were highly mobile. But it turns out that there is only a moderate differential between the mobility rates of workers with and without unemployment experience. One reason for the limited response has been pointed out above - the kinds of workers who are susceptible to unemployment for the most part have a low propensity to move.

This last observation is confirmed by Table 21. Comparisons of moving plans and of mobility in the year following the survey are shown there for people who reported that they are often, or at least occasionally, unemployed and for those without unemployment experience. The figures are shown both in unadjusted form and after adjustment for a variety of socio-economic characteristics. The second column comes close to isolating mobility differentials due to unemployment experience alone. The variables held constant include age, education, labor force status, occupation, marital status, race, home ownership, region of residence, income, and ownership of financial reserves.

The first point to be made is that only one of the differences in Table 21 between those with and without unemployment experience is statistically significant in a multivariate context, although the failure to meet significance tests is attributable in part to the small number of cases. As one might expect, unemployment contributes least to the mobility of rural residents; therefore this group is not shown separately in Table 21. The results of the multivariate analysis are consistent in that mobility is in every case somewhat higher among those with than among those without unemployment experience. Moreover, in

Table 21

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF UNEMPLOYMENT ON MOBILITY

	Mean Proportion of Moves	Deviations From the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
	Per Cent with Moving Plans			
Head under 35	22.3%			979
With unemployment experience	25.0	+2.7	+9.0	72
No unemployment experience	22.1	-0.2	-0.7	907
Head over 35	7.1%			2789
With unemployment experience	8.6	+1.5	+2.5	128
No unemployment experience	7.0	-0.1	-0.1	2661
Metropolitan area residents	11.0%			2525
With unemployment experience	15.4	+4.4	+5.1*	142
No unemployment experience	10.7	-0.3	-0.3	2383
	Per Cent Who Moved in Year Following Survey			
Head under 35	10.8%			306
With unemployment experience	17.9	+7.1	+4.2	28
No unemployment experience	10.1	-0.7	-0.4	278
Head over 35	3.3%			927
With unemployment experience	4.4	+1.1	+2.1	46
No unemployment experience	3.3	0.0	-0.1	881
Metropolitan area residents	5.0%			804
With unemployment experience	7.3	+2.3	+3.0	55
No unemployment experience	4.8	-0.2	-0.2	749

* Significant at the 5 per cent level.

five out of the six comparisons, the adjusted differences (which reflect the impact of unemployment per se) are larger than the unadjusted differences (which also reflect socio-economic characteristics of the unemployed). Thus a moderate positive effect of unemployment on mobility is indicated.

If unemployment does lead some people to move, what kinds of unemployed workers *do* move, and what are the characteristics of unemployed workers who *do not* move? Table 22 suggests that unemployment does not overcome, at least not fully, the low mobility potential of certain groups of workers. In contrast to the unemployed who stayed within the same labor market area, the group of unemployed

Table 22

DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS WHO DID AND DID NOT MOVE IN THE LAST 5 YEARS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families in the labor force who had some unemployment)

Demographic And Economic Characteristics	Had Some Unemployment	
	Moved in Last Five Years	Did Not Move in Last Five Years
AGE		
Under 35	56%	33%
35 - 64	42	64
65 and over	2	3
Total	100%	100%
EDUCATION		
Grade school	24%	39%
High school	50	53
College	26	8
Total	100%	100%
OCCUPATION		
Professional, technical	14%	1%
Other white collar	14	6
Blue collar	66	90
Other	6	1
Total	100%	100%
OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES		
Security oriented	39%	55%
Achievement oriented	39	19
Other patterns	22	26
Total	100%	100%
COUNTY OF RESIDENCE*		
Live in SMSA	53%	74%
Do not live in SMSA	47	26
Total	100%	100%
RACE		
White	93%	82%
Negro	7	18
Total	100%	100%
Number of cases	117	201

* Movers: place of origin of most recent move; Non-movers: current place of residence.

workers who moved contains a disproportionate number of workers under 35, college graduates and white-collar workers. Indeed most white-collar workers and college graduates who were unemployed *did* move. The unemployed who moved were a more achievement-oriented[7] group than those who stayed.[8] Not surprisingly, it appears that people in small places who become unemployed are more likely to move than those in metropolitan areas, where opportunities for re-employment may be less limited. The group of unemployed who moved also includes a disproportionate number of white workers.

The unemployed are a heterogenous group as far as the seriousness of their unemployment is concerned. Differences in the nature of of the unemployment experience seem to affect the decision to move, at least insofar as can be judged on the basis of moving plans. People who were unemployed in the year prior to the survey were asked about the length of their unemployment, loss of income, and the measures they were forced to take to make ends meet while unemployed (Table 23). These data suggest that when unemployment becomes a hardship, the incentive to move becomes stronger. Thus people who were unemployed less than a quarter of a year had moving plans with about the same frequency as people without unemployment experience; while fairly certain as well as tentative moving plans are distinctly higher for people who have been unemployed in excess of 3 months. Closely related are two other findings: families with income losses below $2000 do not plan to move more frequently than those free from unemployment. The same is true of families who received unemployment compensation for the entire period they were out of work. By contrast, those who reported income losses above $2000 and those who received unemployment compensation only part or none of the time they were unemployed had unusually frequent moving plans.

Families in which the head experienced unemployment in the year preceeding the survey were asked what measures they took to make ends meet. Specific questions were asked regarding any possible borrowing, drawing on savings, help from relatives, going on relief, moving to cheaper quarters, debt delinquency, or other family members going to work. Among unemployed families which took none or only one of these measures 4 per cent had plans to move and another 7 per cent thought they might move. But among families which were forced to take two or more of the emergency measures, moving plans

[7]The measure of achievement-orientation used here is described in Chapter VII. Its relation to mobility also is analyzed there.

[8]For a similar finding, see H. L. Sheppard and A. H. Belitsky, *The Job Hunt*, (W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1965), Chapter X.

Table 23

PLANS TO MOVE BY NATURE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

(Percentage distribution of heads of families in the labor force)

Some Variables Associated With Unemployment	Definitely or Probably Will Move	Uncertain	No Chance of Moving	Total	Number of Cases
LENGTH OF UNEMPLOYMENT					
No unemployment in last twelve months	5%	6	89	100%	3186
Less than 14 weeks	5%	11	84	100%	301
Unemployed 14 weeks or more	7%	11	82	100%	241
INCOME LOSS DUE TO UNEMPLOYMENT					
No unemployment in last twelve months	5%	6	89	100%	3186
Loss less than $1000	4%	8	88	100%	233
Loss $1000-1999	4%	15	81	100%	92
Loss $2000 or more	12%	12	76	100%	123
RECEIVED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION					
No unemployment in last twelve months	5%	6	89	100%	3186
Received compensation all the time	4%	8	88	100%	132
Received compensation some of the time	8%	10	82	100%	136
Received no compensation at all	6%	18	76	100%	108

were more than twice as frequent. In particular, those who said they had to borrow to make ends meet or had to move to cheaper quarters showed a relatively high frequency of moving intentions. On the other hand, relief from financial distress may be obtained by means which inhibit mobility. People who were receiving help from relatives, those who went on relief, and those where another family member went to work thought of moving somewhat less often than others with unemployment.

It may be concluded that unemployment constitutes a "push" which leads people to move if they are young, well-educated and trained, or live in a small town. In the absence of such characteristics, unemployment is highly unlikely to overcome the reluctance to move, unless the unemployment is prolonged, the income loss substantial, and the family has no alternative local source of support. That, on the whole, the moves induced by unemployment are not more numerous may be attributed to 3 factors: (1) much of the unemployment in 1962-63 was of limited duration and of a temporary nature and was eased financially by unemployment insurance; (2) many of the people who are susceptible to unemployment are blue-collar workers, people who have not completed high school, and Negroes; that is, the less mobile groups in the population; (3) in 1962-63 the "pull" of job openings elsewhere available to these groups was not strong.

INCOME INCENTIVES AND MOBILITY

Apart from the desire to escape unemployment or to find more and steadier work, one would assume that mobility will result from the search for jobs which are more remunerative. Traditional labor market theory assumes that wages for equal work tend to be equalized in different localities, in part at least, by this kind of income-oriented geographic mobility. Yet, it is not clear to what extent and how this mechanism functions. Income equalization, to the extent that it occurs, also is promoted by certain institutional forces such as nationwide wage policies and bargaining by unions and large corporations.

In the survey, when people explained their reasons for moving, income incentives were mentioned almost twice as frequently as employment incentives (although the distinction between the two is blurred in some cases). Do income differences between movers and nonmovers confirm this explanation? The income incentive might operate in two ways. People whose income is low in view of their age, education, occupation, race and the like may move in order to take or find a better paying job. To test this first hypothesis people should be classified by income level prior to the move and their subsequent mobility

compared. A second possibility is that movers are people with satisfactory incomes prior to the move who see a possibility of raising their earnings even further by moving. To test this second hypothesis, one should classify people by mobility and compare their subsequent income level, allowance being made for age, education, and other determinants of income. Putting it briefly (though not very accurately), one can conceive of moves made to alleviate distress and of moves made to attain success. These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive; one and the same individual may move with both objectives in view. However, they do require two different sets of data and statistical tests. Therefore we shall consider them in turn.

Measuring the effect of income incentives on mobility is complicated not only by the dual way in which the income effect may appear in the data. An additional problem is the tendency for income to be highly correlated with a number of major determinants of mobility, especially age, education, occupation, and unemployment experience. Because of this correlation, one cannot be certain that income per se is satisfactorily isolated, even by multivariate techniques.

We turn first to the hypothesis that people with relatively low incomes should have more moving plans than others and should show more moves in the year following the income measurement. Table 24 presents data on these relationships. It shows that moving plans are equally frequent in all income brackets and that actual moves were made least frequently by the group with the lowest incomes in the previous year. These findings are primarily of descriptive interest. They imply no causal connection, for the low mobility in the lowest income bracket may be due to the disproportionate number of old people, people with little education, farmers, or Negroes in that bracket. It is necessary to employ multivariate techniques which hold these other factors constant. Such an analysis was made with income scaled into five brackets. Held constant among other variables were age, education, occupation, race, unemployment experience, and whether or not the family lived in a redevelopment area. The dependent variables were alternately plans to move and actual moves in the year subsequent to the income measurement. In both cases the income variable comes nowhere near having a significant or regular effect on mobility, either for workers under 35 or for the older group.[9] Thus the idea that people who suffer from low incomes relative to their age and education will feel some "push" to move on that account is not born out by the survey data.

[9]Low income people have less need to move for occupational reasons than high income people with more specialized skills, but the occupation variable in the multivariate equation should allow for this difference.

Table 24

MOVING EXPECTATIONS AND MOBILITY IN THE YEAR AFTER THE INTERVIEW, BY INCOME AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Income				
Expectations of Moving	Under $3000	$3000-4999	$5000-7499	$7500-9999	$10,000 or over
Definitely will move	3%	3%	2%	4%	3%
Probably will move	2	2	2	1	2
Uncertain, depends	5	6	6	7	5
No chance of moving	90	89	90	88	90
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	877	697	1039	513	663
Mobility in the Year Following the Interview					
Moved	3	8	4	5	8
Did not move	97	92	96	95	92
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	273	212	352	151	192

This finding may appear to run counter to the result of a study conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Harrison County, West Virginia, in 1953-1955 on the basis of Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance records.[10] According to that study, people who left Harrison County between 1953 and 1955 had substantially lower earnings from their job at the beginning of 1953 than those who did not migrate out in the following 2 years. However, outmigrants were younger and suffered substantially more unemployment than non-migrants. Whether low income, apart from youth and unemployment, played any role in inducing outmigration remains questionable. The fact that the study was made in a depressed area, where chances of improving one's earnings locally are poor, is also relevant.

If migrants had average earnings relative to their socio-economic characteristics before the move, is it true that they made moves which had a tendency to make them better than average earners after the move? Table 25 shows the relationship between past mobility and income in the survey year. The only visible difference is the smaller proportion of low-income families (under $3000) among movers than among non-movers. To evaluate this relationship, one must again subject it to a multivariate test. This was done with two separate and independent samples, one taken in 1959 and the other in 1962-63. These studies do not disclose any systematic tendency for people who have moved in the past to have higher incomes than those who have not moved after other major factors which influence income (particularly occupation) have been held constant.

The first test was made as part of a study of the determinants of income, conducted with a cross-section of the population in 1959.[11] The dependent variable in this analysis was hourly earnings of family heads who worked in 1959. Three mobility variables were tested for their influence on hourly pay, holding constant other major determinants of earnings. The three mobility variables were (1) whether the head moved from a rural to an urban area or vice versa sometimes in his life, (2) whether the head moved out of or into the Deep South sometime during his life, and (3) the number of states where the head had lived in since his first job. All three mobility variables show a statistically significant effect on earnings, but it is not consistently true that those who have moved have bettered their earnings (Table 26). Moreover, the earnings differentials due to the mobility factors are moderate for the most part (i.e., less than plus or minus 20 cents an hour relative to

[10] V. F. Gegan and S. H. Thompson, "Worker Mobility in a Labor Surplus Area," *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1957, page 1455.

[11] James N. Morgan, Martin H. David, Wilbur J. Cohen, and Harvey E. Brazer, *Income and Welfare in the United States*, (New York; McGraw-Hill, 1962), especially pages 46-58.

Table 25

PAST MOBILITY RELATED TO CURRENT FAMILY INCOME

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Mobility Since 1950		
Current Family Income	Moved to the Area Within Last 5 Years	Have Moved Since 1950 but Not in Last 5 Years	Have Not Moved Since 1950
Under $3000	15%	16%	25%
$3000 - 4999	21	18	17
$5000 - 7499	28	28	25
$7500 - 9999	16	16	12
$10,000 or over	17	19	16
N.A.	3	3	5
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	644	541	2763

Table 26

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOURLY EARNINGS AND SEVERAL MOBILITY MEASURES, 1959[1]

(Expressed in terms of hourly earnings)

	Means	Deviations From the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
Urban-Rural Migration				
All[2/]	$2.29			2569
Grew up on farms and now live:				
in rural areas	$1.46	$-.83	$ .04	500
in towns 2500-49,999	1.89	-.40	-.32	210
in cities 50,000 or more	2.43	.14	.21	135
Grew up in cities or towns and now live:				
in rural areas	2.60	.31	.31	449
in cities or towns	2.50	.21	-.09	1221
Movement out of Deep South*				
All[2/]	$2.29			2569
Grew up U.S. outside of Deep South and now live:				
in South	$2.39	$ .10	$ .10	359
in Non-South	2.42	.13	.04	1458
Grew up in Deep South and now live:				
in South	1.68	-.61	-.31	498
in Non-South	2.26	-.03	.12	106
Grew up in foreign countries	2.03	.26	.19	113
Number of States Lived In:*				
All[2/]	$2.29			2569
Since first job, have lived in:				
One state: Within 100 miles of present location	$2.21	$-.08	$-.01	1365
More than 100 miles present location	2.22	-.07	-.13	293
Two states	2.40	.11	.02	522
Three states	2.37	.08	-.02	181
Four or more states	2.63	.34	.19	158

*Characteristic is significant at .05 level.

[1/] The analyses are for spending unit heads who worked during 1959. Source: Ibid., pp. 52, 53, and 57.

[2/] "All" includes not ascertained, so individual N's will not add to total.

overall mean earnings of $2.29). Exceptions are people who grew up in the Deep South and still live there with an earnings differential of minus 31 cents, people who migrated from urban to rural areas (probably in some cases outlying suburbs) with a differential of plus 31 cents, and people who migrated from farms to small towns (minus 32 cents).

The 1962-63 survey based on a different representative sample of the U.S. population shows no appreciable effect of mobility on subsequent earnings. The two past mobility variables tested were (1) whether the family had moved in the 5 years prior to the survey and (2) whether the family had moved since 1950. The dependent variable is current annual family income, which is of course affected by amount of time worked by the head as well as other family members, while the 1959 analysis was focused on the rate of compensation itself. According to Table 27, the unadjusted income means are in all cases substantially higher for people who have moved in past years than for people who have not moved. However, after allowing for differences between movers and non-movers in such factors as occupation, education, and race, the favorable income differential disappears or is even reversed. Taking all people who moved since 1950, we find that, other things being the same, this group had relatively low incomes in 1962-63. However, given the small number of cases who moved, none of the differences in the adjusted deviations are statistically significant.[12]

The absence of a consistent and significant effect of mobility on subsequent income appears to be confirmed by the 1960 Census data. In the 1960 Census it was determined whether people lived in a different county in 1955 compared with their county of residence in 1960. Annual income was obtained for the year 1959. The time relationship of the data is such that one must assume that most of the moves

[12]The results obtained from both surveys are dependent on the treatment of the occupation variables. The adjusted deviations in Tables 26 and 27 are derived from an analysis which includes occupation among the determinants of income which are held constant. When occupation is not held constant, a positive effect of mobility on subsequent income *does* appear. Occupation influences mobility, because people with more highly differentiated skills and knowledge have more reason to move in order to match their qualifications with the most appropriate job than people at lower skill levels. Also, transfers occur primarily among white-collar workers. Hence it was decided to compare the income of movers and non-movers in the same broad occupation categories. However, one could argue the opposite—that mobility influences occupation in the sense that moving up on the occupational ladder is facilitated by, indeed may require, geographic mobility. The most obvious case are farmers who usually have to move if they are to change to a non-farm occupation. In such cases eliminating the impact of occupation on income eliminates some of the impact of geographic mobility on income. However, our judgment is that the effect of occupation on mobility is quantitatively more important than this reverse effect.

Table 27

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CURRENT FAMILY INCOME AND SEVERAL MEASURES OF PAST MOBILITY, 1962-63

(Expressed in terms of annual family income)

	Means	Deviations From Grand Mean	Adjusted Deviations From Grand Mean	Number of Cases
Five Year Mobility For Metropolitan Population				
All	$7170			2465
Moved	$4650	+$480	-$190	280
Did not move	$4108	-$ 62	+$ 24	2185
Five Year Mobility For Non-Metropolitan Population				
All	$5440			1468
Moved	$6130	+$740	+$113	258
Did not move	$5283	-$157	-$ 24	1210
Mobility Since 1950				
All	$7280			951
Moved	$9376	+$2096	-$323	262
Did not move	$6483	-$ 797	+$123	689

occurred prior to the income measurement, that is, in 1955 through 1958. However, also included are moves which occurred in the same year as the income measurement and even a few which must have occurred subsequently, in the first three months of 1960. Table 28, which presents comparisons from the 1960 Census within age brackets, shows practically no differences in income distribution between movers and non-movers. If mobility had a pronounced effect on subsequent income, some income differential between the two groups should be visible in these data.[13]

CONCLUSIONS

Clearly economic incentives have an influence on the moving decisions of family heads who are in the labor force. But how important is this influence? In answering this question, we must distinguish between fears, hopes and expectations which motivate people to move and the actual realization of these expectations. For instance, a person may move in order to find more steady work but finds himself unemployed again on his new job. Another person may move to a higher paying job and may even be convinced that his move paid off; yet in the subsequent year or two his co-workers who stayed behind may obtain raises which put them at a par with the mover. In still another case a man may move without any immediate increase in his income, or he may even take a cut, but his opportunities for longer-run advancement may be improved greatly. The point is that a move may be motivated by economic considerations, but actual employment and income comparisons may not, and in fact do not, reflect the incentives which led to the moving decision, at least not with a short period of years.

No doubt a substantial majority of moves are economically *motivated:* They are transfers, or are made for the purpose of finding more work or of improving earnings. As far as unemployment is concerned, comparisons of *actual* unemployment rates of movers and non-movers before the move indicate that unemployment, particularly if it reaches the point of causing financial hardship, does make for moderately higher mobility. There is also some indication that people who are out of work and move have a slightly better chance of being

[13]The Census Bureau also publishes data annually on the income distribution of the people who moved, and those who did not move, in the previous year. That data in the form in which it is available, throws no light on our problem. The reason is that the income distribution relates largely to the year of the move. It is not surprising then that the data tend to show high mobility at both ends of the income distribution. At the lower end we find a concentration of mobile cases, since income may be depressed by an interruption or earnings due to the move itself. At the upper end we find of course the people who are highly mobile by reason of their education and occupation.

Table 28

COMPARISON OF FAMILY INCOME OF MOVERS AND NON-MOVERS WITHIN AGE GROUPS[1/]

(Percentage distribution of families within age groups)

Family Income	Age 14 - 24 Non-Movers	14 - 24 2/ Movers	25 - 29 Non-Movers	25 - 29 Movers	30 - 34 Non-Movers	30 - 34 Movers
Under $1000	8%	6%	5%	3%	3%	4%
$1000-1999	10	11	6	4	3	5
$2000-2999	13	14	8	8	5	6
$3000-3999	16	17	12	11	9	9
$4000-4999	16	17	15	15	12	12
$5000-5999	14	13	17	17	15	16
$6000-6999	9	9	13	14	14	14
$7000-9999	12	10	18	21	26	23
$10,000-14,999	2	2	5	6	10	8
$15,000 and over	*	1	1	1	3	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	35 - 44 Non-Movers	35 - 44 Movers	45 - 64 Non-Movers	45 - 64 Movers	65 and over Non-Movers	65 and over Movers
Under $1000	4%	3%	5%	5%	12%	10%
$1000-1999	5	4	6	6	20	22
$2000-2999	6	5	7	8	16	20
$3000-3999	7	7	9	9	11	13
$4000-4999	10	10	10	10	9	9
$5000-5999	13	12	11	10	7	6
$6000-6999	13	12	10	9	6	5
$7000-9999	25	25	21	22	10	8
$10,000-14,999	12	16	14	14	5	4
$15,000 and over	5	6	7	7	4	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than half of one per cent.

1/ U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of the Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Mobility for States and State Economic Areas. Final Report PC (2) - 2B. 1963, page 30.

2/ Movers are those who moved to another county 1955 and 1960. Non-movers include those who moved to another house in the same county, as well as those who did not move.

employed a year later than the unemployed who stay in the same labor market area. Regarding the income incentive, there is no convincing evidence that movers *actually* have lower incomes before the move or higher incomes after the move than non-movers, once other determinants of income have been taken into account. This is so, despite the fact that among people's explanations of why they moved income incentives were mentioned more frequently than employment incentives.

This apparent contradiction might be resolved by invoking traditional labor market theory: The outward movement of some workers should benefit those who stay behind, both in terms of employment and pay rate. Theoretically, if enough workers left depressed areas in order to obtain more work and higher pay, wages outside should be reduced somewhat, while earnings in depressed areas should rise to approximate pay scales elsewhere. In that case movers and non-movers would have similar earnings sometime after the move. A tendency of this kind might contribute to our results. However, we can hardly view labor markets as functioning in this ideal fashion. Nor can we assume that the survey data reflect only original and terminal equilibrium points.

Other, more plausible, explanations of the findings suggest themselves: No doubt, a good many moves are made by people who are insufficiently informed and their moves may turn out to be less advantageous economically than they originally looked to them.[14] Hopes to earn more are not always realized. Besides, some moves may not be as purposeful as they appear when people are asked to explain why they moved. Some people may simply be restless and yet express an economic rationalization for their move.

More important, some moves are distress moves: people leave industries and places where employment opportunities are contracting for areas of expanding opportunity. Distress conditions may force a worker to move into a low wage job. Even then he has improved himself in the sense that instead of losing his job, he finds work elsewhere, though at a lower wage. Lloyd Ullman makes this point in connection with a study of inter-industry mobility.[15] He reminds us that between 1950 and 1962 employment opportunities declined relatively in manufacturing, a high-wage industry, and expanded in the low-wage trade and service sectors and in routine clerical occupations. Ullman concludes with regard to inter-industry shifts "that the probability of a

[14]The information problem is considered at some length in Chapter VIII.

[15]Lloyd Ullman, "Labor Mobility and the Industrial Wage Structure in the Postwar United States," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February 1965, pages 73-97.

production worker (in mining and manufacturing) obtaining lower wage alternative employment is higher than the probability of his obtaining alternative employment at higher pay."[16] This conclusion also would have some applicability to job changes which involve a move across labor market lines. It should be added that distress moves may also occur as a result of adverse personal circumstances or for personality reasons. Again, there is a good chance that in such cases the mover might end up in lower paying work than he might ordinarily expect on the basis of his age, education and the like (though higher paying than if he had not moved). Apparently distress moves, leading to lower earnings, are sufficiently frequent to hide the favorable earnings changes which must be associated with some of the advancement-oriented moves.

We may conclude that economic incentives broadly defined play a more substantial role in determining mobility than an analysis of income data alone would lead one to believe. Yet it appears that the effectiveness of economic incentives as a mechanism for allocating the labor supply between labor market areas is seriously impeded by the combined impact of a number of factors. We have here observed: (1) the low mobility potential of workers subject to unemployment; (2) some evidence that the "push" of adverse economic circumstances may have to be strong to lead a family to move; (3) the tenuous relation between hoped-for income increases and the actual income gains realized by moving; (4) the apparent importance of distress moves which may mean economic down-grading rather than up-grading; and (5) the occurrence of moves for non-economic reasons (including sheer restlessness), probably somewhat more frequent than people's explanations of their motives would lead one to believe. Other factors, particularly the attraction of living near relatives and the problem of information, will be discussed in later chapters.

[16] *Ibid.*, page 93.

IV ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES AMONG LABOR MARKET AREAS AND THEIR IMPACT ON MOBILITY[1]

Chapter III was concerned with the effect on mobility of personal economic circumstances and individual opportunities for more work or pay. Quite apart from personal factors, the likelihood that a family will move may be influenced by its location. Living in an area of limited economic opportunity, say an area prone to substantial unemployment or a low wage area, might induce people to migrate who have not been out of work themselves or whose earnings are close to average for their occupation and educational level. The stimulus to migration might then be fear of possible future unemployment or dissatisfaction with local earnings and career opportunities. Or the moving force might be the attraction of more job openings or higher wages elsewhere. The geographic allocation of labor through economic incentives is bound to be more effective if economic characteristics of locations are capable of exerting some influence of their own on geographic mobility. The incentive to move provided by local conditions is all the more important if the people who are most likely actually to suffer unemployment or other adverse personal financial circumstances tend to belong to the less mobile elements of the population. To be sure, the distinction between personal and locational economic incentives is not clear-cut. For example, the local level of unemployment has a bearing on the workers' feelings of job security and thus becomes a personal factor. At the very least, the extension of the analysis to economic differences between locations enables us to take into account economic pressures which are not clearly visible (or measurable) at the individual level.

Studies of migration in relation to the economic characteristics of states or counties have been based on *net* migration rates. *Net* migration figures represent the change in an area's population which cannot be attributed to births and deaths; in other words, they represent the difference between in- and out-migration. *Gross in-migration* refers to the total inflow of migrants, gross out-migration to the total outflow. A given net migration rate may be associated with high or low gross in- and outflows of population; these situations are quite different. A net gain in population may result from a low out-migration rate in some instances, from a high in-migration rate in others; again,

[1]This chapter was prepared by Eva Mueller.

the two situations are quite different.[2] The Survey Research Center data make it possible to look separately at migration into and out of areas with differing economic characteristics.

Unless in- and out-migration rates are analyzed separately, a distinction cannot be made between the "pull" exerted by superior economic conditions in one locality and the "push" generated by inferior conditions in another. Although the moving decision might be conceived of as involving a comparative judgment between two localities, "push" and "pull" would hardly be of the same importance under all circumstances. In fact, we shall show in this chapter that the "pull" of job openings has a pronounced effect on in-migration, while the "push" resulting from insufficient local employment opportunities by itself seldom constitutes an effective stimulus to out-migration. This conclusion, if substantiated by other research, has important implications for economic policy: It would support the contention that active demand for labor elsewhere is the primary prerequisite for overcoming the inertia of people in unfavorable economic locations.

Like Chapter III, this chapter will distinguish between employment and earnings incentives to mobility. It will become evident, as we progress, that differences in employment opportunities between locations have more bearing on migration patterns than do differences in local family income level. Thus the findings pertaining to *local* income parallel the findings pertaining to *personal* income: Evidence that places with above average in-migration rates are characterized by high family income is just as difficult to develop as is evidence that mobile people end up with higher incomes than others.

Since the growth of employment opportunities has varied between regions and between rural and urban areas, the relation of region and degree of urbanization to mobility will also be examined briefly in this chapter. These relations throw some light on the way in which economic opportunity influences mobility patterns. The problem of migration into and out of depressed areas will be dealt with specifically in a later chapter.

LOCAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND ITS EFFECT ON MIGRATION

Two kinds of data are available to characterize the unemployment level of a labor market area: (1) the 1950 and 1960 Censuses

[2]This point has been made emphatically by Donald J. Bogue, Henry S. Shryock, Jr. and Siegfried A. Hoermann, *Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40*, Vol. I, pages 65-67.

measured unemployment during the particular week in which the Census was taken. However, a one-week measure of unemployment is bound to be influenced by seasonal, cyclical and accidental factors. A more comprehensive measure is preferable. (2) Since the early 1950's The Bureau of Employment Security of the U. S. Department of Labor has rated major labor market areas six times a year by degree of unemployment. These ratings were combined here for the period 1955-62 to distinguish between those counties which had substantial unemployment for two years or more out of the seven, those which suffered substantial unemployment for less than two years, and those which suffered little or no unemployment[3]. There is a fourth category, containing about half of the U. S. population, the "unrated areas"; these are for the most part small towns and cities and the less industrialized areas of the country.

Does substantial and persistent unemployment in an area over time cause the out-migration rate to be higher there than in areas less susceptible to unemployment? The figures below show out-migration in the 5 years preceeding the survey in relation to unemployment during the 7 years prior to the survey in the labor market area where the move originated. There is no evidence in these Survey Research Center data that high unemployment is associated with larger out-migration than is low unemployment. Indeed there is some suggestion of the opposite tendency—that families in areas with a balanced labor supply are more likely to migrate out than others.

Out-Migration In The Last Five Years In Relation To Unemployment Level In The Area Where The Move Originated

	Per Cent Who Moved Out In 1957-62
Little or no unemployment between 1955 and 1962	17
Substantial unemployment for less than 24 months between 1955 and 1962	15
Substantial unemployment for 24 months or more between 1955 and 1962	11
Unrated areas	15

Table 29 examines the relationship between unemployment and out-migration using two other measures of migration, with a different

[3]The unemployment ratings used here are those of The Bureau of Employment Security. "Little or no unemployment" includes areas with an unemployment rate of less than 5.9 per cent or Groups A, B, and C. Areas of "substantial unemployment" have an unemployment rate of 6 per cent or more and are designated as Groups D, E, and F.

Table 29

UNEMPLOYMENT LEVEL IN THE LABOR MARKET AREA AND SUBSEQUENT OUT-MIGRATION

Level of County Unemployment for SMSA's	(1) Mean Proportion Who Moved	(2) Deviations from the Mean	(3) Adjusted Deviations	(4) Number of Cases
	Per cent who expected to move in the year			
All	11.1%			2525
Little or no unemployment between 1955 and 1962	13.6	+2.5	-0.3	396
Substantial unemployment for less than 24 months between 1955 - 1962	8.6	-2.5	-2.5*	845
Substantial unemployment for 24 months or more between 1955 - 1962	9.1	-2.0	+0.6	647
Counties not rated	14.7	+3.6	+2.9	637
	Per cent who actually moved in the year			
All	5.0%			804
Little or no unemployment between 1955 and 1962	4.6	-0.4	-6.2*	131
Substantial unemployment for less than 24 months between 1955 - 1962	4.6	-0.4	+1.2	240
Substantial unemployment for 24 months or more between 1955 - 1962	2.9	-2.1	-0.8	209
Counties not rated	7.6	+2.6	+3.1	224

* Significant at the 5 per cent level.

time perspective. The top half of the table shows moving plans; the bottom half actual out-migration in the year following the survey, both related to employment conditions during the previous seven-year period. In each case the unadjusted out-migration rate (Column 1) is lower for the areas with the most persistent unemployment than for areas with little or no unemployment.

Since the areas rated in Table 29 represent a limited number of sampling points, one further step was essential. The unemployment rating for the respondent's labor market area was introduced into a multivariate analysis which took account of other factors, which may differ to some extent between the labor market groupings: region, degree of urbanization, personal income, education, and the like, as measured in the survey. The adjusted deviations (Column 3) then show the influence of local unemployment on out-migration after removing the influence of other factors. The adjusted figures indicate somewhat higher out-migration rates for the areas with substantial unemployment than do the unadjusted figures. Yet the data do not provide any evidence of a consistent or significant positive stimulus exerted by high local unemployment on out-migration. This is true despite evidence (presented in Chapter III) that the small proportion of people who were themselves unemployed were somewhat more frequent movers than others.

The conclusion that substantial unemployment does not enhance out-migration is substantiated by Census data on migration between 1955 and 1960, published in the March 1965 *Manpower Report*.[4] The data there compare migration out of and into 10 labor-market areas with substantial unemployment between 1955 and 1960 and 10 areas of low unemployment. As a group the high unemployment areas experienced *net* out-migration of 3 per cent, the low unemployment areas *net* in-migration of 3 per cent. Eight out of the ten high unemployment areas had net out-migration; nine out of the ten low unemployment areas had net in-migration. However, these *net* differences result entirely from the pattern of in-migration. The out-migration rates are not even in the expected direction: they show more migration out of areas with a balanced labor supply than out of high unemployment areas. This result holds when the comparison is confined to migration rates of men in the labor force (Table 30). Within every occupation category low unemployment areas experienced

[4] *Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements*, Resources, Utilization and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, Transmitted to the Congress March 1965, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., page 275.

Table 30

MIGRATION IN 1955-60 OF EMPLOYED MEN 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP AND COLOR, FOR SELECTED AREAS OF HIGH AND LOW UNEMPLOYMENT, 1960[1]

(Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of 250,000 or more)

	Per cent of 1960 Employment					
	Ten Areas of High Unemployment			Ten Areas of Low Unemployment		
Major Occupation Group and Color	Net Migrants[2]	In-Migrants[3]	Out-Migrants[3]	Net Migrants[2]	In-Migrants[3]	Out-Migrants[3]
Total employed[4]	-2.5	6.5	9.0	4.3	15.8	11.6
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	-1.5	15.4	17.0	4.8	25.8	21.0
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	-3.9	8.9	12.8	1.9	16.2	14.4
Clerical and kindred workers	-2.3	5.7	8.0	7.5	16.8	9.2
Sales workers	-2.9	8.0	10.9	4.0	18.7	14.8
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	-2.6	4.7	7.2	3.7	12.5	8.8
Operatives and kindred workers	-1.8	4.4	6.2	4.6	12.6	8.0
Service workers, including private household	-4.1	4.8	8.9	5.5	14.7	9.2
Laborers, except farm and mine	-1.3	5.2	6.5	7.2	14.6	7.3
Nonwhite employed	-0.9	5.1	6.5	5.4	10.3	4.9
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	-0.5	16.3	16.8	2.4	18.1	15.7
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	-5.0	3.7	8.7	2.7	9.0	6.3
Clerical and kindred workers	-2.7	4.7	7.4	5.5	9.0	3.5
Sales workers	0.2	5.5	5.3	4.7	10.7	5.9
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	-0.7	4.5	5.2	4.5	9.3	4.8
Operatives and kindred workers	-0.9	3.7	4.6	5.0	9.1	4.1
Service workers, including private household	-1.4	6.3	7.7	8.1	12.7	4.6
Laborers, except farm and mine	0.4	6.1	5.7	7.0	11.0	4.0

Table 30 - Continued

[1] Areas of high and low unemployment were selected from the Department of Labor's listing of major labor areas according to relative labor supply. The high unemployment areas were selected from those most consistently in the D, E, and F categories of substantial unemployment between January 1955 and April 1960; the low unemployment areas were those most consistently in the B grouping of low labor supply. The criteria used in defining major labor areas generally coincide with those established for the definition of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

[2] Difference between in-migrants and out-migrants (minus sign indicates net out-migration).

[3] In-migrants are persons living in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area in 1960 who lived outside the area in 1955. Out-migrants are persons who lived in an SMSA in 1955, but lived outside the area in 1960. Both of these groups include some persons who may not have crossed county lines when they changed residence and are thus not true migrants. The in-migrants and out-migrants exclude persons abroad in 1955 and persons for whom 1955 residence was not reported. The latter two groups are included among the persons employed in the area in 1960.

[4] Includes farmers and farm managers, farm laborers and foremen, and persons with occupation not reported, not shown separately.

NOTE: Detail may not add to totals due to rounding.

Source: Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, transmitted to the Congress March 1965, page 152.

more out-migration than the high unemployment areas.[5] One exception to this pattern is of interest: Negroes in nearly every occupation group leave areas with high unemployment at a greater rate than areas with low unemployment. This difference may reflect the particularly acute employment problems which Negroes experience in an area with inadequate labor demand. As far as white members of the labor force are concerned the "push" of insufficient job openings seems to be insufficient to induce out-migration. Only people who have themselves suffered unemployment have above average

[5]Bogue, Shryock and Hoermann used 1935-40 Census data to study the relation between migration and economic characteristics of locations. They found that in the late 1930's, when unemployment was much more severe than it has been since, high unemployment was significantly associated with high migration out of, and low migration into, Census economic subregions of states. *Op. cit.*, pages 64-78.

out-migration rates. And as we saw earlier, even among them the effect of unemployment on mobility is moderate and seems to operate primarily where the unemployed belong to a group with high mobility potential or where unemployment has caused considerable hardship.

Local employment conditions do, however, affect the pattern of in-migration. The Survey Research Center data below show a higher rate of in-migration into areas with favorable employment opportunities than into those plagued occasionally or persistently by unemployment. The Census data appearing in Table 30 support the survey evidence. They show decidedly higher in-migration rates in every occupation category for areas with ample employment opportunities than for areas with high unemployment.

In-Migration In The Last Five Years In Relation To Unemployment Level In The County Of Destination

	Per Cent Who Moved In From 1957-62
Little or no unemployment between 1955 and 1962	19
Substantial unemployment for less than 24 months between 1955 and 1962	12
Substantial unemployment for 24 months or more between 1955 and 1962	10
Unrated areas	15

Net migration is thus affected by local economic conditions through their affect on in-migration. Peter Barth, in a study of labor force participation in Michigan, found that it was not high absolute unemployment rates that brought about net out-migration from Michigan in the later half of the 1950's and early 1960's, but high rates *relative* to unemployment rates elsewhere in the United States.[6]

The great importance of employment opportunities at the place of destination also emerges from time series analysis. In a study by Sjaastad fluctuations in net off-farm migration from 1930 to 1958 (but omitting the years 1941-46) are related to a national unemployment

[6] Peter Barth, *The Labor Force and Labor Force Participation Rates: A Study of Michigan* (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1965), page 109.

index and the ratio of per capita farm to non-farm income.[7] The unemployment index takes account of the occupational mix of off-farm migrants, and the analysis is done separately for the South and the North Central region. His conclusions may be summarized briefly:

1. Off-farm migration is highly volatile over time.
2. Employment conditions in the non-farm labor market are a crucial determinant of off-farm migration.
3. Income differentials between farm and non-farm areas have much less influence on mobility than employment conditions.

It is well known, thanks primarily to the work of Simon Kuznets and Dorothy Thomas, that both domestic and international migration moves up and down with the business cycle.[8] Migration is inhibited by unemployment and stimulated by favorable employment opportunities. Even off-farm migration in the U. S. was severely curtailed during the Great Depression.[9] The distress which prevailed in farm areas was not effective as a "push" leading to out-migration, because the "pull" of employment opportunities elsewhere was lacking. Hope Eldridge has isolated fluctuations in migration rates of age cohorts.[10] Those cohorts which were in their twenties in prosperous years show more lifetime mobility than those which reached the same age during depressions.

Returning to differences in employment opportunities between places (rather than over time), it may be concluded that the unemployment rate in an area has little or no influence on the rate of out-migration. It has much more bearing on in-migration, and through in-migration on net migration. This conclusion must, however, be qualified in one respect. The data examined here refer for the most part to family heads, in some cases to males aged 25-64, in still others to the population as a whole. Although the data include a proper proportion of young people just entering the labor force, the age

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[7]Larry Sjaastad, "Occupational Structure and Migration Patterns," *Labor Mobility and Population in Agriculture*, Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1961, pages 8-27.

[8]Simon Kuznets, *Capital in the American Economy*, pages 322-27; Dorothy Swaine Thomas, "Age and Economic Differentials in Interstate Migration," Population Index, October 1958, pages 313-25.

[9]U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Farm Population Estimates for 1910-1962*. Washington, 1963, page 20.

[10]Hope T. Eldridge, "A Cohort Approach to the Analysis of Migration Differentials," *op. cit.*

groups over 25 strongly dominate the results. As we proceed, some evidence of heavy out-migration of very young people raised in farm areas and in depressed areas will be presented.

INCOME DIFFERENTIALS AND THEIR IMPACT ON MIGRATION

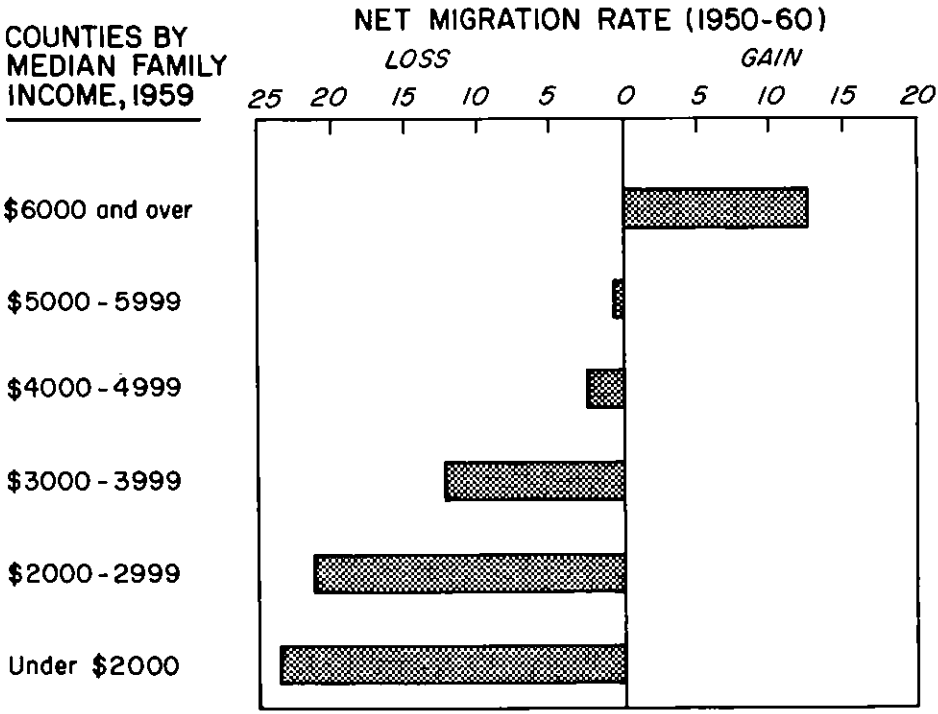
Economic differences between labor market areas are not confined to variations in unemployment levels. Low local income levels may be a second way in which unfavorable economic conditions manifest themselves, particularly in rural areas. In fact, since unemployment from 1957-1962 was associated to some extent with centers of heavy industry, it often did not coincide with below-average incomes. The economic incentive to move away from low-income areas, or not move to them, may be dissatisfaction with the earnings available there, or the belief that higher earnings are obtainable elsewhere. How much do local income differentials contribute toward the geographic reallocation of the labor force?

Before attempting to answer this question, it must be said that median family income level in a labor market area or county has considerable shortcomings as a measure of earnings opportunities. Labor market areas differ in industrial composition, and this entails differences in skill and educational requirements. Thus differentials in median family income between places may reflect differences in labor force characteristics in addition to differences in pay for similar work. Unfortunately there is no readily available alternative: median family income is the best available measure of differences in earnings opportunities between counties or labor market areas.[11]

Chart IV-1, which appeared in the President's 1965 *Manpower Report* suggests that there is a very pronounced relationship between 1959 median county income level and *net* in- or out-migration from 1950 to 1960. Counties with low average family income lost people through migration, the net loss increasing at progressively lower income levels. Counties with an average income level below $3000 in

[11]Median family income was used to represent earnings levels in each labor market area, primarily for reasons of availability on a county basis in both the 1950 and the 1960 Census. Also available in the Census is the proportion of families with incomes under $3000 and the proportion with incomes of $10,000 or over. The low income measure is less suitable for our purposes than median family income because people in the under $3000 income group rarely move; the high income measure is also unsuitable because in 1960 only 15.1 per cent of families earned incomes of that size. Where labor market areas consist of several counties, the income for these counties was averaged.

1950-1960 NET MIGRATION IN RELATION TO COUNTY INCOME LEVEL



SOURCE: Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, transmitted to the Congress March 1965, page 151 (based on Census data compiled by the U.S. Department of Agriculture).

1959 show a net loss of over 20 per cent of their population over the 10 years. By contrast, counties with average incomes over $6000 gained substantially by migration.

The differences in migration rates appearing in Chart IV-1 are so large that it is attempting to conclude that income differentials between locations are a major determinant of migration patterns. No such clear-cut conclusion emerges when we look at the origin and destination of individual moves (Table 31) rather than such highly aggregated statistics as 10 year *net* migration rates for broad groups of counties. For the purpose of constructing Table 31 the labor

market areas which were origins and destinations of the most recent moves of the survey sample were classified by 1960 median family income. Table 31 shows that there is a great deal of cross-movement from high into low and from low into high income areas. Rather than seeing a predominant movement from lower into higher income areas, it appears that a small net shift out of low income areas is brought about by a large volume of movement in both directions. If one man moves from a low income county or area to a high income county and another moves in the opposite direction, it need not follow that the two moves together are pointless from an economic point of view. The one man may be an accountant, the other a mechanic; and each may have moved from a place where he is not needed to a place where he is needed. It should be recalled, however, that in Chapter III we failed, on the average, to find individual income gains associated with mobility.

Chart IV-1 overstates the impact of local income level on migration in other respects also. For one thing, the ordering of counties by income level involves to some extent an ordering by degree of urbanization; at least the two are closely related. Rural counties (those where less than 30 per cent of the population lived in urban places) lost 10 per cent of their population between 1950 and 1960, while only those counties which were at least 50 per cent urbanized experienced a *net* gain in population.[12] Thus the great reduction of jobs available in agriculture is partly responsible for the relationship between low income and net out-migration observed in Chart IV-1. Secondly, an ordering of states or counties by family income level reflects income differentials between the South and other regions which, though shrinking from 1950 to 1960, have not disappeared. There was net migration out of the South between 1950 and 1960, but the *net* outflow was confined to Negroes and probably was not motivated exclusively by income considerations.[13]

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[12]The tabulations of Census data from which these figures were derived were prepared under the direction of Mrs. Gladys Bowles, U. S. Department of Agriculture, for the Area Redevelopment Administration.

[13]Studies which attribute an important role to county or state income in relation to geographic mobility usually fail to examine whether any relation between migration and income can be detected after urban-rural and regional differences have been taken into account. See for example, Robert L. Bunting, "A Test of the Theory of Geographic Mobility," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, October 1961, pages 75-82; also Simon Kuznets and Dorothy Thomas, "Internal Migration and Economic Growth," Milbank Memorial Fund, *Selected Studies of Migration Since World War II*, New York, 1958, pages 204-11.

In the analysis which follows, an attempt is made to separate differences in migration due to income variations from those due to regional factors and to degree of urbanization. Hence, wherever possible, areas are separated into South and Not-South as well as metropolitan areas and areas not part of metropolitan areas. If the income level of a labor market area has some bearing on in- or out-migration, this relationship should show up within these subgroupings of areas. Again we consider out- and in-migration separately.

Table 31

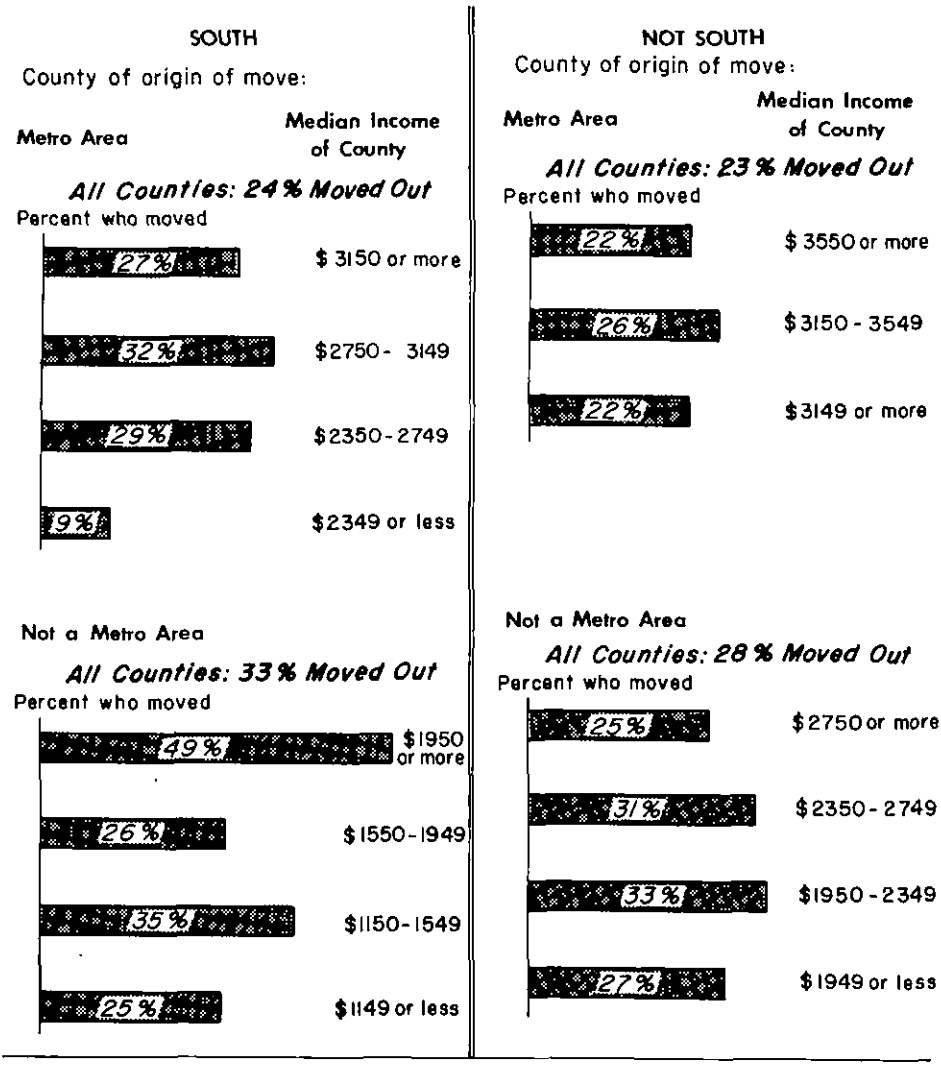
1960 MEDIAN INCOME OF LABOR MARKET AREA OF ORIGIN AND LABOR MARKET AREA OF DESTINATION OF MOST RECENT MOVE

		1960 Median Family Income in Area of Origin								
1960 Median Family Income in Labor Market Area of Destination	All	$2949 or Less	$2950 -3949	$3950 -4449	$4450 -4949	$4950 -5449	$5450 -5949	$5950 -6449	$6450 -6949	$6950 or More
$2949 or less	5%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	*	*	*	*
$2950-3949	11	1	3	*	1	1	2	1	1	1
$3950-4449	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	*
$4450-4949	18	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	1	3
$4950-5449	13	*	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2
$5450-5949	12	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
$5950-6449	18	1	1	1	1	2	3	5	2	2
$6450-6949	10	*	*	*	1	2	1	2	2	2
$6950 or more	7	1	*	1	*	1	1	2	1	*
Total	100%	8%	10%	7%	11%	14%	14%	16%	9%	11%

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

CHART IV-2

OUT-MIGRATION SINCE 1950 IN RELATION TO THE 1950 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTY WHERE THE MOVE ORIGINATED



Median family income of counties in 1950 from the 1952 City and County Data Book. Migration figures from Survey Research Center data, covering moves between 1950 and 1962-1963.

Chart IV-2 depicts the relation between the 1950 income level of counties and out-migration during the subsequent 12 years. Families are grouped by the median family income level of the metropolitan area or other county in which they resided in 1950, and the percentage of each group who moved away since 1950 is indicated. The survey data show that a somewhat larger proportion of people who lived in the South in 1950 moved (across labor market boundaries) than of those who did not live in the South. Similarly, a substantially higher proportion of those outside metropolitan areas than of inhabitants of metropolitan areas left their 1950 area of residence. Within each of the major subgroupings there is, however, no evidence of a heavier flow of migration out of counties with very low 1950 incomes than out of high income counties.

The relationship between earnings opportunities (as reflected by median family income level in the labor market area where the moved originated) and out-migration can be tested further by multivariate analysis. Table 32 presents deviations from the mean level of out-migration separately for metropolitan areas and other labor market areas. Out-migration is measured (1) by mobility in the 5 years prior to the survey, (2) mobility in the year following the survey, and (3) plans to move. The unadjusted deviations refer to differences in out-migration rates between families grouped by the income level of the labor market area where they resided before the move. The adjusted deviations show net differences in out-migration due to area income level, after allowing for differences in socio-economic characteristics and for the effect of region. Most of the adjusted differences in migration attributable to area income level are not statistically significant, nor do they show a consistent pattern for the three measures of out-migration. The conclusion—that in recent years a low level of economic opportunity in many places did little to stimulate out-migration—thus appears to hold whether income level or unemployment level is used to measure economic opportunity.

Next, we turn to *in*-migration differentials. Chart IV-3 differs from Chart IV-2 in that families are grouped by the income level of the county in which they were residing at the time of the survey, rather than the county where the most recent move originated. The county of present residence is, of course, in the case of movers, the destination of their most recent move. Chart IV-3, like Chart IV-2, distinguishes between the South and other areas of the country as well as between standard metropolitan areas and less urbanized places. Within each of these classifications it is possible to detect some tendency for in-migration to vary positively with county income level. However, this relationship is neither strong nor regular.

Table 32

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUT-MIGRATION AND LABOR MARKET AREA INCOME

	Mean Proportion Who Moved	Deviations From the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
Per cent who expected to move in the year				
Metropolitan Area Residents				
All	11.1%			2525
1960 median area income $3950 - 4949	15.2	4.1	1.0	328
1960 median area income $4950 - 5949	7.4	-3.7	-3.1[a]	675
1960 median area income $5950 or more	11.8	0.7	1.2	1522
Non-Metropolitan Residents				
All	10.3%			1445
1960 median area income $3949 or less	9.9	-0.4	1.4	635
1960 median income $3950 - 4949	10.0	-0.3	-1.1	450
1960 median area income $4950 - 5949	11.1	0.8	-1.3	352
Per cent who actually moved in the year				
Metropolitan Area Residents				
All	5.0%			804
1960 median area income $3950 -4949	10.8	5.8	7.2	111
1960 median area income $4950 - 5949	2.6	-2.4	-3.9[a]	193
1960 median area income $5950 or more	4.6	-0.4	-0.1	500

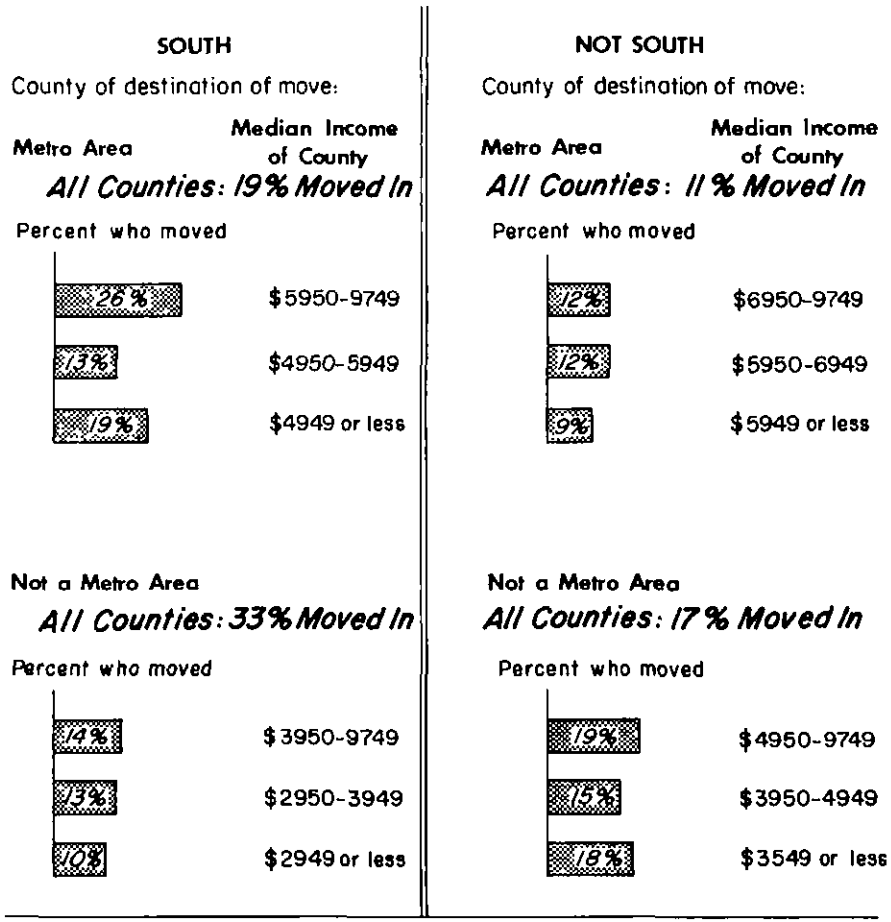
Table 32 - Continued

	Mean Proportion Who Moved	Deviations From the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
	Per cent who actually moved in the year			
Non-Metropolitan Residents				
All	5.6%			429
1960 median area income $3949 or less	3.9	-1.7	-1.8	181
1960 median area income $3950 - 4949	6.2	0.6	0.7	145
1960 median area income $4950 - 5949	7.9	2.3	2.2	101
	Per cent who moved in the last 5 years			
Metropolitan Area Residents				
All	11.4%			2465
Median income of area of origin of move $3950-4949	9.8	-1.6	-0.8	287
Median income of area (origin of move) $4950 - 5949	11.4	0.0	0.2	703
Median income of area (origin of move) $5950 or more	11.7	0.3	*	1475
Non-Metropolitan Residents				
All	17.6%			1468
Median income of area (origin of move) $3949 or less	15.2	-2.4	-1.0	645
Median income of area (origin of move) $3950 - 4949	15.1	-2.5	-1.7	438
Median income of area (origin of move) $4950 - 5949	20.8	3.2	0.4	366

[a] Significant at 5 per cent level.

* Less than 0.05 per cent.

CHART IV-3
IN-MIGRATION OVER FIVE YEARS IN RELATION TO
MEDIAN INCOME OF COUNTY OF DESTINATION OF MOVE



Median family income of counties of destination from 1962 City and County Data Book.

A question may have come to the reader's mind: Should we expect differentials in family income *level* to affect migration rates, or are differences in the rate of change of family income perhaps more important? The presumption would be that the rate of growth of median family income in a labor market area is indicative of its

Table 33

LABOR MARKET AREA INCOME GROWTH RATIOS, 1950-1960, RELATED TO IN- AND OUT-MIGRATION

(Percentage distribution)

Ratio of 1960 Median Income to 1950 Median Income of Area of Present Residence	All - Movers and Non-movers	Recent Movers	
		Origin	Destination
1.4 or less	3%	3%	4%
1.5 to 1.6	16	19	14
1.7 to 1.8	57	54	56
1.9 to 2.0	14	17	17
2.1 to 2.3	5	4	7
2.4 or more	5	3	2
Total	100%	100%	100%

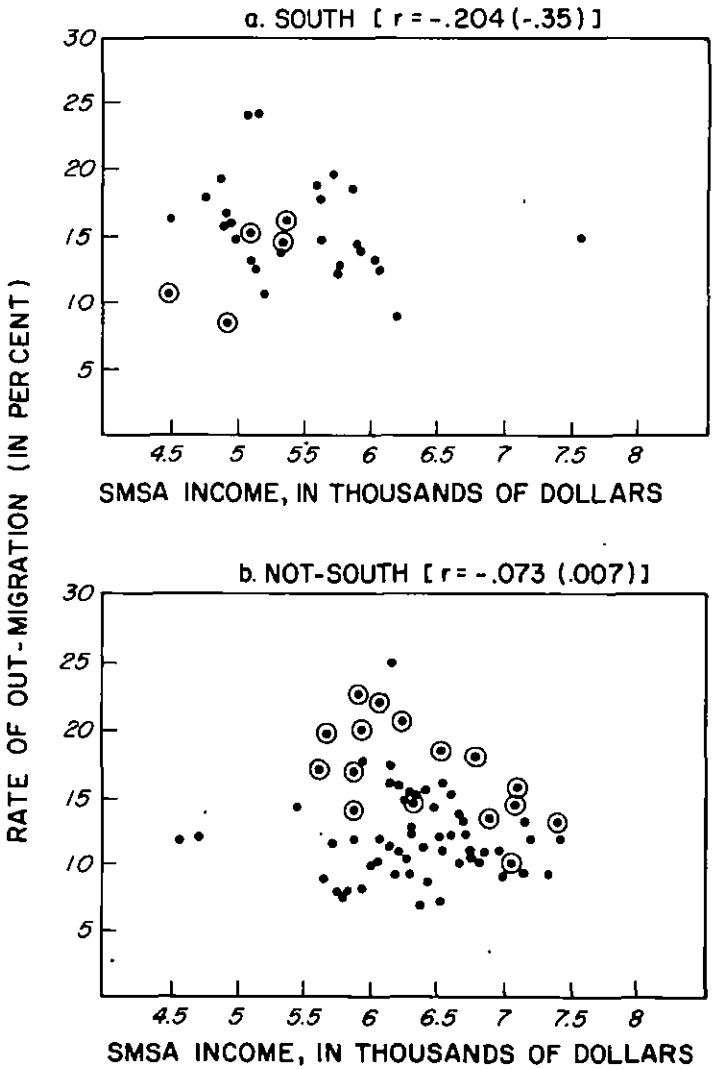
rate of economic development. To clarify this issue the ratio of median family income in 1960 to median family income in 1950 was calculated for each labor market area to and from which sample families moved. In the U. S. as a whole median family income was 1.7-1.8 times as high in 1960 as in 1950, partly as a result of rising prices. The growth ratios for individual labor market areas are distributed around these values, with a few places showing ratios below 1.4 and some others ratios above 2.0. These ratios are related to in- and out-migration in Table 33. If income growth had a significant bearing on mobility patterns, a high proportion of recent moves should have originated in places with a low income growth rate and terminated in places with a high income growth rate. No such pattern is evident. The distribution of 1950-60 changes in median family income is almost identical for counties of origin and counties of destination.

Returning then to family income level as probably the more relevant variable, we shall next examine 1960 Census data which may serve as a partial check on the survey data. For each standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) with a population over 250,000, the 1960 Census shows the volume of gross in-migration from another county between 1955 and 1960, the volume of gross out-migration to another county during the same period, as well as 1959 median income level. For purposes of this analysis the metropolitan areas were divided into South and Not-South. Charts IV-4a and IV-4b present scatter diagrams relating *out*-migration to median family income level within the area. No clear-cut relationship is visible in the charts for either South or Not-South. Extreme observations in the Charts turn out for the most part to relate to metropolitan areas in just seven states: Florida, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Washington, and Hawaii. Metropolitan areas in these fast-growing states are circled in the diagrams, and correlation coefficients appear both including and excluding (in parentheses) these observations. The rank correlation coefficients (Kendall's tau) for areas Not-South confirm the visual impression that there is no relation between out-migration and income; for the South a weak tendency is indicated for out-migration to decline with rising income level.

Charts IV-5a and IV-5b relate in-migration to metropolitan area income level. In these charts the scatter of points is even wider and again shows no systematic relationship. If the observations for the fast-growing states are excluded, the areas in the South show a weak negative association between in-migration and local incomes; those in the Non-South show a weak trace of the expected positive relation. In all, there is corroboration of the survey evidence that neither in- nor out-migration is strongly influenced by local income level. For areas outside the South the indication in the survey that in-migration is more responsive to local income levels than out-migration also is weakly confirmed.

CHART IV-4

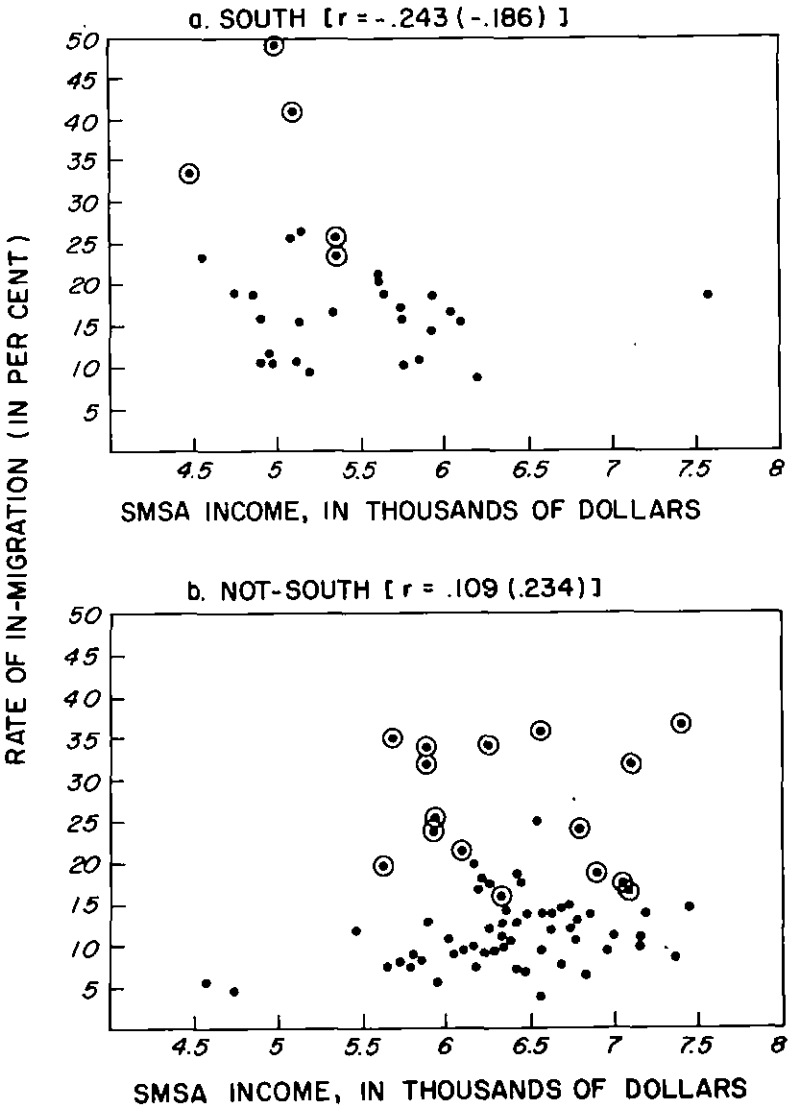
RATE OF OUT-MIGRATION BY SMSA MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME



SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population: 1960, U.S. Summary, pages 1-309 to 310-D for median family income in SMSAs; Mobility for Metropolitan Areas, Table 3, page 32 for population and migration data. The figure for 'r' in parenthesis excludes the extreme observations circled.

CHART IV-5

RATE OF IN-MIGRATION BY SMSA MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME



THE RELATION BETWEEN IN- AND OUT-MIGRATION

A puzzling phenomenon emerges from the analysis of the Census data: there is a pronounced positive association between in- and out-migration, particularly if metropolitan areas in the six fast growing states are disregarded (Chart IV-6). By and large, the higher the in-migration rate into a metropolitan area, the higher is its out-migration rate, and vice versa. The coefficient of rank correlation is .58. Does this finding run counter to the idea that differences in economic opportunity govern labor force migration? However imperfectly economic opportunity is measured, if economic conditions in a place are so favorable that in-migrants are attracted in unusually large numbers, should not these same favorable economic conditions lead to a low out-migration rate, rather than an exceptionally high one?

The positive association between in- and out-migration has previously been detected by others in earlier U. S. as well as in British data.[14] Bogue offers two possible explanations for this phenomenon. He conjectures that a certain proportion of all migrants are disappointed and leave places to which they recently migrated. This kind of out-migration would rise with the level of in-migration. The available data on return moves are not capable of testing this hypothesis. However, we do know from the survey data that only about 20 per cent of all moves are return moves to a place where the migrant resided at an earlier time. This is too low a proportion to account entirely for the observed positive correlation. However, some disappointed movers may try a new place where they never lived before, rather than making a return move.

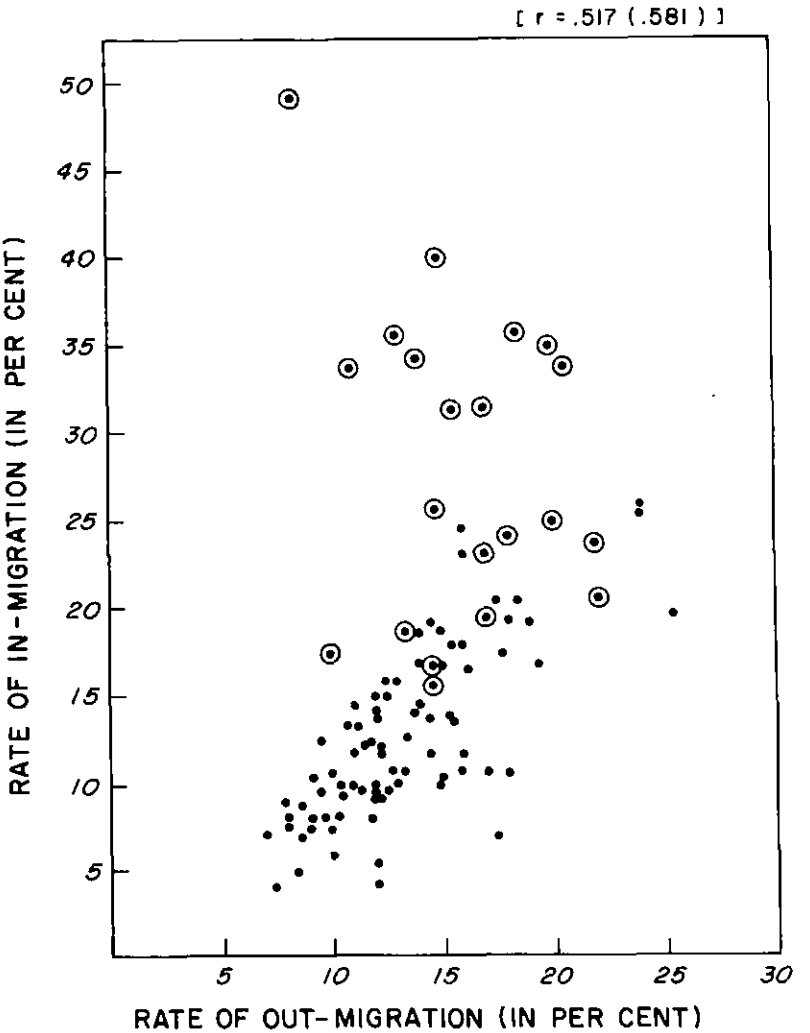
An anternative explanation suggested by Bogue is that the boundaries of metropolitan areas in some cases may be drawn in such a way that many local moves count as migration into and out of the metropolitan area, while in other places this will occur less frequently. This suggestion again may contain an element of truth, but the boundaries defining metropolitan areas generally include outlying suburbs. Moreover, on the densely settled East Coast, where population centers are clustered closely, in- and out-migration rates are below, rather than above, average.

Still other explanations may be advanced: The variability of the demand for labor probably accounts to some extent for the positive relationship between in- and out-migration rates. Over a period of 5

[14]Bogue, Shryock and Hoermann, *op. cit.*, page 66.

CHART IV-6

RATE OF IN-MIGRATION BY RATE OF OUT-MIGRATION FOR U. S. SMSAs, SOUTH AND NOT-SOUTH



SOURCE: same as Chart IV-4

years or more centers with *fluctuating employment* opportunities experience waves of in- *and* out-migration. For example, the aircraft production centers on the West Coast and Wichita, Kansas, had a large volume of both in- and out-migration between 1955 and 1960. Another example is a group of cities which depend heavily on one industry with large cyclical variations in employment: Akron (Ohio), Flint (Michigan), and Gary—Hammond—East Chicago all show relatively large in- and out-migration rates for the period 1955-60. One might even hypothesize that these centers attract some of the more mobile elements of the labor force.[15]

In addition, it is clear that there are regional differences in migration rates within the United States. In some parts of the country people seem to be more willing to move than in others, so that labor markets in these areas show in- and out-migration rates distinctly above the national average. Some insight can be gained from an analysis of these regional migration differentials.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

Looking at the four major regions of the country, it is clear that all kinds of geographic mobility—in-migration, out-migration, and migration within the region--are highest in the West, also relatively high in the South, but are considerably lower in the Northeast and the Northcentral region. Although the West has the highest rate of in-migration from other parts of the country, geographic mobility there is not due solely to people who come in from other parts of the nation. High migration rates also are observed between labor market areas within the region.

Table 34 compares migration out of labor market areas within the four major regions of the United States, separately for metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. Two measures of migration are used: plans to move and actual migration in the year following the survey. Families are classified by region of residence prior to the move; thus what is compared here are migration rates *out* of labor market areas located in the four major regions of the United States, regardless of whether the destination was a labor market area in the

[15]Peter Barth found that "Rates of net out-migration from [Michigan depressed Upper Penninsula] were highest during the period when unemployment was either relatively low or declining from a peak in the state and the nation. . . . However, . . . when economic conditions in the state or nation are poor, population flows back into the area. During the recessions of 1954, 1958, and 1961, the net movement of population for the Upper Penninsula was into the area." *Op. cit.*, pages 63-64.

Table 34

RELATION OF REGION TO OUT- MIGRATION

	Mean Proportion Who Moved	Deviations From the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
Per-cent who expected to move in the year				
Metropolitan Area Residents				
All	11.1%			2525
Northeast	8.1	-3.0	-1.2	744
Northcentral	8.5	-2.6	-2.9*	683
South	14.3	3.2	2.3	741
West	15.7	4.6	3.3	357
Non-Metropolitan Area Residents				
All	10.3%			1445
Northeast	9.6	-0.7	-2.6*	125
Northcentral	10.0	-0.3	-0.1*	462
South	7.2	-3.1	-3.1	558
West	17.0	6.7	5.8	300
Per cent who actually moved in the year				
Metropolitan Area Residents				
All	5.0%			804
Northeast	3.5	-1.5	0	229
Northcentral	3.0	-2.0	-1.9	232
South	7.8	2.8	1.7	231
West	6.2	1.2	0.6	112
Non-Metropolitan Area Residents				
All	5.6%			429
Northeast	1/	-5.6	-5.7*	36
Northcentral	4.7	-0.9	0.1*	148
South	2.0	-3.6	-2.8*	152
West	15.1	9.5	6.4	93

1/ Less than one-half of one per cent.

* Significant at 5 per cent level.

same or in a different region. The table shows higher out-migration rates, both planned and actual, in labor market areas of the West than in the three other regions for non-metropolitan as well as metropolitan areas. Since inter-regional migration out of the West is barely above the average for the country as a whole, the data point to a high rate of intra-regional moves in the West. In the Northeast and Northcentral regions migration rates are below the national average. The South seems to be in an intermediate position. Migration out of non-metropolitan areas there is low, but migration out of metropolitan areas is on the high side.

The finding that there is more geographic mobility in the West than elsewhere is confirmed by Census data. The Census data relate to migration *into* labor market areas, in contrast to the Survey Research Center data which relate to migration *out of* labor market areas. The four regional migration rates shown below indicate the proportion of the 1960 population within each region who 5 years earlier lived in a different county (in the same or in a different region). The high figure for the West reflects, in part, the sizable migration stream into that region from other regions of the country.

	In-Migrants From A Different County, 1955-60
Northeast	13.0%
Northcentral	15.2
South	19.2
West	25.3

Figures from the annual Census survey for 1962-63 enable us to distinguish between moves within states, moves to contiguous states, and moves to non-contiguous states (Table 35). Not only does total in-migration during the previous year vary from 4.3 per cent for the Northeast to 11.1 per cent for the West, but within-state migration is more than two-thirds again as frequent in the West as in the Northeast and the Northcentral region; and migration from a contiguous state also is more than twice as high in the West as in the Northeast. Thus the total picture is one of a particularly mobile population in the West—large-scale gross in-migration from other regions, a high rate of intra-regional migration, as well as an above average rate of gross out-migration. The picture for the Northeast and the Northcentral region is the opposite.

More interesting than the fact that migration rates have exhibited persistent regional differentials in the recent period is the question—Why? This is not the place to analyze the reasons for the great

Table 35

IN-MIGRATION FROM A DIFFERENT COUNTY BY REGIONS

(Per cent of civilian population 1 year old and over)

	Total In-migration from a Different County	Within the State	Between States		
			Total	Contiguous	Non-Contiguous
Northeast	4.3%	2.5%	1.8%	0.7%	1.1%
Northcentral	5.1	2.3	2.8	1.0	1.8
South	8.0	3.9	4.1	1.6	2.5
West	11.1	4.2	6.9	1.8	5.1

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20 Number 134, March 25, 1965, page 47.

movement of people into the Western region and the relatively high growth rate of industry there, which facilitates this migration.[16] What concerns us are the reasons for differentials in intra-regional migration as well as the rather high migration out of the West. Two possible explanations suggest themselves. First, we know that a large proportion of the population of the West are fairly recent arrivals from other parts of the country. Only about one-half of the 1960 inhabitants of that area were born there. Hence, compared with others, this region must contain more families who have previous experience with moving and who have no local ties to relatives and childhood friends. Since such ties are one of the major barriers to mobility, the observed migration differentials might conceivably be explained in that manner. With this idea in mind, the presence of family and friends was introduced as one of the variables in the multivariate equations which test regional differentials in mobility. When this factor was taken into account, the regional differences in migration rates were reduced somewhat, but by no means eliminated.

There is then room for a second explanation. The West and other newly industrialized regions (such as the Southwest) have witnessed the emergence of new factories, and even new towns where none previously existed. As new industries get started here and there outside of the established population centers, people from surrounding counties and neighboring states are bound to hear of the job openings and to be attracted by the new opportunities. Thus the fluidity of industrial location patterns within areas of rapid economic development may enhance the geographic mobility of their labor force. By contrast, in the older and more slowly growing areas of the country such as the Northeast the distribution of demand for labor among places is much more stable. The new and fast growing regions not only have more job openings relative to the labor force established there, they also have more job openings which must be filled by migrants. The incentive to move in order to take advantage of new sources of employment in neighboring areas is weaker in the older sections of the country.

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[16] T. R. Balakrishnan, *Migration and Opportunity: A Study of Standard Metropolitan Areas in the United States*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1963), pages 130-139. An analysis of *net* migration rates for metropolitan areas, relating to the period 1940-50, by Balakrishnan shows age of a metropolitan area, temperature, and the percentage of the labor force employed in fast growing industries to be the major determinants of net migration. Since the West and the Southwest contain a substantial proportion of the newer and warmer metropolitan areas, and probably also the faster growing industries, regional migration differentials may be partly explained in these terms.

This last explanation of *regional differences in migration* is based on the presumption that new industries attract workers from the surrounding area. We may recall at this point that about 20 per cent of all moves cover a distance of less than 50 miles and over one-half span a distance of less than 200 miles. In other words, cities within the same region or even sub-region have a relatively high change of migrants. To the extent that economic conditions in various labor market areas within a region resemble each other the forces making for high migration *into* one labor market area lead to a larger flow *out of* neighboring areas, and vice-versa. Given the prevalence of short-distance moves, regional differences in the rate of economic growth and development make for a positive correlation of in- and out-migration rates.

It thus appears that there are two reasons for the exceptional geographic mobility in the West: One is the fact that more people there have moved in the past and are no longer close to their relatives. The other reason is the high rate of economic expansion. The second explanation again underlines the importance of the demand for labor, or "pull" factors in determining migration patterns.

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES IN GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

Rural-urban differences in geographic mobility are of particular interest because of the continuing need for a transfer of labor out of agriculture and related activities. Moreover, this is one area where economic incentives seem to be moderately effective in bringing about a needed geographic redistribution of the labor force. Between 1950 and 1960 counties which were less than 50 per cent urbanized experienced a *net* loss of more than 10 per cent of their population as a consequence of migration, while the more urbanized counties experienced a *net* gain of 4 to 5 per cent.[17] What roles did in- and out-migration play in bringing about this net shift out of rural areas?

The survey data can be used to compare *gross* movement *out* of rural and urban areas. For this purpose all counties which were origins of recent moves were classified into three categories: (1) counties which are part of standard metropolitan areas, (2) counties with smaller cities or towns, (3) rural counties (i.e., 20 per cent or more of the labor force engaged in agriculture). Table 36 presents unadjusted and adjusted out-migration rates for families residing in each of these categories of places 5 years prior to the survey.

[17]Gladys Bowles, *op. cit.*

Table 36

RELATION BETWEEN DEGREE OF URBANIZATION AND MOBILITY

(Per cent of heads of families)

	Mean Proportion Who Moved	Deviations From the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
	Per cent Who Moved In the Year			
All	5.2%			1233
SMSA county before move	5.0	-0.2	-0.5	804
Not SMSA and not rural farm	5.3	0.3	1.9	94
Rural farm county before move	5.7	0.5	0.7	335
	Per cent Who Moved In Five Years			
Less Than 35 Years				
All	28.3%			947
SMSA county before move	22.0	-6.3	-6.9*	615
Not SMSA and not rural farm	58.9	30.6	29.1	95
Rural farm county before move	32.5	4.2	6.2*	237
35 Years And Over				
All	8.9%			2969
SMSA county before move	7.8	-1.1	-1.6*	1841
Not SMSA and not rural farm	19.1	10.2	10.1	256
Rural farm county before move	8.4	-0.5	0.5*	872

*Statistically significant at 5 per cent level.

Overall, the data show that people are least disposed to leave metropolitan areas and most likely to leave smaller cities and towns. The rural counties are in an intermediate position. Indeed the unadjusted migration rate out of rural counties is only moderately above the average out-migration rate for all United States counties. The adjusted figures show a somewhat higher differential since they allow for the lower educational level and the greater frequency of self-employment in rural counties, which depress mobility.

From the relatively small differences in out-migration rates between urban and rural areas it should follow that much of the population loss of rural areas is due to low in-migration. The Census data below confirm this inference. They show migration between 1955 and 1960 *into* areas varying by degree of urbanization. Farm areas have by far the lowest in-migration rate: 8.8 per cent over a period of five years, compared with 17.6 and 20.0 per cent respectively for urban and rural non-farm areas. To put it simply, the numerous urban migrants as a rule move to other urban areas; rural migrants do *not* move to other rural areas. To a large extent this difference explains the decline in rural population. Evidence that in-migration rates are more sensitive to economic conditions than out-migration rates is here corroborated once again.

In-Migration, 1955-60, by Place of Residence

1960 Place of Residence	Per cent of 1960 population who lived in a different county in 1955
Total U. S.	17.4
Total urban	17.6
Central cities	14.0
Urban fringe	21.1
Places of 10,000 or more	20.9
Places of 2500 to 10,000	19.5
Rural non-farm	20.0
Rural farm	8.8

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

Returning once more to Table 36, an interesting age difference is apparent. In the age groups above 35 years, out-migration rates are at nearly the same level for urban and rural residents. Among the younger people who lived in rural areas 5 years prior to the survey, about 32 per cent moved in the following five years. This looks like a very high proportion. However, the data show that of the

young people *not* living in rural areas 27 per cent moved, so that the difference between the two groups is moderate. It is likely that the survey data somewhat understate migration by young people just out of school, since they relate to people who were household heads (married or single) at the time of the survey (they need not have been household heads in the previous 5 years, when they migrated). Young people who at the time of the survey lived with relatives, lived in a large rooming or boarding house, or were in the army are not represented. Gladys Bowles has estimated that of all *net* migrants from the farm in the 1950's, at least 60 per cent were less than 20 years old or reached age 20 some time during the decade.[18] As a consequence many rural counties now are experiencing depopulation due to an excess of deaths over births.

A pattern of age differences in the response of the rural population to economic incentives also was evident in a study by Charles H. Berry, based on 1940-50 migration data.[19] He found that for young people migration rates out of farm areas are higher, the lower the prevailing level of farm income. The opposite is true, however, for older people. Older people in low-income areas according to his study show below average out-migration rates. In the middle age groups no significant relation between out-migration and local farm income level can be detected.

These findings indicate that the adjustment of the labor supply to insufficient demand through out-migration is a slow process because the response is confined largely to young people. Survey data on depressed areas will be presented in Chapter XI which support this conclusion. In the case of older workers, the unfavorable economic environment may even discourage migration.

CONCLUSION

The major conclusion of this analysis is that geographic mobility is only moderately sensitive to local economic conditions, just as it is only moderately sensitive to personal economic circumstances. The economic conditions prevailing in labor market areas were here

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[18]Quoted by Calvin Beale, "Rural Depopulation in the United States: Some Demographic Consequences of Agricultural Adjustment," *Demography*, Vol. 1, #1, page 264.

[19]Charles H. Berry, *Occupational Migration from Agriculture, 1940-1950*, unpublished doctoral disertation, University of Chicago, 1956-1957.

measured in two ways: by the long-term unemployment rate and the median level of family income. Of these two measured, employment opportunities seem to have a stronger bearing on mobility than local income differentials.

Economic factors which exert a positive stimulus on *in-migration* do not have a symmetrical negative effect on out-migration, or vice versa. Indeed it appears here, as it appeared in Chapter III, that the carrot is a more important motivating force than the stick. Unfavorable local economic conditions have at most an uneven impact on out-migration: many groups are practically immune to such negative pressures. The volume of in-migration is more responsive to relative economic advantage. A man may be reluctant to leave a place where there is insufficient work; but once he decides to move, the availability of work at the place of destination becomes important. Yet under the circumstances prevailing from 1955 to 1963 the extra margin of in-migration which may be attributed to low unemployment or a high average income in a labor market area was not large. Conceivably, pronounced labor shortages (which did not characterize the period under study) could provide a stronger stimulus to in-migration.

The impact of economic differentials between locations on migration patterns is blunted by many factors. One is return migration: Areas with above-average out-migration are apt to find their in-migration rate boosted by former residents who have decided to return. This is all the more true where depressed conditions at home lead workers to go to places with a temporarily high or a fluctuating demand for labor. Second, adverse local economic conditions seem to create an inducement to move primarily for young people and those who are suffering personal hardship. In the case of older workers, adverse local economic conditions may even obstruct mobility. The forces which interfere with mobility in these circumstances may include discouragement, the difficulty of selling a house, reluctance to risk meager reserve funds, and more generally, the reduced mobility potential of the population left behind in an area plagued by economic stagnation. Third, the effect of local economic differentials on migration is blunted by the unwillingness (or inability) of many people to undertake anything but short-distance moves. This limits the economic alternatives open to them, since economic conditions in surrounding areas tend to resemble economic conditions at home. Thus if labor demand is slack in the worker's present place of residence, but not much more active in the vicinity, he may see no feasible alternative to staying where he is. Conversely, if a state or larger geographic area is experiencing rapid economic growth, migration into and out of labor markets throughout the area will be

high. The migration differentials between the Western states on the one hand and the Northeast and Northcentral regions on the other probably are to be explained in these terms.

The list of forces which blunt the incentive to move from areas which are not doing well to areas offering more attractive opportunities could be expanded by referring to matters which will be taken up in other chapters of this book--problems of inadequate information, the desire to remain near relatives, and the like. In Chapter XI the particular bearing of economic incentives to move on the problem of depressed areas will be analyzed.

V FAMILY AND COMMUNITY TIES[1]

The desire to improve one's economic position is an important motivation for a person to move from one labor market to another, but, as already shown, not all moves are made for economic reasons. People also move for family and community reasons. This chapter considers in some detail the nature of these reasons for mobility and the evidence as to their importance. A related topic, the role of family members in providing job information and assistance to people in the process of moving, is postponed to Chapter VIII in Part III. The first part of this chapter concerns family ties and the second, community ties. A concluding section deals with the relation between travel and mobility. It considers the importance of travel in reducing the social and psychological impact on people of geographic separation from friends and relatives. The possible effects of travel on mobility are also examined.

FAMILY TIES

One view as to why family ties lead to mobility may be stated as follows. Geographic mobility by its essential nature is likely to lead to geographic separation of members of the same family. The unit which moves is ordinarily a single person, a couple, or a complete nuclear family, consisting of husband, wife, and dependent children. Parents ordinarily do not move with their adult children, nor do adults move if their siblings move. Separation, however, does not destroy ties as strong as those between parents and children. If the economic reasons for the separation cease to be important, or if some event in the family makes it important to bring the family together again, then there may be mobility for family reasons. The reunion may be accomplished either by having those who moved away return, or by having those who stayed behind join those who moved away.

There is a second view as to why family ties may be important in mobility. It is that having family members at a distance makes moving easier. Relatives may assist mobility in a variety of ways, by providing job information, by helping with the move, and, generally, by easing the process of settling into a new community. Reunions with relatives, thus, may not be the basic reason for moving to a community where one has relatives. The underlying motivation may be wholly or partly economic. The position which will be taken here is that there is truth in both these interpretations.

[1]This chapter was written by John B. Lansing.

There are two approaches taken in this chapter to analysis of the importance of relatives in mobility. One method is to consider the reasons people give for their moves. The second is to examine the correlations between people's ties with family members at a distance and their past mobility, locational preferences, and plans to move.

Family Reasons for Mobility: Family reasons were given for 24 per cent of people's most recent moves in the last five years (Table 37). Of these reasons the most frequently mentioned was the desire to be closer to other family members, which was explicitly stated as a reason for 12 per cent of the moves in the last five years. A desire for a reunion of a family is implicit in some of the other reasons. Health considerations ordinarily refer to the desire to bring together someone in poor health with others who may assist him. Thus, these answers for the most part are consistent with the first interpretation of family reasons for moving suggested above. Only 4 per cent of the moves were the result of divorce or separation or a desire to get away from someone. The other reasons all seem to involve bringing people together.

Table 37

FAMILY REASONS FOR THE MOST RECENT MOVE

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves made in the last five years)

Family Reasons	Per Cent
Reasons mentioned	24[a]
Divorce, separation	2
To be farther from other family members	2
To be closer to other family members	12
Health considerations	4
Death in family	2
Other (marriage)	3
No family reasons mentioned	76
Total	100%
Number of moves	723

[a]Detail does not add to 24% as more than one family reason could be given.

The variety of situations that are compressed into these categories may be indicated by brief sketches of a few personal histories:

(1) A 33 year old handyman, who works as a carpenter and painter, with a high school education. He has moved three times since 1950.

First move: "I got married and left the farm to work in _____."

Second move: "My wife died and I went back home with my folks on the farm."

Third move: "I got married again and moved to _____ to work."

A further question brought out more information about the third move: "Dad got married (again) too, and sold his farm. I had no place to live."

(2) A 34 year old man, who works for a meat packing house. He is married and has three children, and has moved once since 1950.

"My parents live here in _____ and I wanted to move here. . . . I myself am from _____ and I like it up here."

(3) A retired railroad worker living on his pension who has moved twice since 1950.

First move: He retired, and moved to California because he "didn't care for Missouri."

Second move: From California back to a different town in Missouri: "My wife, she wanted to be near her relatives."

(4) Married man, aged 43, blue collar worker with eight grades of education or less. He has moved twice since 1950.

First move: "Because the man sent him word he had work for him."

Second move: "My husband moved back to be near his father who was left alone." There were, however, two additional circumstances. The wife, who was interviewed, observed: "Well, he got sick of the town we were living in because it was too rough for us." And,

> in response to a later question, ". . . we got word that my husband had gotten the job here."

While the circumstances vary, such histories demonstrate how family considerations play a part in some moves.

Family reasons are especially likely to be important in return moves. The relation between whether family reasons were given and whether the move was a return follows:

	Percentage Distribution of Moves	
Reasons Given	Return Moves	Other Moves
Family reasons included	42	20
Other reasons exclusively	58	80
Total	100	100
Number of moves	173	542

Thus, family reasons were given for 42 per cent of return moves as against only 20 per cent of moves which were not returns to a place of former residence. Specifically, 21 per cent of return moves were made to move closer to relatives compared to 7 per cent of moves which were not returns. People move away for some reason, often an economic reason, and later move "back home."

Mobility between Two Interviews: The second method of showing the importance of family motives for moving is by study of statistical relationships. People who were reinterviewed were asked in the first interview: "Thinking of your (and your spouse's) half dozen or so closest relatives, do they all live here in . . . , most live here, only a few live here, or none live here?" If people who are separated from their relatives tend to join them, it should be true that people who have no relatives in the area where they live should move away more often than those whose relatives all live in the same area they do. The last section of Table 38 shows the relation between the location of their relatives and whether people moved in the period of just over a year between interviews. The results conform to expectation; in fact, they exceed expectations. Of those with most or all relatives in the area, 1 to 2 per cent moved, compared to 16 per cent with no relatives.

The implied difference in mobility rates attributable to having no relatives in the area is the difference between 16 per cent and 1.5 per cent, or about 14.5 per cent. Since about 18 per cent of all families fall in the "none in same area" category, we may estimate 14.5 per cent of

the 18 per cent moved for this reason, or about 2.7 per cent of the population. A similar calculation for those with a few relatives in the area adds another 1.3 per cent of the whole population, for a total of 4.0 per cent. Since we know that only 5 per cent move in a year, an estimate that 4 per cent move for family reasons would imply that four out of five moves are for family reasons! That result would be inconsistent with the results just described based on people's own statements, and with the general body of evidence that most geographic mobility is economic in motivation.

Table 38

LOCATION OF RELATIVES AS A PREDICTOR OF MOBILITY

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Location of Relatives			
	All[a]	All Live in the Same Area	Most Live in the Same Area	Only a Few in Same Area	None in Same Area
A. Preferences Regarding Present Area[a]					
Prefer to stay	78	85	82	75	66
Indifferent	3	1	2	3	6
Prefer to move away	19	14	16	22	28
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	2563[b]	637	793	620	477
B. Expectations of Moving in the Next Year[a]					
Plan to move	5	2	2	5	12
Uncertain	6	3	4	8	11
Do not plan to move	89	95	94	87	77
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	3971[c]	911	1266	965	743
C. Actual Mobility After First Interview					
Moved[a]	5	2	1	7	16
Did not move	95	98	99	93	84
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	1217[d]	298	385	292	225

[a]The questions regarding mobility were: "If you could do as you please, would you like to stay in (LABOR MARKET AREA), or would you like to move?" "Do you think there is any chance you will move away from (LABOR MARKET AREA) in the next year?" "What is your present address? What year did you move to this address"

[b]This question was asked in two of the three cross-section surveys.

[c]This question was asked in all three cross-section surveys.

[d]These questions were asked in a telephone and mail reinterview of selected respondents.

The sceptical reader will suspect immediately that the explanation is that the correlation is spurious, that is, that other variables are correlated both with having relatives who live at a distance and with mobility. (Education, for example, might be suggested as one such variable.) This suspicion turns out to be partly justified. In a multivariate context using the same basic data as in Table 38 the effect of having relatives at a distance upon mobility during the year is reduced (Table 39). The effect of including other variables in the calculation is to reduce the difference in mobility between "all relatives here" and "not all live here" from about 16.3 points and to about 11.6 points. (The unadjusted deviations of +13.6 and -2.7 differ by 16.3 points, while for the adjusted deviations the difference between +9.7 and -1.9 is 11.6.)

The reduction in the apparent effect of having relatives at a distance is understandable. People who already have moved away from the place of birth of the husband, wife, or both, are likely to have relatives at a distance, and are also likely to move again themselves. People who have a high level of education not only are likely to be mobile themselves but also are likely to have close relatives who also are highly educated—and correspondingly mobile. The unadjusted

Table 39

LOCATION OF RELATIVES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR AND SUBSEQUENT MOBILITY[a]

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Location of Relatives at Beginning of Year	Mean	Unadjusted Deviations from the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Interviews
	Per cent who moved during the year			
All	5.2%			423
All relatives live in other areas	18.8	+13.6	+9.7	69
Not all relatives live in other areas	2.5	-2.7	-1.9	354

[a]This table includes only family heads in the labor force at time of first interview whose address was known at reinterview and who were themselves respondents. See Appendix D, equation 1-000-24 for the corresponding regression.

deviations are in part a concealed education effect. The effect on mobility of having relatives at a distance, however, remains substantial.

Preferences for Mobility and Plans to Move: The interpretation of the relation between family ties and mobility suggested at the beginning of the chapter implies that people often sacrifice family ties to economic considerations when they move, especially when they move to locations where they have no relatives. If this view is correct, people who live apart from close relatives should have some lingering preferences for joining them. The relation between location of relatives and preferences regarding leaving the present area and also between location of relatives and expected mobility are shown above in the first sections of Table 38.

Of those whose relatives all live in the same area that they do about 14 per cent say they would prefer to move away if they could do as they pleased. But of those none of whose relatives live in the same area, 28 per cent would prefer to move away. This relationship, although it appears to conform to the hypothesis, should be treated cautiously. The relation between preferences regarding the present area and location of relatives vanishes in a multivariate context. That is, when other variables are taken into account, location of relatives is of no assistance in predicting these preferences. The calculations are shown in Appendix D.[2] As will be discussed in the second part of this chapter however, people's preferences regarding their present area do prove to be related to the location of their close friends.

Expectations of moving during the coming year are correlated with location of relatives, as Table 38 shows. When other variables are taken into account, such as age, education and the location of people's friends, location of relatives is still a predictor of expected mobility.[3] This result is what one would expect in view of the association between location of relatives and actual mobility. Thus, location of relatives is a good predictor both of planned and actual mobility but not of moving preferences.

Separation and Reunion as Consequences of Mobility: People who move away from an area are not automatically separated from their extended family. The rest of the family may join in the move. Or, as just described, the move in question may consolidate the family. The relatives may later come to the new location.

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[2]See equation 4-000-32.

[3]See Appendix D, equations 3-013A-33 and 3-013B-33.

An indication of the importance of personal ties in mobility is the frequency with which people move to locations where they already have family or friends. If people who moved selected their destinations without regard to their personal ties to people at a distance, many moves no doubt would be made to places where they have neither friends nor relatives. In fact, most moves are made to places where people do have personal ties.

Those who moved to their present location in the five years prior to interview except transfers were asked: "Did you people have any friends or relatives living here before you moved here?" The answers were as follows:

Personal Ties in Area of Destination	Percentage Distribution of All Moves in the Last Five Years Excluding Transfers
Had relatives living there	21
Had both friends and relatives living there	25
Had friends living there but no relatives	23
Neither friends nor relatives living at destination prior to move	31
Total	100
Number of moves	340

Nearly half of all moves, thus, exclusive of transfers, are made to places where the people making the move do have relatives, and seven out of ten are made to places where, if they do not have relatives, at least they have friends.

This finding is reminiscent of the historic pattern of immigration to the United States. Immigrants with different national background often moved to locations where they had relatives or friends, and colonies of people of similar origin developed. Most modern migrants go to communities where they have some personal connections.

We must be cautious, however, about inferring causation. We should not conclude that the people who move to labor market areas where they have friends or relatives always move to those locations

because of these contacts. People of similar background may make similar moves for similar reasons quite independently of one another. For example, young people who are friends may move from a rural county to the nearest metropolitan area.

Mobility leads to reunions but it also leads to separations. A measure of the extent to which mobility on balance creates separation from close relatives is shown in Table 40. In this table whether the head of the family moved in the five years before the interview is related to the location of the family's relatives. Of those who did move, only 7 per cent report that all their relatives live in the same area. Some of these movers, of course, were returning to their former homes. Of those who did not move in the five years, 26 per cent report that all their relatives live in the same area with them.[4]

Separation from relatives increases with socio-economic status because of the association between status and mobility. The more

Table 40

LOCATION OF RELATIVES BY WHETHER MOVED IN THE LAST 5 YEARS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Whether Moved in the Last Five Years	
Location of Relatives	All	Moved	Did Not Move
All live in the same area	23	7	26
Most live in the same area	33	15	35
Only a few in same area	25	31	24
None live in same area	19	47	15
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	3931	572	3359

[4]The location of an individual with regard to his relatives at time of interview depends, of course, both on his past moves and on theirs. Recent movers may have been joined by their relatives or may have joined them.

Table 41

LOCATION OF RELATIVES BY EDUCATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Education		
Location of Relatives	All	Eight Grades or Less	Some High School	Some College
All live in same area	23	28	26	13
Most live in same area	33	36	35	24
Only a few live in same area	25	25	25	24
None in same area	19	11	14	39
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	3931	1183	1737	975

education a person has, the more likely he is to live in a community separate from his relatives. Of all those heads of families with no more than a grammar school education, only 11 per cent live in an area where they have no close relatives. Of those who went to college, 39 per cent live isolated from their extended family. (Table 41)

The most usual situation, however, is for some of the relatives to be in the same area and some elsewhere. Among the grade school or less group, fully 61 per cent report that some but not all relatives live in the area, and among those with some college training, 48 per cent. Geographic movement does tend to divide families, but not to scatter them completely.

The same situation may be looked at from another point of view, with emphasis on the future. As will be developed in Chapter VIII relatives living at a distance often help people move, both by providing knowledge about jobs and in other ways. From this point of view it is worth noting that most people do have close relatives at a distance. Even at the grade school level, 72 per cent of all heads of families do have at least a few close relatives in another community, and at the college level 87 per cent have relatives elsewhere, who under the right conditions might pave the way for a move to join them. Thus, most

people in this country have some close relatives at a distance. Under the right circumstances these relatives have the potential of contributing to geographical mobility.

COMMUNITY TIES

The third broad category of reasons for mobility, after economic and family reasons, is community considerations. This group of reasons for mobility includes all the attributes of a locality which make it "a good place to live" as well as all the associations and friendships which can tie people to a community. It includes both considerations which make a community seem attractive and those which may make a community undesirable, a place to avoid, or one from which people will seek to get away. The following discussion is concerned with assessing the importance of these reasons for mobility. Attitudes toward moving and preferences for moving are considered as well as actual mobility. The same alternative interpretations exist with regard to the role of friends in mobility as with regard to relatives. That is, a person may move basically because of the desire to be in the same community as his friends, or the presence of friends in a community may facilitate a move undertaken essentially for economic reasons. A final section concerns the length of time it takes for people who move to be integrated into a new community and the possible connection between this process and the timing of repeated moves.

Community Reasons for Recent Moves: In response to questions about why they moved, people mention community reasons for 8 per cent of all moves since 1950, and for 20 per cent of most recent moves in the last five years. (Table 42) The difference between these percentages is explicable in terms of the more complete questioning about the most recent moves, as well as the shorter interval for memory to fade. It is worth noting how sharply the importance of community reasons is diminished under these different conditions. The decline is from 20 to 8 per cent—one way of putting the matter is to note that 8 per cent is less than half of 20 per cent. Community reasons for moving, it seems, may or may not be mentioned depending on the recency of the move and the completeness of the questioning. This result suggests immediately that these reasons are often of secondary importance. Community reasons exclusively are given for only about 7 per cent of most recent moves.

Types of Community Reasons: The sub-division of community reasons by type of reason for the most recent move in the last five years is shown in Table 42. General attractiveness of a community,

Table 42

COMMUNITY REASONS FOR MOVING

(Percentage distribution of moves)

Community Reasons for Most Recent Moves	Per Cent of Most Recent Moves in the Last Five Years
Reasons mentioned	20
General attractiveness of community to which moved (good place to live)	7
Specific attractiveness of community to which moved (old home town)	7
Repulsive qualities of community left behind	3
Like the new community better, not clear why	2
Miscellaneous reasons	1
No community reasons mentioned	80
Total	100%
Number of moves	726

Community Reasons for All Moves Since 1950	Per Cent of All Moves Since 1950
Reasons mentioned	8
General attractiveness of community to which moved (good place to live)	2
Specific attractiveness of community to which moved (old home town)	2
Repulsive qualities of community left behind	2
Like the new community better, not clear why	1
Miscellaneous reasons	1
No community reasons mentioned	92
Total	100%
Number of moves	2587[a]

[a]Does not include any reinterviews.

which depends on attributes of the community such as climate which may appeal to many people, is entirely different from specific attractiveness, which has to do with personal attachments to a place. The personal attachments are almost always to a place where one has lived before, but the general attractiveness of an area may lead one to move to an entirely new location.

There is an implied comparison between the old and the new home regardless of whether the criterion for evaluation is general or specific. If it is climate that is the advantage of the new area, it is implied that the climate is better than in the old location. If it is the presence of personal friends which is attractive, it is implied that the area of destination contains more of one's close friends. Most people frame their answers in positive terms, emphasizing the attraction of the area of destination rather than their desire to leave the area of former residence.

General attractiveness and specific attractiveness are mentioned about equally often. If one accepts this 50-50 division, and also accepts the estimate of 7 per cent of all moves for all community reasons, it follows that about 3 to 4 per cent of all moves are made primarily because of the general attractiveness of the destination, and 3 to 4 per cent because of its specific attractiveness. In an additional 13 per cent of moves these considerations play some part, divided into 6-7 per cent general, and 6-7 per cent specific. The analysis to be reported below is reasonably consistent with these estimates.[5]

Correlational Analysis of Community Reasons for Moving: If the true importance of community considerations is reflected in the stated reasons, there should be a correlation between where peoples' friends are living and whether they move. Those whose friends live elsewhere should be more likely to move, other things being equal. The effect, however, should be small if the assumption is correct, since this variable should account for only about 3-4 per cent of all moves, or the movement of a fraction of one per cent of the population per annum.

In the calculations actually made for people who were reinterviewed the location of friends does show an effect upon mobility during the year after first interview. The effect of having all friends at a

[5]Perhaps the best known movement for community reasons associated with the general attractiveness of certain areas is the migration of old people to warm climates. The number of people involved is known from Census data. During 1955-1960 146,000 old people (65 or over) settled in Florida and 87,000 California. These people represented under 2 per cent of the total population of the United States of that age. See *U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Mobility for States and State Economic Areas.*

Table 43

LOCATION OF FRIENDS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR AND SUBSEQUENT MOBILITY[a]

Location of Friends at Beginning of Year	(1) Mean	(2) Unadjusted Deviations from the Mean	(3) Adjusted Deviations	(4) Number of Interviews
	Per Cent who moved during the year			
All	5.2%			423
All friends live in other areas	35.3	+30.1	+19.9	17
Not all friends live in other areas	3.9	-1.3	- .8	406

[a]This table includes only family heads in the labor force at time of first interview whose address was known at reinterview and who were themselves respondents. See Appendix D, equation 1-000-24 for the corresponding regression.

distance is estimated for those in the labor force as shown in Table 43. The number of people all of whose friends live elsewhere is small, and the coefficients shown in Table 43 are estimated only very approximately. The results are broadly consistent with the data from the reasons for moving. The implication is that other things being equal those few people all of whose friends live elsewhere are more likely to move than those whose friends live in the same area they do. The same finding can be stated negatively: those whose friends do live "here" are less likely to move.

Location of Friends and Preferences about Moving: If location of friends is a measure of community attachment, it should be correlated with responses to the question: "If you could do as you please, would you like to stay in . . . , or would you like to move?" In effect, the phrasing of this question should reveal preferences with economic considerations set aside. Multivariate analysis does show that if the dependent variable is whether or not the person would prefer to move, location of friends does have a small but statistically reliable effect. Those whose friends and relatives live elsewhere are more likely to prefer to move away. The magnitude of the effect is shown in Table 44. The results do support the interpretation that the location of people's friends does help to determine the degree of their attachment to the area in which they live.

Community Reasons and Return Moves: If community attachment is a reason for mobility, it should be particularly important in return moves. The general attractiveness of communities might be a factor either in moves to new areas or in returns to former places of residence, but personal ties to an area should be prominent only in return moves. The statistical results do correspond to expectations in these respects (Table 45). Community reasons are mentioned about twice as often for moves that are returns as for other moves. The increase is virtually all in the frequency of mention of personal ties to the community.

We may conclude that people do have community ties, which can be measured fairly well by a question about the location of their friends. They also may regard some communities as preferable to others for reasons other than personal ties. These considerations are not as important as economic and family considerations as determinants of mobility. They can be decisive, however, when other considerations are neutralized or unimportant. We shall return in Chapter VIII to the part played by friends in facilitating the process of moving.

Community Ties as a Consequence of Mobility: It is possible to look at the degree of attachment of an individual to a community as a

Table 44

LOCATION OF FRIENDS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR

AND PREFERENCES REGARDING MOBILITY[a]

Location of Friends at Beginning of Year	(1) Mean	(2) Unadjusted Deviations from the Mean	(3) Adjusted Deviations	(4) Number of Interviews
All	20			951
None live in area	b	b	+10.8	49
Few live in area	b	b	+6.0	132
Most live in area	b	b	+1.1	325
All live in area	b	b	-3.8	445

[a]This table includes only family heads in the labor force at time of first interview whose address was known at reinterview.

[b]The calculations underlying the statistics presented in this table differ from those in most similar tables in one respect: an arbitrary scale was imposed on the independent variable with the values shown after the categories in the stub. Values for Columns (1) and (2), have not been calculated. The adjusted deviations have been constrained to equal intervals between scale values. See Appendix D, equation 4-000-32 for the corresponding regression.

consequence as well as a cause of mobility. When people do move, how long does it take them to become adjusted to the new location? The answer to this question is relevant to the study of repeated moves. If the process of adjustment is slow, people will have a period of many years of imperfect adjustment to their new area. If the process of adjustment is fast, and people adapt to the new area quickly, they may be less likely to return to their old homes.

In this study there are two measures of adjustment to the community which can be considered. The first is the variable just discussed, the location of people's friends, and the second, the number of organizations to which they belong. In Table 46 the relation is shown between the number of consecutive years people have lived in their present labor market areas and each of these measures of integration into the community.

Table 45

WHETHER GAVE COMMUNITY REASONS FOR MOVE BY WHETHER MOVE WAS A RETURN

	Whether Move Was a Return	
Whether Gave Community Reasons	Return	Not a Return
Gave community reasons	30	16
General attractiveness of community	6	7
Personal ties to community	18	3
Repulsive qualities of community left	3	3
Other community reasons	3	3
Did not give community reasons	70	84
Total	100%	100%
Number of moves	173	542

GRAPH V-1

WHETHER MOST OF THE PEOPLE'S FRIENDS LIVE IN THE AREA BY HOW LONG IT IS PEOPLE HAVE LIVED THERE

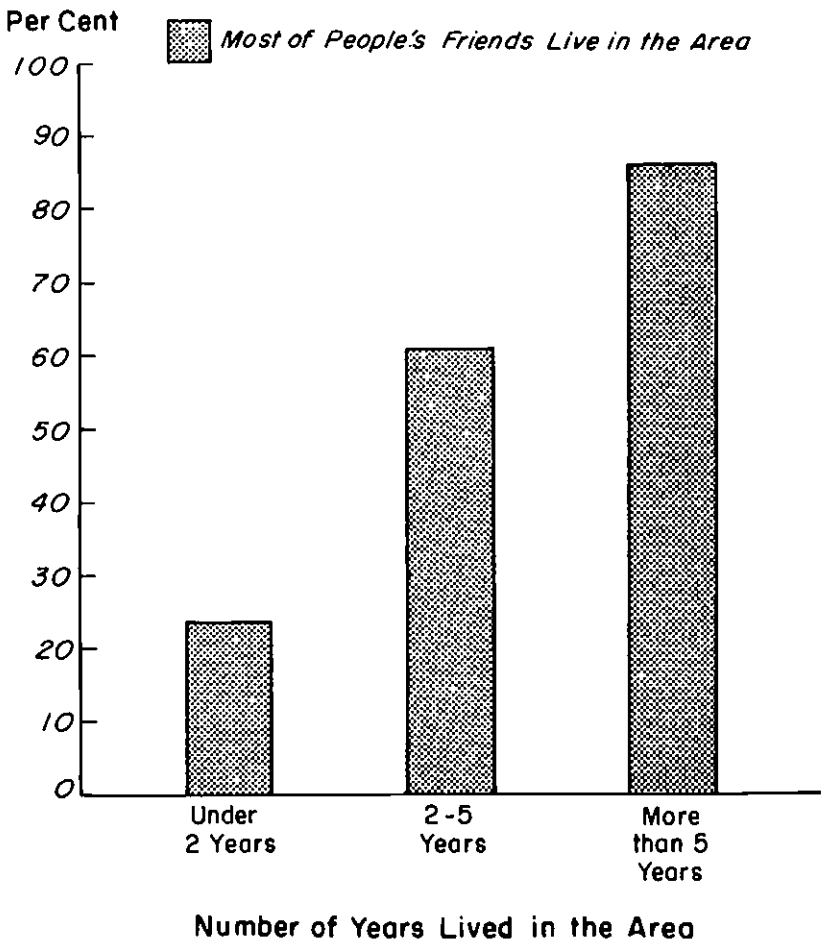

Table 46

LOCATION OF FRIENDS AND MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS BY CONSECUTIVE NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED IN THE PRESENT AREA

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Consecutive Number of Years Lived in the Area		
Location of Friends	All	Less than 2 Years	2-5 Years	More than 5 Years
Most live in the same area	81	24	61	86
Only a few live in the same area	14	35	29	11
None in the same area	5	41	10	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	1291	71	108	1112
Number of organizations head of family belongs to				
None	34	40	35	33
One	26	23	21	28
Two	19	23	23	18
Three	10	8	12	9
Four or more	11	6	9	12
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	1306	71	108	1127

The two measures behave differently. There is little relation between the consecutive number of years people have lived in an area and the number of organizations to which they belong. Of those heads of families who have been in the area where they are now living under two years only 40 per cent belong to no organizations while 60 per cent belong to at least one. After five or more years, 67 per cent belong to one or more organizations. The most reasonable interpretation is that people who move to a new locality join organizations rather quickly. Within two years they belong to nearly as many organizations as the people who have lived longer in the area.

It takes more time to make close friends. The newcomers who have lived less than two years in a locality often report that none of their close friends live in the area. Forty-one per cent make this statement. People who have two to five years of residence are much more likely to have close friends locally. Only 10 per cent of them report no close friends in the area. By the end of five years the process of making friends is even further advanced. Only 3 per cent of those who have lived more than five years in an area report that none of their close friends live there.

These results have implications about the period of adjustment people go through when they move to new communities. If we regard people as adjusted only when they report that most of their close friends live in the area, it takes two to five years for typical heads of families to become adjusted. Some people, of course, require longer and others, shorter periods of time. For the typical family of movers, however, there will be a period of about three years before their personal ties to friends in the new area are as important to them as their ties to friends elsewhere. During this interval the specific attractiveness of the community to them will be less than at a time when they are more fully integrated socially. This interpretation is consistent with the finding reported in Chapter II that when people do move repeatedly they move after short intervals.

TRAVEL AND GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

There are two possible relationships between trips people take and their geographic mobility. One possibility is that geographic mobility is the consequence of trips people take. It may be suggested that people who travel widely and see the country may become familiar with opportunities elsewhere. Increasing familiarity with places at a distance may lead to mobility. The evidence to be presented below does not support this view. A qualification should be made in one respect: trips specially undertaken to look over a new area do play an important part in the process of mobility, as will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

The second possibility is that geographic mobility may cause people to take trips, rather than the other way around. It may be suggested that people who move to new homes retain close ties with relatives and friends in the area they left. These ties may induce them to go back for visits. The evidence to be presented does support this position.

Travel as a Determinant of Mobility: The measure of frequency of travel used in this analysis is approximate. The people interviewed were asked: "In the last five years how often have you yourself taken trips to places 100 miles or more away?" The two variable relation between replies to this question and mobility in the year after the first interview is shown in Table 47. Frequent travelers do move more often than those who rarely or never travel. Travel and mobility, however, are both known to be frequent among people of high socio-economic status. The question arises immediately, what happens to the relation between travel and subsequent mobility if education, income, or some other measure of status is held constant? The

Table 47

WHETHER MOVED IN THE YEAR BY FREQUENCY OF TRAVEL

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Number of Trips in the Last 5 Years[a]			
Whether Moved in the Year	All	None	1 or 2	3-9	10 or More
Moved	5	2	4	3	10
Did not move	95	98	96	97	90
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	1213	178	252	390	393

[a]The question was: "In the last five years how often have you yourself taken trips to places 100 miles or more away?"

Table 48

FREQUENCY OF TRAVEL IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS BY PAST MOBILITY OF HEAD OF FAMILY

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Past Mobility			
Number of Trips	All	Moved to the Area Within 5 Years	Have Moved Since 1950 but Not in Last 5 Years	Have Been in Present Area Since 1950, Once Lived Elsewhere	Have Never Lived Elsewhere
None	16	5	9	17	23
1 or 2	19	13	18	20	23
3 to 9	32	30	32	33	33
10 or more	33	52	41	30	21
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	2630	436	355	1127	679

answer has been provided by the multiple regression shown in Appendix D.[6] The regression coefficient for the travel variable is only half its standard error. Thus, as far as can be learned from these data any effect of frequency of previous travel on mobility is so small that it cannot be distinguished from no effect at all.

Travel as a Consequence of Mobility: Measures of the frequency of travel in the last five years can be examined in the light of people's mobility history. Table 48 shows the bivariate relationship. This table demonstrates that people who moved from one area to another are much more frequent travelers than those who never have lived in another area. About one in four of those who never have lived elsewhere report no trips at all 100 miles away in the last five years. Only one in twenty of those who have moved in the last five years report no trips.

Does this relationship reflect only the association of both travel and mobility with socio-economic status? A multiple regression equation with frequency of travel as the dependent variable has been calculated and appears in Appendix D.[7] The independent variables in addition to measures of past mobility include measures of age, education, income, and car ownership. Heads of families were divided into three groups by the use of dummy variables; first, heads of families living at their birthplaces at the time of the interview; second, heads of families not living at their place of birth who moved before 1950 but have not moved since; and third, heads of families not at their place of birth who have moved since 1950. In addition, a dummy variable was introduced measuring whether or not the wife was living at her birthplace at time of interview. (It is possible, of course, for a family at any date to be located near the birthplace of the husband but not near the birthplace of the wife, or vice versa, since these areas may not be the same.) The results do show in the multivariate context a strong and statistically reliable effect of these measures of past mobility on reported frequency of travel. Both whether the head is living at his birthplace and whether the wife is living at hers are important.

Another way to examine the effect of past mobility on travel is to look at the relation between the distance moved and the frequency of trips 100 miles away. People who have moved, say, less than 50 miles, have no special reason to take trips of 100 miles. As shown in

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[6]See equation 1-000-24.

[7]See equation 12-000-17, Appendix D.

GRAPH V-2

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS 100 MILES AWAY IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS BY MOBILITY HISTORY

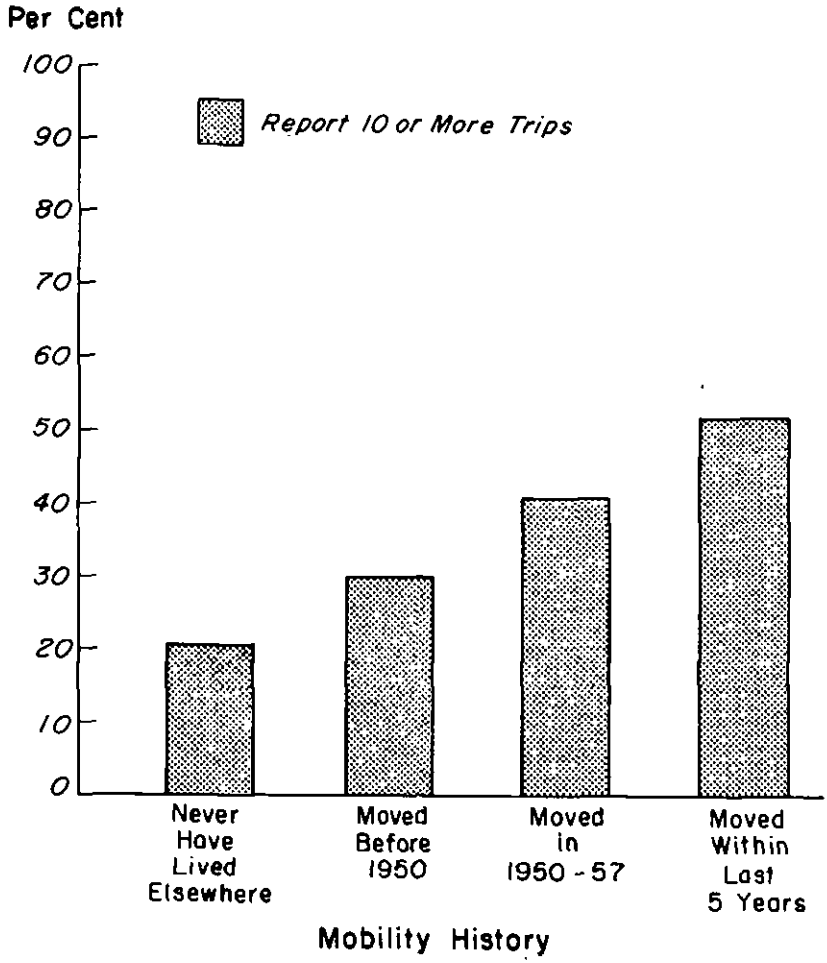

Table 49

NUMBER OF TRIPS PEOPLE HAVE TAKEN BY DISTANCE OF THEIR MOST RECENT MOVE
(Percentage distribution of families who have moved in the last 5 years)

		Distance of Move (Miles)			
Number of Trips	All	Under 50	50-190	200-590	600 or Over
None	5	11	4	4	1
1-2	12	18	8	12	11
3-5	18	24	9	16	28
6-9	12	9	17	8	10
10 or more	53	38	62	60	50
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of families	345	74	109	83	79

Table 49 only 38 per cent of those who moved under 50 miles report 10 or more long trips compared, for example, to 60 per cent of those who have moved at least 200 but less than 600 miles. Once again the results are consistent with the view that a major reason for travel is to visit one's former home.

While this finding is not directly a finding about geographic mobility, it does reveal something about the ties to people at a distance which result from moving to a new location. These ties do persist. People seem to substitute the infrequent personal meetings made possible by trips for the more frequent face-to-face meetings which are possible among people who live in the same area. In this way, we suggest, the separation is made more easily tolerable.

This interpretation also suggests speculations which cannot be tested with the available data. It may be that people would move less often to new areas if it were difficult or impossible to make these visits. When visits are easy, the resistance to moving away may be less. One reason why high status people move more freely than low status individuals may be that visits "back home" are financially easier for the prosperous. How easy it is to get "home" for a visit may also have some bearing on how far away people are willing to move. A move to a nearby labor market area may permit more frequent visits than a move to a distant area.

SUMMARY

The main conclusions of this study with respect to family and community ties can be stated briefly. First, people report that about 12 per cent of all most recent moves are made entirely for family reasons and 7 per cent for community reasons. While it is not possible to check these reports against other data with any precision, these estimates seem reasonable approximations. Second, these reasons for moving also play a part in many moves which are economically motivated. As many as seven moves out of ten are made to communities where people do have friends or relatives. Third, people's preferences about location are strongly influenced by family ties and ties to friends. Fourth, it is doubtful that preferences based on community ties often are controlling when economic considerations also are involved. People seem to subordinate considerations of community preference to economic considerations. Fifth, people use trips to visit their friends and relatives as a substitute for living in the same community.

VI MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC TIES: HOME OWNERSHIP, PENSION PLANS, AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE[1]

Those who believe that higher rates of geographic mobility would improve the functioning of the labor market have expressed concern about the growing importance of economic ties which may inhibit the flow of workers from place to place. Three trends tend to be cited in this connection: the growth of home ownership among American families, the spread of pension plans, and improved unemployment insurance coverage. Homeownership and pension plan coverage in particular have increased greatly in the past two decades. What these three arrangements—home ownership, pension plan coverage, and unemployment insurance coverage—have in common is that they represent equities which may under certain circumstances be reduced, or even lost, by moving. In cases where the advantages and disadvantages of moving are calculated in dollars and cents, any reduction of these equities would deter some people from moving.

The logic of this argument is undeniable, but a number of questions remain unanswered. Would many potential movers have suffered significant losses in recent years, if they had sold their house? How many and what kinds of people believe that they would lose some equity in their pension plan or their eligibility for unemployment insurance coverage if they moved? In fact, how large do such considerations loom when a moving decision is pending? An attempt to answer these questions is made in the pages which follow.

HOME OWNERSHIP

Somewhat less than half of non-farm families in the U. S. lived in a home of their own at the close of World War II. By 1962 the percentage had risen to about 62. The increase in home ownership is visible in most population subgroups; but it is most pronounced among middle and upper-middle income people and in the age brackets from 25-54. The professional group as well as other white-collar workers show a sizable upward shift in the proportion of homeowners. Thus the increase in home ownership is concentrated among the potentially more mobile elements, suggesting that the resulting restraint on mobility may not be negligible. Yet the growth in home ownership also

[1]This chapter was prepared by Eva Mueller and Jane Lean.

is concentrated among people with an active labor force status, for whom, as we know, job considerations usually outweigh other economic factors, when it comes to a moving decision.

Table 50 shows that people who have moved within the last 5 years own their home much less often than people who have not moved recently. This difference holds true whether home ownership is measured for the movers before or after their move. Of recent movers, about 3 out of 10 owned their homes before they moved, and about 4 out of 10 owned their homes after they moved. On the other hand, of people who have not recently moved, 7 out of 10 owned their homes at the time of the interview.

The data in Table 50 could be interpreted as providing support for the hypothesis that home ownership impedes mobility. Yet it is also likely that, for some people at least, mobility expectations impede home ownership. After they move, people may rent for a while, while deciding whether to stay and, if so, where to set up their permanent residence.

Home ownership will create a serious obstacle to moving in the rare cases where a home cannot be sold at all, say in some depressed areas. In other cases the financial loss which may be involved in the sale of a house and the payment of a broker's fee adds to the expense of the move. How important are these factors? Table 51 gives some information about the experiences of the 32 per cent of recent movers who had owned their home before the move.

Of the 32 per cent who owned a home before their most recent move, 21 per cent sold their homes; but 11 per cent did not, including 3 per cent who tried unsuccessfully to sell and 8 per cent who did not attempt to sell. Of the 21 per cent who sold, three groups of roughly equal size may be distinguished: 7 per cent made money, 6 per cent broke even, and 8 per cent lost money on the sale. How many additional people who were unable to sell or might have lost money were discouraged from moving as a result is not known. In any case these findings tentatively support the hypothesis that home ownership may impede geographic mobility.

Several additional pieces of evidence can be marshalled from the survey which point in the same direction. People who own their homes are more likely than non-owners to prefer to remain in their present area, "if they could do as they please." Among home owners 80 per cent prefer to stay while of renters only 65 per cent prefer to stay (Table 52). Expressed moving plans were consistent with these preferences. The lower part of Table 52 shows that of family heads under

Table 50

MOBILITY BY HOME OWNERSHIP

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	People Who Have Not Moved Within The Last 5 Years	People Who Have Moved Within Last 5 Years	
		Before Move	After Move
Owns or buying	70	32	40
Non-home owners	30	68	60
Total	100	100	100
Number of heads of families	3314	753	753

35 years of age, the per cent who planned to move was twice as large for non-home owners as for the home owners; among those 35 and over, the difference was only slightly less striking. The bottom line of Table 52 compares the frequency of moves in the year following the survey (as obtained by reinterview) among families who owned and those who rented at the time of the original interview. In this comparison mobility turns out to be three times as high for non-home owners as for home owners.

At this point it must be recalled that these large differences in mobility may result from other socio-economic characteristics which are associated with home ownership status. For instance, young people are more likely to be mobile than older people and young people also

Table 51

FREQUENCY OF ATTEMPTS TO SELL HOME BEFORE MOVE

(Percentage distribution of heads of families who have moved in last five years)

Tried to sell and sold	21	
Made money on the sale		7
Broke even on the sale		6
Lost money on the sale		8
Tried to sell but did not sell	3	
Did not try to sell	8	
Did not own a home	68	
Total	100	
Number of heads of families	727	

are more likely to be renters. As Table 53 shows, the per cent of non-farm families who were home owners in early 1963 rose steadily with the age of the head of the family. Yet, as we have seen, marked differences in mobility between home owners and renters remain when comparisons are made separately for those under and those over 35 years old.

Table 52

SELECTED MEASURES OF MOBILITY BY HOME OWNERSHIP

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Home Ownership	
Preferences about moving	All	Own or Are Buying	Pay Rent
Strongly prefer to stay	3	4	3
Prefer to stay	73	78	65
Indifferent; ambivalent	3	2	3
Prefer to move away	20	15	28
Strongly prefer to move away	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100
Number of heads of families	2830	1762	952
Expect to move in the next year			
Under 35	22	14	29
35 and over	7	6	10
Moved in the year subsequent to the first interview	5	3	9

Table 53

FREQUENCY OF HOME OWNERSHIP BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

(Per cent of non-farm families in each group who owned their homes in early 1963)

Age of family head	
18 - 24	15
25 - 64	64
65 and over	72
1961 family income	
Less than $3000	42
$3000 - 4999	53
$5000 - 7499	62
$7500 - 9999	71
$10,000 and over	81
Occupation of family head	
Professional, technical	62
Managers, officials	72
Self-employed artisans, businessmen	85
Clerical, sales	66
Craftsmen, foremen	69
Operatives	56
Laborers, service workers	42
Retired	67

SOURCE: George Katona, Charles A. Lininger, and Eva Mueller, 1963 Survey of Consumer Finances, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1964, pages 90-91.

The relationship between income and occupation, home ownership, and mobility are less clear cut. Income is positively related to home ownership; however, as has been shown in Chapter III, there is not much difference in mobility rates by income groups. Occupational classifications show immobile groups with high proportions of home owners (e.g. the self-employed) and with low proportions of home-owners (e.g. blue-collar workers). One other relevant finding may be cited—"Families whose heads are professional and semi-professional workers are home owners less frequently than their incomes would *indicate*."[2] Probably the causation in this case runs from mobility to home ownership rather than the other way around. That is, professional people who know they are likely to be transferred or who expect to find a better job elsewhere soon, may be less likely to buy a home than others in the same income bracket. Also moving is often followed by an interim period of renting before a house is bought near the new place of work.

Considering the pronounced interrelationships between home ownership and socio-economic characteristics of the family, the best way to determine whether home ownership is in fact negatively associated with geographical mobility is to subject the data to a multivariate analysis. In Table 54 home ownership at the time of the survey is related to moving plans and to actual moves in the year following the survey (as determined by reinterview), holding constant the most relevant socio-economic characteristics. Within the two major age groups moving plans again are significantly lower among home owners than among renters. Actual moves also are significantly lower among home owners over 35 than among renters in the same age brackets. In the lower age brackets the difference between the two groups is smaller, but is in the same direction. It should be noted here that among younger people in particular the adjusted differences in mobility are much less dramatic than the unadjusted differences.

In brief, we may conclude that home ownership is associated with relatively low geographic mobility, in part because home owners are the kinds of people (especially in terms of age) who are not highly mobile; but in addition home ownership of itself *seems* to make for some reluctance to move. The word *seems* is used advisedly here, since one cannot be entirely certain of the direction of causation. People who feel unsettled on their job or dissatisfied with the community where they live may put off buying a house with the idea that they might be moving. Thus in some instances the causation may run

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[2]George Katona, Charles Lininger, and Richard Kosobud, *1962 Survey of Consumer Finances*, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1963.

Table 54

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOME OWNERSHIP AND GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

(Per cent of heads of families)

Age and Home Ownership Status	Means	Deviations From The Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
Per cent with expectations of moving				
Under 35	22			979
Own home	14	-8	-4[a]	418
Do not own home	28	+6	+3	561
35 and over	7			2991
Own home	6	-1	-1[a]	2175
Do not own home	10	+3	+2	816
Per cent who moved during the year subsequent to the first interview				
Under 35	11			306
Own home	9	-2	-.3	149
Do not own home	13	+1	+.3	157
35 and over	3			927
Own home	2		-1	663
Do not own home	6		+3[a]	264

[a]Significant at the .05 level.

from potential mobility to home ownership status, even though home ownership (or rather the absence of it) comes first in time and the actual move occurs later. The negative "effect" of home ownership on mobility may thus be overstated even by the adjusted data in Table 54.

PENSION PLANS

Private pension plans have recently (particularly since 1949) been becoming an important part of employee compensation.[3] Some of these plans have vesting provisions, which make an employee eligible (if he meets certain requirements) to receive a retirement benefit even though he may change his employer before he reaches retirement age. The requirements which must be met to be eligible for vesting provisions are often a complex combination of age (usually 40 years of age or more) and length of service (usually 10 or 15 years) pre-requisites. Other plans are multi-employer plans, which completely cover a worker only as long as he works for one of the employers participating in the plan. Other plans have no vesting provisions of any kind. About 40 per cent of all workers covered by a private pension plan in 1962-3 were under a plan which did not allow for vesting at all.[4]

It is a widespread belief that the existence of these pension plans, which provide valuable rights to the worker, may impede the mobility of those workers who are covered and fear losing their coverage if they change employers. Theoretically, vesting is supposed to free the worker from any restraint on mobility due to his pension coverage. However, even plans with vesting provisions may impede mobility for those not yet eligible for vested coverage, because they may try to wait until they become eligible before considering a move. Robert Tilove writes:

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[3]In 1962 over 23 million workers were covered by private Retirement Plans. See President's Committee on Corporate Pension Funds and other Private Retirement and Welfare Programs, *Public Policy and Private Pension Programs*, a Report to the President on Private Retirement Plans (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965).

[4]U. S. Department of Labor, *Labor Mobility and Private Pension Plans*, B. L. S. Bulletin #1407 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, June 1964), page 55. Note that this does not mean that 60 per cent of the workers covered were actually eligible under vesting provisions. Fewer were eligible, because they had not yet met the various vesting requirements. It does mean that 40 per cent of the workers had no chance of obtaining vested coverage.

> The conclusion seems inescapable that most private pension plans, in the form in which they commonly exist today, exercise a restraining influence on labor mobility.[5]

Or to quote Clark Kerr:

> Private pension plans, except where they provide full and immediate vesting of both the employee's and firm's contribution, retard such movement. They tend to tie the worker to the company while employed; and hold him in a company-attached labor pool when unemployed.[6]

Others have voiced similar views.[7]

On purely a priori grounds a case could also be made for the opposite supposition, that pension plans will have little effect on labor mobility. Pension considerations may be far down the list of factors that affect labor mobility, and other, more important factors such as seniority considerations may 'swamp' any effect pension plan provisions might otherwise have had on mobility. Or people who have pension plans may also be people (say professional employees) who, for a variety of other reasons, have a high propensity to move. Furthermore, pension plans may be too new for people to realize fully their significance, and to change their behavior accordingly.[8]

Clearly, one cannot choose between these conflicting views in the absence of empirical evidence. The few studies which have been made in this area are concerned with the impact of pension plans on labor turnover rather than geographic mobility. Strictly speaking if pension plans have any influence on mobility, they will affect inter-firm mobility. It is reasonable to assume, however, that if pension arrangements restrict inter-firm mobility, they will also restrict geographic

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[5]Source: Robert Tilove, *Pension Funds and Economic Freedom* (New York: Fund for the Republic, 1959), page 23.

[6]Clark Kerr, "Social and Economic Consequences of the Pension Drive," *Handbook on Pensions* (National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., Studies in Personnel Policy No. 103, 1950), page 85.

[7]See for example Paul F. Brissenden, "Labor Mobility and Employee Benefits," *Labor Law Journal*, November 1955, pages 765-86; also Joseph Shister "Labor Mobility: Some Institutional Aspects," *Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting, Industrial Relations Research Association*, 1950, page 3. An extended list of labor economics textbooks expressing the opinion that pension plans inhibit mobility is cited by Herbert S. Parnes, "Workers' Attitudes to Job Changing: The Effect of Private Pension Plans," in Gladys Palmer and others, *The Reluctant Job Changer*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1964, page 76.

[8]*Op. cit.*, These views were expressed in U. S. Department of Labor, Bulletin 1407, also Herbert S. Parnes, *op. cit.*, pages 45-80.

mobility, except for transfers. Probably the most comprehensive earlier study is the Seven City Study conducted in 1956 by the Bureau of Employment Security, which compared turnover rates for establishments with and without pension plan coverage.[9] It appeared that firms with pension plans had considerably lower turnover rates, even after allowance was made for industry, size of firm, and age of employee. Nevertheless, the Bureau of Labor Statistics cautions against the conclusion that pension plan coverage restricts mobility. It points out that firms with pension plans on the average pay higher wages, are more unionized, (and hence have more seniority protection), and have more of all kinds of fringe benefits than other firms. Thus low turnover may reflect the workers' reaction to a combination of desirable features offered by these firms. The Bureau of Labor Statistics also points out that young workers in firms with pension plans are less mobile than young workers elsewhere, although the relationship is somewhat stronger in the older age brackets. Since younger workers should have little concern about retirement and only a small pension fund equity, the finding that the mobility differential extends to them reinforces the belief that other factors besides pension plan coverage are involved.[10]

Herbert Parnes went an important step beyond the Seven City Study by studying matched samples of married male workers aged 35-50 in plants with and without pension plans.[11] Instead of inferring motivation (i.e., a desire to protect pension rights) from differences in mobility behavior, he interviewed the workers and compared their attitudes toward the company, its employment conditions and terms, their attitudes toward changing jobs, and their attitudes toward retirement. Parnes concludes that seniority and "fear of a leap into the unknown" are the principal factors making for immobility among workers.

The evidence suggests that such other factors are so potent in tying workers with several years of service to their jobs that

[9]Some results of this study are summarized in U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Bulletin No. 1359, *Private Pension Plans and Manpower Policy*, Washington, 1963, pages 13-16.

[10]A study of eleven Western New York firms with pension plans may also be noted here. It concludes: "Analysis of the coverage and withdrawal experience of these plans does not support a widely held opinion that private pension plans restrict labor mobility. The coverage provided limits any restrictive influence to that portion of the work force least likely to change jobs and which has a strong attachment to a single employer for other reasons . . . . In the case of the older worker . . . the provisions of most of these plans, because of the increased cost of providing retirement benefits, only intensify existing practices that already restrict the range of employment opportunities." See *Pension Plan Policies and Practices* (Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, July 1952), Bulletin 21, page 49.

[11]Herbert S. Parnes, *op. cit.*

the existence of a pension, however important it may be to the worker for its own sake, produces no appreciable *additional* effect.[12]

The Survey Research Center data to be presented below differ from these earlier studies primarily in that they relate to a representative cross-section of family heads in the labor force rather than workers in selected plants and that they relate to geographic mobility rather than inter-firm mobility. At the time of the survey, in 1962-63, 28 per cent of family heads reported that they were covered by some kind of a pension plan arrangement other than social security. In general, both simple two-way relationships between pension plan coverage and mobility measures, and a more complex multivariate analysis of mobility, suggest that pension plan coverage may reduce mobility, but that the negative influence of this factor is decidedly weak.

At the outset a distinction must be made between workers who have vested and those who have non-vested pension rights. As mentioned above, vesting provisions in pension plans are very complex, and whether a worker retains his pension rights may depend upon the circumstances under which he leaves the company. The approach taken in this study was to ask family heads who have pension plans whether they *thought* they would retain their rights to a pension if they moved. Understandably, many people gave qualified answers or expressed uncertainty. Table 55 relates only to workers who have some kind of a pension arrangement. Only 3 in 10 felt certain that their pension was fully vested, while 4 in 10 felt certain that they would lose it, if they moved. Regardless of the accuracy of this information, what people believe to be the case is important because it bears on their decisions.

Recent movers who were not transferred were asked whether they lost seniority or pension rights because of their move. The results are summarized below:

	Per Cent of Recent Movers	
	Seniority Rights	Pension Rights
Lost some or all	14	14
Did not lose[a]	86	86
Total	100	100
Number of cases	422	421

[a]Includes people who had no rights to lose, as well as those who retained their rights.

[12]*Ibid.*, pages 78-79.

Table 55

WHETHER PEOPLE THINK THEY WOULD LOSE THEIR PENSION RIGHTS IF THEY MOVED BY KIND OF PENSION PLAN

(Percentage distribution of heads of families who are in a pension plan)

Expectation regarding pension rights	All With Pension Plan	Kind of Plan: Company Run	Union Run	Both Company and Union; Other[a]
Say they definitely would lose	40	50	25	26
Say they might lose all or part	16	15	12	19
Uncertain	7	8	9	6
Say they might not lose	8	7	9	8
Say they definitely would not lose	29	30	45	41
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	1199	721	135	343

[a]The "other" cases cover mainly people who have individually and privately made pension arrangements for themselves, and members of the Federal Railroad Retirement program.

Only 14 per cent of those who had moved within the five years before the interview said they lost some or all of their seniority rights, and the same small proportion said they lost some or all of their pension rights. If the per cent of movers who lost their pension or seniority rights is considered for different age groups, it appears that the younger and the older groups have very few movers who lose their

rights, whereas the middle age groups (35-54) had the highest proportion who lost rights. By and large, the young people have not yet accumulated any substantial rights to lose. The fact that so few of those over 55 lost any rights probably indicates that some of the older people who move have no rights to lose, some have accrued fully vested rights and perhaps some others have rejected the idea of moving with their pension and seniority rights in view.

Recent movers were also asked to evaluate, in their own terms, the success of their move. If the loss of these rights loomed important to movers who changed jobs, we would expect more people who lost their pension or seniority rights to have negative feelings about their move than those who did not lose any rights, or had none to lose. On the contrary, as shown below, the per cent of recent movers who felt the move was a good or very good idea was virtually the same for movers who lost their rights and those who did not.

	Evaluation of Move					
Seniority	Very Good	Good	Pro-Con	Poor and Very Poor	Total	Number of Cases
Lost seniority rights	15	75	7	3	100	59
Did not lose or had none to lose	14	75	5	6	100	330
Pension						
Lost pension rights	16	73	7	4	100	55
Did not lose or had none to lose	14	75	5	6	100	333

These figures may indicate that people do not attach much importance to the loss of pension or seniority rights in the face of all the other changes associated with the move. It may also indicate that those people who felt they would lose really important rights did not move.

We turn now to the relationship between membership in various kinds of pension plans and subsequent mobility measured in two different ways--expectations of moving and actual moves in the year following the original interview (in which pension plan membership was determined). The population has been divided by age into two groups, those less than 45 years of age and those 45 years and over, because retirement looms much larger in people's minds as they grow older. The differences which appear in Table 56 do not exhibit a consistent pattern; they are small and within sampling error. Yet it should not be overlooked that the data on actual moves (bottom row of the table) do indicate some negative association between pension plan membership and mobility.

Table 56

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEMBERSHIP IN A PENSION PLAN AND MOBILITY

(Per cent of heads of families in the labor force)

Mobility Measure	Total	Without A Plan	With A Pension Plan: Total	Company	Union	Both; Other
Under 45						
Expect to move	15%	13%	17%	16%	8%	22%
Number of cases	1654	926	728	433	73	222
45 and over						
Expect to move	8%	8%	8%	6%	11%	9%
Number of cases	905	545	360	219	45	96
All						
Moved in the year	6%	6%	5%	5%	2%	5%
Number of cases	950	544	406	258	55	93

The relationship being tested might be refined by investigating whether differences in mobility are discernible between those who have vested pension rights and those who did not. Figures on mobility are presented below for each of these groups.

Heads in labor force	Head in Pension Plan: Believed To Be Vested	*Not* Believed To Be Vested
Per cent of each group with moving plans		
Age under 45	19	17
Age 45 or over	8	8
Per cent of each group who moved in following year		
All	4.6	4.6

Both plans to move and actual moves are remarkably similar for those in vested and those in non-vested pension plans. Expressed intentions to move are somewhat lower among younger workers who would lose their pension rights than among those who will retain them; but since this difference is small, is not visible in the older group (which should be more concerned about their pension rights), and also is not present in the data on actual moves, it should probably be attributed to sampling variability.

So far no clear-cut relationship between pension plan coverage and mobility has been evident. We turn now to the particular characteristics of family heads covered by pension plans. How are these characteristics related to mobility? Do they cover up or distort the influence of the pension plan variables? Table 57 shows some of the personal and economic characteristics of pension plan members as compared to those family heads in the labor force who are not covered. The age factor, which has a strong bearing on mobility, has the same distribution among pension plan members and non-members. Some other factors do, however, show pronounced differences. White-collar workers are more likely to be under a pension arrangement than others. White-collar workers, as we know, are also a highly mobile group. Conversely a group which seldom is on a pension plan--the self-employed and farmers--is highly immobile. This same pattern, whereby the more mobile groups are also more likely to have a pension plan, is evident with respect to education: both pension plan membership and mobility rise with education.

Yet it is not true throughout that characteristics which are associated with high pension plan membership also are associated with high mobility. Home owners in the labor force who, as we have seen, tend to be less mobile than renters, have pension plan coverage relatively frequently. Their pension status may reflect the influence of income--the upper income groups are most likely to own a home and also most likely to be in a pension plan.

Consistent with the Bureau of Labor Statistics findings, Table 57 shows that people who are now covered by pension plans have worked for fewer employers in the past than people who are not covered. This difference may mean that the pension plans did reduce labor turnover in the past. Or it may mean that only those with low job turnover accrue pension rights. It may also imply, as the Bureau of Labor Statistics suggests, that the generally more attractive terms of employment in firms with pension plans enable these firms to attract and hold a more stable work force. In any case, one would expect that their past attachment to one, or a few, firms would make workers in firms with pension plans potentially less mobile than others.

Table 57

CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY HEADS COVERED BY PENSION PLANS

(Percentage distribution of those in the labor force)

Education	Total	Without a Pension Plan	With a Pension Plan
8th grade	23	29	16
High school	49	50	48
College	28	21	36
Total	100	100	100
Income			
Under $3000	12	19	2
$3000 - 4999	18	23	11
$5000 - 7499	33	29	38
$7500 - 9999	16	13	21
$10,000 and over	21	16	28
Total	100	100	100
Occupation			
Professional, technical	15	9	23
Other white collar	21	18	26
Blue collar	46	47	45
Self-employed	11	16	3
Farmers	5	9	*
Other	2	1	3
Total	100	100	100
Number of employers since 1950			
Only one	44	35	53
Two	24	25	23
Three	13	15	11
Four or more	19	25	13
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	2954	1699	1255

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

The difference in socio-economic characteristics between workers with vested and those with non-vested pension rights were also examined. These differences were minor, aside from an expected tendency for family heads with vested pension rights to be slightly older than others. In all, these comparisons reveal that workers covered by pension plans have some characteristics which go with high mobility and some which go with low mobility. The multivariate analysis attempts to isolate the influence of pension plans on mobility after the influence of these other characteristics had been taken into account.

The results of the multivariate analysis are presented in Table 58. Again no consistent pattern emerges from the data. We take first the question of whether there are differences in the mobility of those who are covered by pension plans and those who are not. Evidently, when mobility is measured by moving plans, people with pension plans appear somewhat more mobile than others; but when it is measured by actual moves, the opposite is true—people with pension plans are less mobile. On the assumption that actual moves are the superior measure of mobility (despite the smaller number of cases involved in the re-interview from which these particular data come), one would be led to conclude that pension plans *may* have a slightly restrictive effect on mobility. Doubts about the importance of this relationship arises from two considerations: (1) the fact that the moving plans data do not confirm it and (2) the fact that the relationship is statistically significant only for the younger age groups, when we should expect pension plan considerations to be of importance primarily to workers in the middle and older age brackets.

The second question is whether people who think they will lose their pension rights if they move are less mobile than people who think they can retain their rights. Here again the differences are for the most part not statistically significant and the influence is not consistently in the same direction between age groups and measures of mobility. Among people over 35 mobility is, if anything, slightly higher among people who think they might lose their pension rights than among those who believe they would retain them. This may simply be a reflection of the fact that those who would lose their pension rights probably have been somewhat more mobile in the past and may have less seniority. Yet, the fact that people with unvested pension rights do not turn out to be less mobile than people with vested rights, throws further doubt on the significance of pension plan coverage as an impediment to mobility.

To sum up, the data presented do not disprove the hypothesis that the growth of pension funds may have some limited restrictive

Table 58

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PENSION PLAN COVERAGE AND GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

(Per cent of heads of families)

Age and Pension Status	Means	Deviations From the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
Per cent with expectations of moving				
Under 35	22.3			979
Have pension plan and might lose	20.7	-1.6	- .3	217
Have pension plan and would not lose	25.3	+3.0	+4.1	87
Do not have pension plan	22.4	+ .1	- .4	675
35 and over	7.1			2991
Have pension plan and might lose	10.2	+3.1	+2.43[a]	541
Have pension plan and would not lose	8.8	+1.7	+ .52	260
Do not have pension plan	6.1	-1.0	- .66	2190
Per cent who moved during year subsequent to the first interview				
Under 35	10.8			306
Have pension plan and might lose	4.9	-5.9	-6.1[a]	82
Have pension plan and would not lose	7.4	-3.4	-5.7	27
Do not have pension plan	13.7	+2.9	+3.3	197
35 and over	3.3			927
Have pension plan and might lose	3.8	+ .5	-1.7	159
Have pension plan and would not lose	3.8	+ .5	-2.1	80
Do not have pension plan	3.2	- .1	+ .6	688

[a]Significant at .05 level.

influence on the goegraphic mobility of workers. Yet it is quite clear that in general this must be a very minor consideration among the factors which determine moving decisions. Not only does pension fund coverage make a very weak showing in the statistical analysis, with many inconsistencies which throw doubt on its influence on mobility. There also are factors associated with pension plan coverage—seniority and working for a firm with *relatively* favorable terms of employment—which may account for whatever negative association appears between pension plan coverage and mobility. In all, the survey data support those who have expressed skepticism about the importance of this factor.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

A large number of workers in the U. S. have rights to receive government unemployment compensation if they become unemployed; others have rights to unemployment compensation (or supplementary compensation) under a private plan, usually administered by an employer or a union. This section discusses the effect of unemployment insurance on the geographic mobility of workers. It is not concerned so much with the effect of compensation on the moving decisions of workers who already have suffered prolonged unemployment. (This was discussed in Chapter III.) Rather the concern here is with the effect of unemployment insurance on the mobility of the much larger group of workers who are only subject to occasional unemployment or who merely see a possibility of unemployment in the future. It has been argued that unemployment insurance may be a barrier to the mobility of many such workers. On the other hand, there must be large numbers of people who do not feel that possible loss of unemployment insurance protection is a pertinent consideration for them. Other, more important, factors may determine their decision to move or not to move long before the compensation question enters their minds. The findings to be presented here come closer to supporting the second view than the first. People who think they will or may lose their compensation seem to be slightly less mobile than others; but this mobility differential, if it exists at all, is at most of marginal importance.

In reply to two questions inquiring first about coverage by government unemployment compensation and then about coverage by any other unemployment compensation plan, only slightly over four family heads in ten reported any coverage. About 85 per cent of these families reported that they were covered only by a government plan. Those not covered include family heads who are not in the labor force, the farmers and other self-employed, and those working in very small establishments. Yet it would appear that this group also includes some

people who are in fact covered by unemployment insurance but are not aware of it since in 1960 over 60 per cent of the labor force were covered by some kind of unemployment compensation system. For our purposes these people are not misclassified. If a man does not know that he is eligible for unemployment compensation, he cannot be influenced in his moving decision by having unemployment insurance.

Although there are variations between states in the administration of unemployment insurance systems, it is generally true that if a man is unemployed and then moves to find a job, he retains his eligibility for government unemployment compensation. However, if he quits his job voluntarily and then tries to find a better one in another state, he foregoes the right to unemployment compensation. There are other complex regulations about when compensation rights are lost or retained. The approach used in this survey was to ask people where the head of the family was aware of being covered--"If (Head) were to move to another state, would he lose his rights to these payments or would he still be able to get the money?" People's perceptions about their rights to unemployment compensation were then used to analyze the effect on their mobility.

Table 59 relates to workers who reported that they are under some kind of unemployment compensation system. It shows that nearly half of these people feel that they would not lose unemployment compensation if they moved. Another large group did not know whether they would lose it or not. Only 15 per cent of those with any kind of unemployment compensation thought they might lose at least some of it. While the per cent who believe they might lose it is much higher for those who are covered by plans other than government plans, it must be kept in mind that the number of workers in this category is very small compared to the number of workers covered by the government system. Also, most of those who belong to both government and other plans feel that they would lose only their eligibility under the private plan. Thus the first point to be made is that nearly 60 per cent of family heads are not covered by unemployment insurance or have the impression that they are not covered. Another 20 per cent believe that they would not lose their rights if they moved, leaving only 20 per cent who might possibly be affected by this consideration. For that reason alone one would expect unemployment compensation to have little overall effect on mobility.

Again, we must investigate the personal and economic characteristics of those who do or do not hold rights to the different kinds of unemployment compensation; and of those who think they may, or think they will not, lose their unemployment compensation rights if they move. The more interesting differences are presented in Table 60,

which relates only to members of the labor force. In terms of age, education, home ownership, number of different employers worked for, and unemployment experience family heads who report no coverage and those who reported coverage by the different kinds of systems are remarkably similar. The same is true when covered employees are divided into those who believe they would retain their rights and those who are uncertain or think they would lose them: these groups are nearly alike in age, educational and home ownership characteristics. However, some income and occupational differences are visible in Table 60. Notably, blue-collar workers are more likely to say that they are covered than others, and the same is true of people in the income range from $5000 to $10,000. Farmers and the self-employed,

Table 59

PEOPLE'S IMPRESSIONS ABOUT LOSS OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION IN CASE OF MOVE BY TYPE OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

(Percentage distribution of heads of families with unemployment compensation coverage)

Possibility of loss of rights	Total	Government Only	Both Government and Private	Union Only and Company Only
Think they might lose at least some if moved	15	12	32	38
Uncertain or depends	39	40	40	43
Think they would not lose any if moved	46	48	28	19
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	1482	1281	113	37

Table 60

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY HEADS COVERED AND THOSE NOT COVERED BY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

(Percentage distribution of heads of families in the labor force)

	Covered	Not Covered
Age		
Under 35	31	27
35 and over	69	73
Total	100	100
Education		
8th grade	21	27
High school	55	43
College	25	30
Total	100	100
Home ownership		
Own or are buying	68	63
Do not own	32	37
Total	100	100
Number of employers since 1950		
One only	45	43
Two or three	36	38
Four or more	19	19
Total	100	100
Income		
Under $5000	23	37
$5000 to 9999	56	42
$10,000 and over	21	21
Total	100	100
Occupation		
Professional, technical	13	17
Other white collar	24	18
Blue collar	57	34
Self-employed and farmers	5	27
Other	1	4
Total	100	100
Unemployment experience of head		
Unemployment is usual, seasonal	9	7
Every few years	3	1
Unusual, except for short spells	3	4
Very unusual	85	88
Total	100	100
Number of cases	1575	1426

and people with very low incomes are relatively numerous among the group which is not covered. These differences, small as they are, do not imply any important variations in mobility potential due to demographic factors.

The multivariate analysis bears this out: For once there is hardly any difference between the unadjusted deviations and the adjusted deviations (which hold constant the more important socioeconomic characteristics of the groups being compared). Table 61 is confined to metropolitan areas, since these contain the bulk of the industrial population, for whom the question of unemployment insurance rights must be most relevant. Mobility is measured alternately by plans to move and by actual moves in the year following the survey. By both criteria the adjusted deviations are negative for the group which has government compensation and thinks it will lose its protection as well as for the group that is uncertain. Among these groups, fear of losing unemployment insurance coverage seems to reduce mobility somewhat. However, all differences fall short of being statistically significant, perhaps because of the small number of cases involved. Thus some doubt surrounds the presumption that reluctance to lose unemployment insurance coverage has even a weak deterrent effect on the decision to move among the small group of workers who know they are covered *and* think they would or might lose their coverage.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter examined the barriers to mobility which may have been created by the growth of home ownership, pension plans, and the unemployment insurance system. Those who view our economic system as being increasingly burdened by structural rigidities are concerned about the impact of these developments on the geographic allocation of the labor force. We have found that all three of these economic equities *do* work in the direction of reducing labor mobility. However, in all three cases the available evidence suggests that this restrictive influence is weak indeed. Many other factors have a more important bearing on the decision to move, so that these economic equities in many cases are barely taken into account. Moreover, pension and unemployment insurance rights are complex and imperfectly known. Thus even when these matters are considered, their effect on possible moves is mitigated by lack of information.

The potential barriers to mobility examined in this chapter are important primarily because they might be lowered by public and business policy, if insufficient labor mobility should become a problem

of national concern. In this sense they differ from such factors as age and location of relatives which are hardly amenable to manipulation. We may conclude that programs to aid people with the sale of a house or programs to make pension and unemployment insurance rights fully transferable might enhance geographic mobility in a marginal way. To avoid disappointment, it should be emphasized that the overall effect of such programs is bound to be small.

Table 61

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF MOBILITY IN RELATION TO UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION RIGHTS FOR THE METROPOLITAN POPULATION

Unemployment Compensation Status	Means	Deviations From The Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
Per cent with expectations of moving				
All metropolitan residents	11.1			2525
Have government unemployment compensation				
Think they might lose	9.8	-1.3	-1.1	122
Uncertain or depends	9.7	-1.4	-1.2	455
Think they would not lose	12.0	+ .9	+ .5	566
Do not have government unemployment compensation	11.3	+ .2	+ .3	1382
Per cent who moved during the year subsequent to the first interview				
All metropolitan residents	5.0			804
Have government unemployment compensation				
Think they might lose	2.9	-2.1	-2.8	34
Uncertain or depends	3.2	-1.8	-1.6	146
Think they would not lose	6.2	+1.2	+1.5	195
Do not have government unemployment compensation	5.1	+ .1	0	429

VII OTHER DETERMINANTS OF MOBILITY[1]

This chapter concludes the discussion of the determinants of mobility. Previous chapters, it will be recalled, have taken up personal economic incentives to mobility, economic differences among labor market areas, family and community ties, and economic ties. The first two sections of this chapter will be devoted to the relation between two psychological variables and mobility. The third and concluding section will consider briefly the effect on mobility of two variables which may be proposed as facilitators of mobility, automobile ownership and level of liquid asset ownership.

PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS

In the literature on migration attention has been paid to the relation between the psychological characteristics of individuals and their mobility. There has been work done on intelligence, especially studies of changes in the intelligence scores of children subsequent to mobility. And there has been discussion of the idea that certain types of people are more likely to move than others. Studies which measure psychological characteristics have been available only for restricted populations.[2]

In this investigation no attempt was made to measure intelligence nor was there an attempt to measure all of the personality characteristics of individuals which may be related to their mobility. Two variables only were considered which may be regarded as measures of personality: personal effectiveness and achievement vs. security orientation. The connections found between these variables and mobility are the subject of the next sections of this chapter. There is a popular idea that the people who move between labor market areas differ from those who do not move in initiative, desire to succeed, or something of the kind. These variables were selected in an attempt to convert the popular idea into specific, testable hypotheses.

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[1]This chapter was written by John B. Lansing.

[2]For example, Brown and Buck reinterviewed 947 young adult males from rural Pennsylvania in 1957, and analyzed the relation between whether the young men migrated during the period and their attributes as measured in 1947. Their results are in some respects different from some other studies. Those men who left rural for urban areas did not differ from those who remained in I. Q., personality adjustment score, prestige rating of parents' occupation, or amount of education.
C. Harold Brown and Roy C. Buck, *Factors Associated with the Migrant Status of Young Adult Males from Rural Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 676, January 1961.

Previous Studies: There has been discussion in the literature of social psychology concerning personal effectiveness. The most extensive published treatment of the subject known to the authors is an article by Elizabeth Douvan, "The Sense of Effectiveness and Response to Public Issues".[3] Douvan notes studies by other writers concerned with "ego-level personality factors as mediating variables in the determination of social attitudes and behavior". These studies were concerned with the relation of ego functions to conformity to social norms, ethnic prejudice, and political apathy. Douvan herself used a measure of sense of political effectiveness. She contrasted people with a sense of participation in and reasonable influence over their environment with those who felt helpless. She found those low in effectiveness responded differently to questions about public affairs. For them the problems are present, but no solutions occur to them. These people also more often feel insecure financially and unsure or frustrated about their job prospects.

In studies of voting behavior this line of investigation has been developed, beginning with a study of the 1952 election.[4] The most extensive discussion, however, is in *The American Voter*.[5] In that study a clear distinction was drawn between a general sense of personal effectiveness, and a belief in political efficacy. The general sense of personal effectiveness represents feelings of mastery over the self and the environment. It is both highly generalized and stable enough to be considered as part of personality. The belief in political efficacy is regarded as determined in part by the broader personality variable, influenced by more specific considerations which operate in the political area.

For present purposes it is the general sense of personal effectiveness which is of interest. Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes note one characteristic of this variable which is relevant to a study of mobility. Adolescents who score high on ego strength are likely to pursue educational goals with more success than those who score low. Hence, educational level is in part a consequence of personal effectiveness.[6]

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[3] *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 1958, 47, pp. 111-126.

[4] *The Voter Decides*, by Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren Miller. Row Peterson & Co., Evanston, 1954.

[5] *The American Voter*, by Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren Miller, Donald E. Stokes. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1960.

[6] See also Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson, "The Psychodynamics of Social Mobility in Adolescent Boys," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, January 1958.

Measure of Effectiveness in This Research: In the present study the sense of personal effectiveness is measured by a score constructed from the following five items:

1. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been more times when you haven't been very sure about it?
2. Are you the kind of person that plans his (her) life ahead all the time, or do you live more from day to day?
3. When you make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?
4. Some people feel that other people push them around a good bit. Others feel that they run their lives pretty much the way they want to. How is it with you?
5. Would you say you nearly always finish things once you start them, or do you sometimes have to give up before they are finished?

The individual with a high sense of personal effectiveness, thus, reports that he feels pretty sure his life will work out the way he wants it to, plans his life ahead, gets to carry out his plans, runs his life pretty much the way he wants to, and nearly always finishes things once he starts. The effectiveness score used in this study is simply the number of effective responses given to the above questions. Since there are five questions, the scores range from 0 to 5.

Effectiveness and Mobility: The first question concerning the relation of effectiveness to mobility is, are people who score high on personal effectiveness more or less likely to move to a new area than the people with low scores? Beyond this general question there are more specific questions as to the relation between personal effectiveness and the process of moving, the types of moves people make, and the fulfillment of plans to move.

The investigators expected to find a relation between effectiveness and mobility. People who score high on sense of personal effectiveness, it was expected, would be more likely to take advantage of economic opportunities at a distance. The simple correlation between effectiveness and mobility subsequent to the first interview was estimated for 423 respondents who are heads of families. The correlation coefficient is only .021 It appears there is little or no relation between these variables.

Before finally accepting this conclusion the investigators considered the possibility that other variables might mask the true

relationship. Effectiveness is known to be related to education, which is one of the basic predictors of mobility. The expected relation between effectiveness and education was found in this study, and is shown in Table 62. Other variables also may be associated with both effectiveness and mobility. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine the relation between effectiveness and mobility in a multivariate context. The calculations made consist in a multiple regression equation with the dependent variable mobility in the year after interview and personal effectiveness score and education among the 24 independent variables. This equation was estimated for the 423 respondents who are heads of families and excludes interviews in which the wife was the respondent since in those interviews it is her effectiveness score which is available. In these calculations, once again, effectiveness had no relation to mobility.[7]

Table 62

RELATION BETWEEN SENSE OF PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS AND EDUCATION

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Education of Head		
Respondents' Personal Effectiveness	All	Grade School or Less	High School	College
High	51	39	53	61
Low	19	24	19	12
Other (includes not ascertained)	30	37	28	27
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of families	2609[a]	804	1181	624

[a]Asked only in two cross-section surveys.

[7]See Appendix D, equation 1-000-24 for the results.

The relation between sense of personal effectiveness and expected mobility was also investigated. No relation was found between effectiveness and whether people plan to move.

Personal effectiveness does have an effect, however, on whether people say they would stay in the area where they are now living if they could do as they please. Those who score high on effectiveness are less likely to wish to move. This result also was found in a multivariate analysis and is shown in Table 63.

This finding is reminiscent of Douvan's results. She found denial of problems and a tendency to gross, undifferentiated thinking by those low in effectiveness. It would be consistent for these people to show a tendency to dream of escaping from problems by making a change in place of residence but not to make the change and not even to make realistic plans to carry out the change.

The main conclusion, however, is that there is little or no relation between sense of personal effectiveness and actual mobility. At most there is some possibility of a link which operates through education. It is true that there is a relation between effectiveness and the level of education which people attain, and also a relation between education and mobility. Any resulting connection between effectiveness and mobility failed to appear in this study.

Effective and Ineffective Movers: Although effective and ineffective people move to different labor market areas equally often, it by no means follows that they move for the same reasons or that they go about the process of moving in the same manner. Indeed, in these respects important differences appear.

The first difference is in the reasons for mobility. To examine the relation between effectiveness and mobility the differences in reasons for mobility associated with education must first be taken into account. People with more education are more likely to move for economic reasons and are also likely to score high in effectiveness. When three education levels are considered separately, however, as in Table 64, it appears that the per cent of recent movers giving economic reasons for their moves rises with effectiveness.

The relationship between effectiveness and reasons for mobility is strongest for those with a grade school education, as is shown in Graph VII-1 as well as in Table 64. Within this stratum of the population, 70 per cent of those who score high in effectiveness give economic reasons for their most recent moves compared to 53 per cent of those low in effectiveness. Effectiveness does not make a difference in

whether people give family reasons. But virtually none of the most recent moves of the effective individuals with low education are reported to have been made for community reasons in contrast to 26 per cent of the most recent moves of those low in effectiveness. Effective people at this socioeconomic level tend to move for economic reasons, not for community reasons.

Table 63

RELATION BETWEEN SENSE OF PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS AND WHETHER PEOPLE WOULD PREFER TO MOVE AWAY[a]

Respondents' Personal Effectiveness	(1) Mean	(2) Unadjusted Deviations	(3) Adjusted Deviations	(4) Number of Interviews
		Per cent who would prefer to move away		
All	20.1			951
No effective responses	b	b	+11.0	14
One effective response	b	b	+ 7.8	55
Two effective responses	b	b	+ 4.6	125
Three effective responses	b	b	+ 1.4	294
Four effective responses	b	b	- 1.8	236
Five effective responses	b	b	- 5.0	227

[a]This table includes all respondents in families which were reinterviewed and in which the head was in the labor force at the time of first interview.

[b]The calculations underlying the statistics presented in this table differ from those in most similar tables in one respect: an arbitrary scale was imposed on the independent variable with the values shown after the categories in the stub. Values for column (1) and (2) have not been computed. The adjusted deviations have been constrained to equal intervals between scale values. See Appendix D, equation 4-000-32, for the corresponding regression.

Table 64

REASONS FOR MOST RECENT MOVE BY EDUCATION AND PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years)

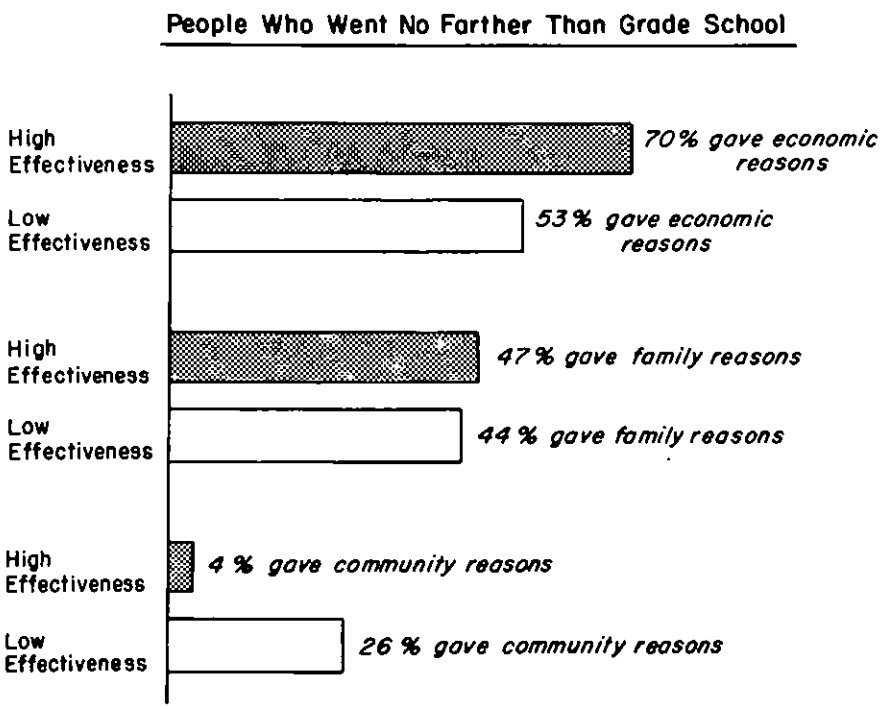
		Low Personal Effectiveness			High Personal Effectiveness		
Whether Gave Economic Reasons	All	Grade School or Less	High School	College	Grade School or Less	High School	College
Gave economic reasons	76	53	64	81	70	75	88
Did not give economic reasons	24	47	36	19	30	25	12
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Whether Gave Family Reasons							
Gave family reasons	24	44	28	21	47	26	12
Did not give family reasons	76	56	72	79	53	74	88
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Whether Gave Community Reasons							
Gave community reasons	20	26	25	16	a	19	17
Did not give community reasons	80	74	75	84	100	81	83
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of respondents	737	55	137	70	26	83	137

[a]Less than half of one per cent.

At the college level there is much less relation between the effectiveness score and the reasons for the most recent move. At this level economic reasons are given for over 80 per cent of all moves regardless of effectiveness.

GRAPH VII-1

REASONS FOR THE MOST RECENT MOVE BY PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS SCORE



The second difference in patterns of mobility concerns return moves. People who score high on effectiveness are less likely to return to a previous place of residence. This statement applies at all three levels of education. (Table 65 and Graph VII-2) These return moves, by people who do not have a sense of mastery over their environment, must sometimes be the result of failure to cope with the demands of a new situation. This phenomenon may help to explain some of the mobility of people with low effectiveness. Suppose two people make similar moves from a low income rural area to a nearby city, and one succeeds there and stays while the other fails to find a permanent job and returns to his former locality. The person who returns will have made two moves to the other person's one move.

A third difference in patterns of mobility is associated with whether people who do go to work for a new employer after a move had made the arrangements about their jobs before moving. At the college level most people make the arrangements in advance regardless of their sense of personal effectiveness. At the grade school or high school level, however, people who score high in effectiveness are more likely to have arranged their jobs in advance (Table 65).

We may conclude, then, that there are differences in the reasons why people move and in how they go about moving which are associated with differences in sense of personal effectiveness. These differences are much more noticeable among people with a low level of education than among people who have been to college. The people with a low level of effectiveness are comparatively less likely to move for economic reasons. They are less likely to arrange jobs in advance.

We conclude that the similarity in overall mobility rates conceals underlying differences in behavior. People of high and low sense of personal effectiveness respond differently to their environments. They move for different reasons and go about the process of moving in different ways.[8]

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[8]The reader who is generally interested in the sense of personal effectiveness as a variable should note the relation between the number of effective responses and income. See Appendix D, equation 11-000-15. It is there shown that effectiveness is a predictor of family income in a multivariate context. People who score high on effectiveness have higher family incomes even after age, education, race, occupation and whether the wife works have been taken into account.

Personal effectiveness is also related to the number of trips people take. See Appendix D, equation 12-000-17. People who score high on effectiveness report more trips 100 miles away in the last 5 years even when income, education, auto ownership and community ties have been taken into account.

ORIENTATION TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT OR SECURITY

As previously noted, in popular or semi-popular discussions of geographic mobility there is a tendency to ascribe to people who do not move qualities of inertia or lack of ambition while people who do move may be characterized as ambitious and eager to advance themselves. The sense of personal effectiveness which has just been discussed has some relation to these popular ideas. There may be an even closer correspondence between the popular ideas and a second characteristic of the individual, his orientation toward achievement or security.

Table 65

RETURN MOVES AND PRE-ARRANGED JOBS BY EDUCATION AND PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years)

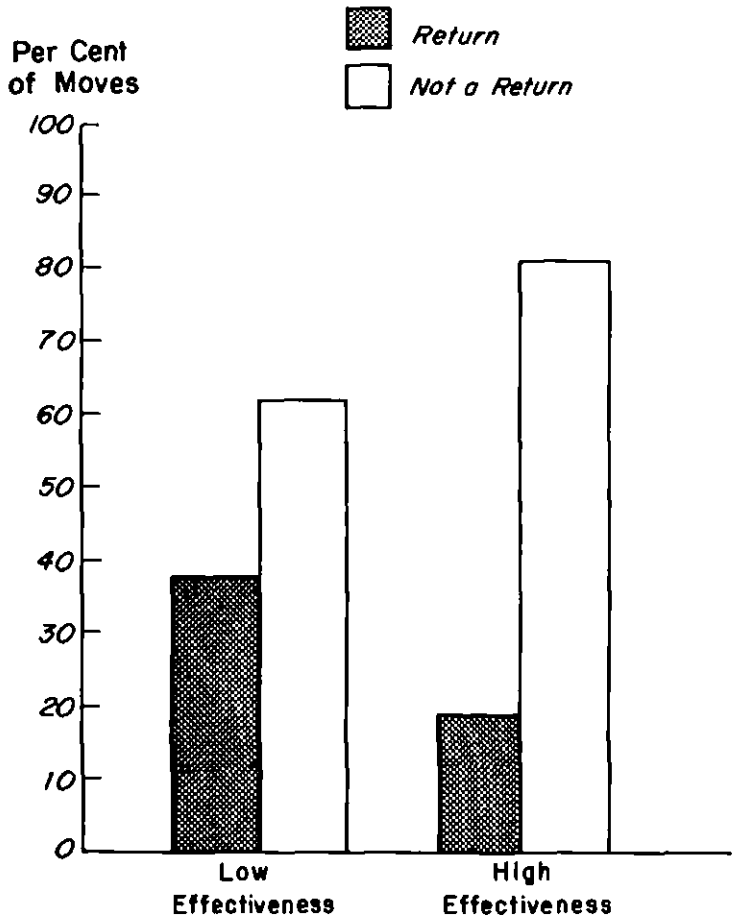
		Low Personal Effectiveness			High Personal Effectiveness		
Whether Move Was a Return	All	Grade School or Less	High School	College	Grade School or Less	High School	College
Was a return[a]	24	38	34	26	19	20	15
Not a return	76	62	66	74	81	80	85
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	737	55	137	70	26	83	137

Whether Pre-Arranged Job	All	High School Grade School or Less	College	High School Grade School or Less	College
Pre-arranged	64	42	83	59	79
Did not pre-arrange	36	58	17	41	21
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves[b]	400	108	30	51	72

[a]Excludes returns from school or from military service.

[b]Includes only moves where the family head went to work for a new employer.

GRAPH VII-2
WHETHER MOST RECENT MOVE WAS A RETURN
BY PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS SCORE



The main findings with regard to this variable can be stated briefly. There is a relation in the predicted direction between achievement-security orientation as measured and geographic mobility when only these two variables are taken into account. When, however, this relation is examined in a multivariate context, it vanishes. When education, occupation, and age are held constant there is no incremental effect of achievement-security orientation on the propensity to move.

This negative result contradicts the popular impression. Since a negative finding is no more reliable than the measurements on which it is based, it is necessary here to describe the variable and how it was used.

Previous Research: The measure of orientation to achievement or security was developed in a study of "The Origins and Effects of *Economic Attitudes*" directed by George Katona. The most extensive discussion of the variable is in a paper by Elise Boulding.[9] She distinguishes two socio-cultural norms found in all modern western societies, the norm of achievement, and the norm of security. Achievement "encompasses aspiration toward some desirable accomplishment, extending beyond a simple matching of the accomplishments of others to the creation of *something new which* did not exist before." With regard to security "the aspiration here is simply to maintain and hold secure that which one already has or which other members of one's own present status group already have."[10]

The variable was measured by asking the following question:

"Would you please look at this card and tell me which thing on this list about a job (occupation) you would most prefer (would want most for your husband); which comes next, which third, and so forth?"

An occupation or job in which:	Rank from 1 (most preferred) to 6 (least preferred)
A. Income is steady	_____
B. Income is high	_____
C. There's no danger of being fired or unemployed	_____
D. Working hours are short, lots of free time	_____

[9]"Orientation toward Achievement or Security in Relation to Consumer Behavior", *Human Relations*, November 1960, 13, 365-383.

[10]Boulding, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

E. Chances for advancement are good _____

F. The work is important, gives a feeling of accomplishment _____

The responses were coded in the following fashion: All those who numbered both A and C as 1, 2, or 3, or who ranked both A and C higher than E and F, were classified as security-oriented. All those who numbered both E and F as 1, 2, or 3, or who ranked both E and F higher than A and C, were classified as achievement-oriented. All other combinations were treated as unclassifiable.

The efforts at validation of the measure consisted essentially in investigation of statistical relations between orientation and consumer behavior and expectations. The report concludes that: "Although the differences are not large, achievers purchase more durable goods than securers, and purchase them more frequently by paying cash rather than by buying on the installment plan."[11]

Achievement-Security Orientation and Geographic Mobility: In the present research the measure of achievement-security orientation used was that employed in the earlier study. Two-way correlation coefficients involving this variable are summarized in Table 66. As there shown, it is related to mobility, but it is also related to variables known to be predictors of mobility, especially education.

A series of three multiple regression equations were prepared with the dependent variables respectively: whether the individual would or would not prefer to move to a different area, whether the individual expected to move at the time of the first interview, and whether the individual actually moved between first interview and reinterview. In no one of the three was there a relation between achievement-security orientation and mobility.[12]

We conclude, therefore, that geographically mobile people differ from the non-mobile in achievement-security orientation only to the extent that they have characteristics associated both with orientation and mobility. Especially, well-educated people are more likely to be achievement oriented and also to move more.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 382

[12] For the first and third of these regressions see Appendix D, equation 1-000-24, and equation 4-000-32. The second equation referred to above is not included in the appendix.

This result is consistent with what was found with regard to the relation between sense of personal effectiveness and mobility. Mobility from place to place occurs for diverse reasons in a variety of circumstances. It is always possible that better measures or measures of other psychological characteristics would predict mobility. But it is also possible, and it would be our expectation, that other measures of general personal characteristics would yield a similar absence of results when related to all types of mobility in all types of situations.

There remains the question of whether achievement-security orientation is related to different reasons for mobility. Tabulations not reproduced here show little or no relation between this variable and reasons for the most recent move, age and education held constant. In contrast to the findings with regard to the sense of personal effectiveness, thus, there seems to be no relation between this variable and the likelihood that people will make specific kinds of moves. Similarly, there is little or no effect of achievement-security orientation on the respondent's evaluation of the success of his most recent move.[13]

FACILITATORS OF MOBILITY

In the previous chapter several variables were considered which have been thought to operate as inhibitors of mobility. It remains to consider briefly two variables which may be proposed as facilitators of mobility: liquid asset ownership and automobile ownership.

Liquid Assets: Since there is some expense associated with moving to a new labor market area, people who have enough money in the bank to meet the expense should find it easier to move than those without financial reserves. The amounts required vary with the number of people in the family, the number of possessions which they have accumulated, and the distance to be moved, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter IX. The average cost of a move is about $225. The

[13]The reader who is especially interested in this variable should note regression 11-000-15 in Appendix D which shows its effect on family income. The regression coefficients have the expected signs but the effects are small enough so that they may be attributed to sampling error.

Achievement-security orientation was also included as an independent variable in regression 12-000-17 in which the dependent variable is the number of trips 100 miles or more away in the last 5 years. Here the coefficients have the expected signs ("achievement oriented" people travel more than others and "security oriented" people travel less) and the coefficients as a set are statistically significant.

sums needed, thus, are not indefinitely large—for most situations a few hundred dollars will suffice. A reasonable hypothesis would be that people with $500 or more in liquid reserves should find it easier to meet the cost of moving than those with $1-499, who in turn should find the cost more easily manageable than those with no reserves at all.

The results of the statistical analysis of the relation between financial reserves and mobility appear in Table 67. The estimates refer to mobility in the year after first interview by people in the labor force. Liquid asset holdings were estimated at the time of first interview. Those who had no liquid assets at the beginning of the period do seem to have been slightly less likely to move. The adjusted deviation of minus 1.8 per cent, however, is small enough so that it is not statistically reliable. Those with assets of $1-499 or $500 or more have small positive adjusted deviations amounting for both groups to about half of one per cent.

Table 66

SIMPLE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ACHIEVEMENT-SECURITY ORIENTATION AND SELECTED VARIABLES

	Security-oriented	Achievement-oriented
Head now living at birthplace	.04	-.01
Head moved since 1950, born elsewhere	-.13	+.17
Head moved in last 5 years	-.13	+.16
Professional, technical	-.18	+.21
College graduate	-.21	+.23
No liquid reserves	+.12	-.18
Family income[a]	-.13	+.15

[a]Family income in these calculations was scaled as shown in Appendix D, equation 11-000-15.

The most reasonable interpretation of these results seems to be that liquid reserves probably do play some part in facilitating mobility. The differences in mobility rates among those with different levels of assets, however, are probably small. This interpretation, it must be said, rests as much upon the a priori reasoning stated above and the information about the cost of moving as it does upon the statistics in Table 67.

Car Ownership: The reasoning which might lead one to suppose that car ownership facilitates mobility is that travel by car is convenient and economical. People who own a car should find it easy to visit locations at a distance in order to plan a move, they should find it easy to move, and they should find it easy to return to visit their former home.

The data do not support this interpretation. There is no difference in mobility between people who have cars and those who do not in a multivariate context.[14] There is, of course, a well developed system of public transportation in the United States by bus, train, and plane, and people may travel in cars owned by their family or friends. While those who own a car themselves may enjoy some incremental advantage in ability to move about the country, that incremental advantage does not seem to be large enough to make much difference in their mobility.

CONCLUSION

It may be appropriate to conclude this discussion of "other" determinants of mobility with a disclaimer. Although in this investigation a number of variables have been considered as possible predictors of mobility, by no means all possible predictors have been included. Limitations are imposed by the length of the questionnaire and the size of the sample. The focus of the project on the geographic mobility of the labor force has turned attention away from some topics, such as the movement of retired people. Any complete list of psychological variables related to mobility would include more than the two considered here. Similarly, a complete sociological analysis would be concerned with the complex interrelation between migration and social disorganization, mental illness, suicide, and crime, relationships which are not of primary concern in a study of the geographic mobility of labor.[15]

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[14]See Appendix D, regression equation 1-000-18.

[15]The interested reader is referred to Warren Breed, "Suicide, Migration, and Race: A Study of Cases in New Orleans", *Journal of Social Issues*, January 1966, pp. 30-43, and to the references there cited.

The two aspects of personality considered in this chapter, the sense of personal effectiveness and achievement-security orientation, show no relation to frequency of mobility. Personal effectiveness, however, does prove to be related to the types of mobility in which an individual engages. The findings suggest that the psychological meaning of migration to that individual may be very different in different situations. It may be that there are few if any simple relationships between personality characteristics and mobility in general. The chances of establishing the existence of relationships seem much better when attention is focused on moves made for similar purposes in similar situations.

Table 67

RELATION BETWEEN LIQUID ASSET HOLDINGS AND MOBILITY IN THE YEAR AFTER THE FIRST INTERVIEW[a]

Financial Reserves	(1) Mean	(2) Unadjusted Deviation from the Mean	(3) Adjusted Deviation	(4) Number of Interviews
	Per cent who moved in the year			
All	5.6%			951
No liquid assets	3.8	-1.8	-1.8	213
Assets of $1-499	6.5	+0.9	+0.6	479
Assets of $500 or more	6.2	+0.6	+0.4	259

[a]This table includes all respondents in families which were reinterviewed and in which the head was in the labor force at the time of first interview. See Appendix D, equation 1-000-18, for the corresponding regression.

With regard to the facilitators of mobility considered in this chapter, ownership of liquid assets and of a car, the statistical evidence that either has an effect on mobility is weak. The most reasonable interpretation seems to be that other forms of transportation are so widely available that whether or not a person owns a car will have little or no effect on whether he moves to a different labor market area. Liquid asset reserves, however, may play a part in making it easier for people to move.

PART III

The Process of Moving

VIII HOW MOVING DECISIONS ARE MADE[1]

The choice of location is an important decision for any family to for any family to make. From 1957 to 1962, the period with which this study is primarily concerned, jobs were much more plentiful in some labor market areas than in others; and local differences in employment opportunities were still larger for specific occupations. Pay differentials probably are smaller than differentials in labor demand, but also exist. Communities differ in many ways besides jobs and pay rates including the presence of relatives, climate, provision of social services, and the like. Does it follow from the importance and complexity of decisions about location that decisions to move or stay are made with great care?

Starting with the concept of rational economic man, one might conceive of moving decisions as being arrived at by a deliberate process of weighing alternatives and seeking information. One might even expect workers to reconsider periodically the advantages and disadvantages of their present location in relation to their occupational progress and earnings. The real world does not conform neatly to such conceptions. Two deviations from deliberate decision-making in the traditional economic sense[2] are frequent. One is inertia, that is, the tendency to stay where one is, even though the location may not be optimal economically. The second is a casually considered move, which is not accompanied by information seeking or a deliberate weighing of alternative courses of action. True, locations which are non-optimal in a strictly economic context may appear rational when a wider range of motivations and circumstances is considered. Regardless of the reason, both inertia and lack of deliberation about the economic aspects of the move impede the geographic adjustment of the labor force which must continually take place in a dynamic economy.[3]

The need for some geographic redistribution of the labor force does not imply that continually large numbers of workers must be on

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[1]This chapter was prepared by Eva Mueller and Jane Lean.

[2]Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines deliberate as - "formed, arrived at or determined upon as a result of careful thought; given to weighing facts and arguments; careful in considering; slow in action, unhurried."

[3]Some indication of the kind of change that is taking place is given by a study recently completed by the Regional Economics Division, U. S. Department of Commerce: "Industries constantly set up new facilities in new areas . . . Ceaseless change is the common

the move. It is only necessary that comparatively few marginal workers move to areas where there is greater demand for their services, as indicated by more job openings and/or better pay. However, when moving decisions are made in a haphazard fashion without sufficient information, and if migration is governed to an important extent by non-economic considerations, mobility is bound to be inefficient economically. Inefficiency means that many more moves occur than are needed to bring about the required reallocation of the labor force. Inertia contributes to the adjustment problem because it inhibits some desirable mobility.

The first section of this chapter will analyze one type of deviation from deliberate behavior - inertia. The analysis will be concerned with two groups of people. The first group consists of those who are aware that they might better their economic position by moving but have no thought of doing so. The second group comprises people who have some preference or even plans for moving, but do not manage to realize their wishes. The second section of the chapter will attempt to assess the deliberation that went into recent moving decisions. It will also ask - What kinds of people are more or less deliberate? What kinds of situations make for non-deliberate behavior? The third section will describe in greater detail the amount and kind of information used by movers, particularly those in the labor force.

INERTIA

Inertia refers to the tendency to remain where one is despite advantages to be gained by moving. We shall here make the concept of inertia meaningful in relation to the problem at hand by defining it in purely economic terms. That is, a person is viewed as being subject to inertia if he fails to move, even though he might gain economically by moving. Inertia, so defined, is difficult to measure. No change in behavior can identify it - merely a lack of change. And those who do not move because of inertia cannot be readily distinguished from those who stay because they are appropriately located. Widespread inertia is of course suggested by the low mobility rates of middle-aged and

characteristic of all parts of the country. It's true that most localities in the Midwest have grown at a rate that about approximates the national average. But this merely is the result of a rough averaging of dramatic changes for particular industries. Virtually every locality shows big employment increases for some industries and big drops for others." "Why One Region Outstrips Another," reported in *Business Week*, February 12, 1966, pages 78-80.

older workers. The survey attempted to go further and to gauge inertia by three approaches. Each approach is subject to limitations and qualifications, and may understate the extent of the phenomenon.

The first approach was to identify people who believed they might better themselves economically by moving but nevertheless thought little or not at all about taking such a step. People in the labor force who were not self-employed were asked: "For someone in the line of work (HEAD) is in now, how does the rate of pay here compare with other places?" Similarly, they were asked to compare the amount of work available at home and elsewhere. In all, about 30 per cent of family heads in the labor force felt that the rate of pay or the amount of work was less, or much less, in their area than elsewhere.

Table 68 compares two groups of workers: those who thought the rate of pay or employment opportunities in their line of work were less favorable at their present location than elsewhere and those who expressed no such adverse judgments. There is practically no difference in moving preferences or moving plans between these two labor force groups. This finding not only points to a considerable degree of inertia, it also confirms a conclusion reached in Chapters IV and V: People's willingness to leave an area has little to do with economic conditions there, except under extreme circumstances and perhaps also in the case of young workers just entering the labor force. At least, economic considerations appear to have less bearing on the decision to migrate out than people's own explanations of their behavior might lead one to believe.

It cannot be inferred that all the workers who did not have preferences or plans to move, even though they thought that other areas offered better pay or more work, would have benefitted economically by moving. Still, the size of this group suggests that inertia is a widespread phenomenon. There are doubtless many additional people who are uninformed or misinformed about pay scales and work opportunities in other areas. Being settled and content in their present location, they have not investigated and not been interested in information about other areas. They conveniently believe that their area is "best". We shall see later that in 1962-63 in redevelopment areas, specifically the 5A areas, two-thirds of the working population was unaware that less work was available in their area than elsewhere. Yet these redevelopment areas were so classified at the time of the survey because of their high unemployment rates. In 5B areas, where incomes are chronically low, only 27 per cent of people felt that their area offered lower pay rates than prevailed in other places.

Table 68

PERCEPTION OF PAY AND AMOUNT OF WORK AT HOME IN RELATION TO OTHER AREAS BY PREFERENCES AND PLANS ABOUT MOVING

(Percentage distribution of people in the labor force who are not self-employed)

Preferences about Moving[a]	Rate of Pay or Amount of Work Less or Much Less Here Than Elsewhere	Neither Rate of Pay Nor Amount of Work Less Here Than Elsewhere
Prefers or strongly prefers to move away	22	23
Indifferent	2	3
Prefers or strongly prefers to stay here	76	74
Total	100	100
Number of cases	491	1101
Expectations of Moving in the Next Year		
Definitely or probably will move	4	5
Uncertain	8	7
No chance of moving	88	88
Total	100	100
Number of cases	781	1752

[a]The question about preferences was omitted in one of the rounds of the survey

We turn now to a different measure and a somewhat different kind of inertia. People who say they would prefer to move, but have no moving plans, and those who plan to move, but do not carry out their plans, *may* also be failing to move because of inertia. Of course, in some cases the move merely may have been postponed. Delays may be caused by illness, difficulties encountered in obtaining a new job or finding a house, and other problems as well. Table 69 indicates that while 20 per cent of families had some desire to move away, only 11 per cent had at least some expectation of moving in the coming year, and only 5 per cent actually did make a move in the year following the first interview.

What is the inter-relationship between preferences, expectations, and actual moves? Table 70 presents information on these relationships. Part A shows that fully 70 per cent of those who said they would like to move if they could do as they pleased did not have any expectation of moving in the year following the interview. Part B shows that a very large majority of people who would prefer to move did not move in the year following the interview. No doubt, a year is too short a period to use when measuring the fulfillment of moving preferences. A larger proportion of these people may eventually move. Moreover, there may in some cases be strong economic or non-economic factors preventing people from "doing as they please." But for some the desire to move was probably not powerful enough to overcome inertia and to cause them to start planning.

Part C of Table 70 presents some further evidence of inertia or delay. It indicates that the majority of people who plan to move within a year do not fulfill their intentions within that period. Of those who had expectations of moving at the time they were interviewed, 41 per cent actually did move across labor market boundaries in the following year. By contrast, among those who had no plans, 3 per cent moved. Thus we have on the one hand people who see economic advantages in other locations but prefer to stay where they are; on the other hand there are people who *do* have preferences for other places but are reluctant to make plans to move or postpone carrying out their plans, when made. Not all of this behavior can be classified as inertia, but it seems quite clear that there is a good deal of inertia as regards migration.

Is inertia equally prevalent among all groups in the population? Table 71 compares selected personal characteristics for those who expressed a preference for moving away *and* had some expectation of moving vs. those who preferred to move but were making no plans to move. The second group consists at least in part of potential movers who are inhibited by inertia. The only two characteristics which show

Table 69

DESIRED, EXPECTED, AND ACTUAL MOBILITY

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

Preferences About Moving	
Strongly prefer to move	1
Prefer to move	19
Indifferent	2
Prefer to stay	75
Strongly prefer to stay	3
Total	100
Number of respondents	2478
Plans To Move In The Year Following The Survey	
Definitely or probably will move	5
Uncertain; it depends	6
Definitely will not move	89
Total	100
Number of respondents	3991
Actual Moves In The Year Following The Survey	
Did move	5
Did not move	95
Total	100
Number of respondents[a]	1317

[a]Actual moves were determined by a special reinterview of about one-third of the total sample.

Table 70

MOVING PREFERENCES, MOVING PLANS, AND ACTUAL MOVES

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

A. Plans In Relation To Preferences

Preferences	Number of Respondents	Definitely or Probably Will Move	Uncertain, Depends	No Chance of Moving	Total
Prefers or strongly prefers to stay	1998	1	4	95	100
Indifferent	63	10	17	73	100
Prefers or strongly prefers to move	496	17	13	70	100

B. Actual Moves In Relation To Preferences

Preferences	Number of Respondents	Moved	Did Not Move	Total
Prefers or strongly prefers to stay	909	3	97	100
Indifferent	33	6	94	100
Prefers or strongly prefers to move	247	13	87	100

C. Actual Moves In Relation To Moving Plans

Plans	Number of Respondents	Moved	Did Not Move	Total
Definitely or probably will move	66	41	59	100
Uncertain; depends	66	7	93	100
No chance of moving	1082	3	97	100

Table 71

SELECTED PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN RELATION TO INDICATIONS OF INERTIA

(Percentage distributions of relevant groups)

	People Who Expressed Some Preference For Moving And			
	Thought They Would Or Might Move	Saw No Chance Of Moving	Total	Number of Cases
Age[a]				
18 - 24	33	67	100	63
25 - 34	40	60	100	142
35 and over	25	75	100	350
Education[a]				
Grade school or less	21	79	100	130
Some high school	28	72	100	247
Some college	38	62	100	177
Occupation				
Professional and technical	38	62	100	94
Blue collar	41	59	100	272
Other	32	68	100	246
Generally Feel Healthy				
Yes	31	69	100	469
No	24	76	100	86
Unemployment				
Not unusual	30	70	100	70
Unusual	27	73	100	316

[a]Chi-square test shows significant differences at .01 level.

a significant relation to this manifestation of inertia are age and education. It appears that younger people and better educated people are less inhibited by inertia than older and less educated people. No significant differences in inertia were associated with occupation, unemployment experience, and people's evaluation of their health.

A third attempt was made to throw light on the phenomenon of inertia by asking people who had not moved in the past 5 years whether they had ever given any thought to the possibility of moving. Table 72 shows that 18 per cent of these families answered in the affirmative. This group includes 7 per cent who said they were still thinking of moving. It includes another 7 per cent who mentioned a move considered within the last few years, and only a small proportion who spoke of a possible move which they contemplated more than 5 years ago.

Table 72

WHETHER EVER THOUGHT SERIOUSLY OF MOVING

(Percentage distribution of families who have not moved in the last 5 years)

Have Ever Thought Of Moving And When	Per cent	
Have thought of moving	18	
Still thinking of it		7
Within last year		3
1 or 2 years ago		2
3 - 5 years ago		2
6 - 9 years ago		1
10 or more years ago		1
Not ascertained when		2
Have not thought of moving	82	
Total	100	
Number of families	3254	

Table 73

DID THE FAMILY EVER SERIOUSLY THINK OF MOVING AWAY FROM LABOR MARKET AREA BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

(Percentage distributions of families who have not moved in the last 5 years)

	Still Thinking Of Moving Now	Have Thought About It In The Past	Never Thought Of It	Total	Number of Cases
Education[a]					
Grade school or less	5	7	88	100	1110
Some high school	6	13	81	100	1498
Some college	8	15	77	100	704
Occupation[b]					
Professional and technical	9	17	74	100	305
Blue collar	5	13	82	100	1206
Other	6	13	81	100	1014
Generally Feel Healthy[a]					
Yes	6	12	82	100	1719
No	6	7	87	100	458
Unemployment[a]					
Not unusual	9	15	76	100	269
Unusual	6	14	80	100	1658

[a]Chi-square test shows significant differences at .01 level.

[b]Chi-square test shows significant differences at .05 level.

The most important (and perhaps startling) figure disclosed by Table 72 is that 82 per cent of the people who did not move in the past 5 years never considered moving. Of wage and salary earners who never considered moving, 30 per cent felt that the rate of pay or amount of work available in their area was less than that available elsewhere. Some of the others may be ideally located; but the point is that there is a very large group of people who feel so settled that the economic advantages of their present location are hardly ever re-examined. Table 73 relates people's statements as to whether they considered moving to major socio-economic characteristics. Some statistically significant differences emerge, but they are not large. People who are young, well-educated, in professional and technical occupations, in good health, and those who have been repeatedly unemployed are more likely to have considered moving than others. Not unexpectedly these are the same groups which are above average as regards actual mobility.

Decisions against moving are just as important economically as decisions in favor of moving. In cases where the decision is wisely based on balanced consideration of all factors involved, wasteful moves are prevented. In other cases the decision not to move may be attributed to inertia. To clarify decisions against moving people who had thought of moving but had given up the idea were asked: "Why did you think of moving? Did you look for work where you thought of going? How did you find out about the job situation there? Why did you decide to stay here?"

The figures below show that about half the time the reasons advanced for considering a move (which later did not materialize) were economic in nature. Also important were community reasons - likes and dislikes of an area, a kind of climate, places of a certain size. Cited less often were family considerations such as desire to be near relatives.

Economic factors were mentioned even more frequently as a reason *against* moving than as a reason *for* considering a move (Table 74). Job related considerations are dominant, but as many as 20 per cent of these families spoke of other economic reasons such as the cost of living, taxes, home ownership, or the wife's occuaption. Although economic reasons loom so large in people's own explanations of the circumstances surrounding decisions not to move, one may legitimately wonder whether, in fact, economic considerations were as crucial as the non-movers implied. Further inquiry revealed that only 20 per cent of those who thought of moving actually looked for work in another area. This suggests that many of these moves were never seriously considered or that job considerations played a smaller role in these decisions than people claimed.

Table 74

REASONS FOR CONSIDERING A MOVE AND REASONS FOR DECIDING AGAINST MOVING

(Percentage distributions of families who considered a move but did not move)

Reasons Why Thought of Moving	Percentage Distribution of Families Who Thought of Moving
Economic reasons	49
Community reasons	34
Family reasons	13
Other	4
Total	100
Reasons Why Decided Against Moving	
Occupational reasons	41
Other economic reasons	21
Community reasons	12
Family reasons	21
Other	5
Total	100

It is clear that inertia as regards location is widely prevalent. This statement can be made with confidence, although it cannot be given numerical precision. No doubt some considerable amount of moving that might be desirable economically is impeded by inertia. This state of affairs is not necessarily deplorable nor does it necessarily point to human irrationality. Justifiably, non-economic considerations have an important influence on location decisions. Inertia may stem from the desire to be near relatives, friends, and familiar places or from the desire to lead a "quiet life." It is nevertheless true that inertia impedes the effectiveness of labor mobility as an economic adjustment mechanism.

EXTENT OF DELIBERATION

We turn now to the families which did move and ask how much care went into the moving decision. The survey data provide a good deal of information about recent movers that is relevant to the question of deliberation. People who had moved within the last 5 years were asked such questions as: "What first brought up the idea of moving here?", "How long had you been seriously thinking of moving before you moved here?", and "When you moved here, did you consider moving to other areas?" Those for whom the move was not a transfer,

but also meant the start of a new job were asked: "Did (HEAD) have the job all arranged before he moved?" and "How did (HEAD) get his job arranged?" In addition a series of questions about sources of job information and about the role of relatives and friends was asked.

Our first criterion of deliberation is planning. Do people plan their moves well ahead and then proceed according to plan? Or are discrepancies between plans and actual moves the rule, rather than the exception? The table below shows people's reports regarding the length of their planning period. In reply to the question - "How long had you been seriously thinking of moving, before you moved here?" - fully a third of movers reported that they planned one month or less, another third planned one to 6 months, and only a third said that they planned more than half a year in advance. Considering the importance of the moving decision, the planning period appears short on the whole.

Length of Time the Move Was Seriously Considered	Per cent of People Who Had Moved Within the Last Five Years
One month or less	34
Between 1 and 6 months	32
More than 6 months	34
Total	100
Number of cases	517

The shortness of the reported planning period raises the question whether one should give credence to people's recollections, especially since the expression "seriously thinking of moving" is inevitably vague. Even if the data are imprecise, *a priori* there is no reason why they should be biassed in the direction of an underestimate of the planning period rather than an overestimate. Fortunately, the survey data allow us to approach the question of planning in another way also. Table 70C above shows the relationship between plans at the beginning of the year and actual moves in the following 12 months. It is quite apparent that many people do not act in accordance with advance plans. Of the people who thought they would or probably would move within a year, only four in ten actually moved. Among families without plans the proportion of movers was much smaller than among those with plans, a mere 3 per cent. Yet in absolute numbers, since the group of families without plans is very large, we find that one-half of the moves that occurred in the year following the survey were planned at the beginning of the year, while the other half were not anticipated at that time. The moves that were planned at the time of the survey may have materialized at any time during the next 12 months; thus even some of the planned moves may have involved short planning periods.

Perhaps the data on plan fulfillment suggest a somewhat longer planning period than people's own statements. In any case, a good deal of geographic mobility does seem to occur at rather short notice.

Table 75 summarizes three other measures which may be indicative of deliberation. Only about one-third of movers considered alternative places to which they might move, another piece of evidence that there is often little deliberation accompanying the moving decision. Of movers who had to find a new job, two-thirds had their new job arranged in advance of the move; only about 20 per cent had no prearranged job and no job information. However, less than half of people in the labor force used more than one source of information to help them explore job opportunities in the new place. Among the sources open to them were friends and relatives, prospective employers or their representative, public or private employment agencies, newspaper ads, unions, or a special trip. The most frequent sources used to get information about jobs were friends and relatives; next came special trips to look the situation over; and third in importance were employer representatives.

Source of Information	Per cent of Recent Movers In the Labor Force (non-transfers) Who Used Each Source of Information*
Friends, relatives	49
Special trip	33
Employer or his representative	15
Newspaper ads	13
Private employment agency	7
State employment agency	6
Union	3
Other	18
Number of movers	398

*Percentages will not add to 100 because some movers used more than one information source.

Did the same people who thought about the move for a long time also consider alternative places and prearrange their job, using several sources of information? That is, does deliberateness in decision-making as measured by one variable imply deliberateness in terms of the other variables? Table 76 shows that, while there is some tendency for one measure of deliberation to be positively associated with other measures, this tendency is neither strong nor uniform.

Table 75

INDICATORS OF DELIBERATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE MOVING DECISION

(Percentage distributions)

Consideration of Alternative Moves	Per cent of Most Recent Moves
Considered alternatives	36
Did not consider alternatives	64
Total	100
Number of cases	696

Pre-arrangement of Job or Job Information Obtained Before Move	Per cent of Most Recent Moves Where Head Went To Work For A New Employer
Pre-arranged a job	64
Did not pre-arrange a job	36
Had information regarding jobs	17
Had no information regarding jobs	19
Total	100
Number of cases	400

Number of Sources of Job Information Used	Per cent of Most Recent Moves Where Head Went To Work For A New Employer
None	8
One	50
Two	32
Three	8
Four or more	2
Total	100
Number of cases	400

Table 76

INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VARIOUS MEASURES OF DELIBERATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers)

	Length of Time Seriously Considered Moving			Consideration of Alternative Moves	
Consideration of Alternatives	One Month Or Less	Between 1 and 6 Months	More Than 6 Months	Considered Alternatives	Did Not Consider Alternatives
Considered alternative	20	28	39		
Did not consider alternative	80	72	61		
Total	100	100	100		
Number of cases	176	163	178		
Pre-arrangement of Job[a]					
Pre-arranged a job	71	65	55	69	60
Did not pre-arrange a job	29	35	45	31	40
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	99	102	96	123	262
Number of Information Sources Used[a]					
None	9	6	9	2	11
One	45	49	53	41	55
Two	39	36	26	41	28
Three	6	8	9	12	5
Four or more	1	1	3	4	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	103	105	99	131	263

Number of Information Sources Used[a]	Pre-arrangement of Job[a]	
	Pre-arranged a Job	Did Not Pre-arrange a Job
None	6	12
One	52	47
Two	29	35
Three	11	3
Four or more	2	3
Total	100	100
Number of cases	243	142

[a]By movers who went to work for a new employer.

Movers who thought about the move and planned a long time ahead were more likely to consider alternative places than others, and to use three or more sources of job information. Similarly, families who considered other locations used considerably more information sources on the average than families who limited themselves to one possible destination. The three variables - length of planning period, consideration of alternative moves, and number of information sources - are correlated and therefore may be regarded as dimensions of deliberation. On the other hand, people whose job was prearranged did *not* have long planning periods, or consider alternative places much more frequently than others, nor did they use more sources of information. Indeed, the group who had a job already arranged when they moved contained a relatively high proportion of those who thought about the move for a month or less. Thus it would appear that a prearranged job sometimes is an outside stimulus which brings about or accelerates the decision to move. For instance, a relative or an employer representative who knows of a good job opening elsewhere may initiate a quick moving decision. This does not rule out the opposite situation, where the prearrangement of a new job is initiated by the potential mover and is the result of careful searching over a period of time and in several places. In view of these findings, prearrangement of a new job will not be treated as an aspect of deliberation in the analysis which follows, although it is of interest as part of the decision-making process.

Not unexpectedly, Tables 75 and 76 point to considerable diversity between movers in the degree of deliberation which accompanies the moving decision. To some extent these differences must be the result of individual personality traits. Beyond that, however, there are bound to be systematic differences between socio-economic groups. And we might also expect that the circumstances surrounding the move would have a bearing on deliberation.[4]

Tables 77 and 78 illustrate the relation between education and occupation on the one hand and our measures of deliberation on the other hand. The most important characteristics of deliberate decision makers are a college education and a professional or technical occuaption. Even these, however, are not strongly associated with deliberation. The group of movers who plan for a long period of time and who consider alternatives tends to be somewhat older than other movers, and it also contains a disproportionate number of retired

[4]For a parallel analysis of deliberation in connection with purchase decisions, see George Katona and Eva Mueller, "A Study of Purchase Decisions," *Consumer Behavior*, Vol. I, Lincoln Clark, ed., (New York University Press, 1954), pages 30-88.

Table 77

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND MEASURES OF DELIBERATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers)

Length of Time Seriously Considered Moving	Eight Grades or Less	High School	College
One month or less	29	36	34
Between 1 and 6 months	30	32	31
More than 6 months	41	32	35
Total	100	100	100
Consideration of Alternatives			
Considered alternatives	18	23	34
Did not consider alternatives	82	77	66
Total	100	100	100
Number of Information Sources Used[a]			
None	7	9	8
One	60	58	39
Two	32	27	36
Three	*	3	16
Four or more	1	3	1
Total	100	100	100
Pre-arrangement of Job[a]			
Pre-arranged a job	40	53	83
Did not pre-arrange a job	60	47	17
Total	100	100	100

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

[a]By movers who went to work for a new employer.

Table 78

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND MEASURES OF DELIBERATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers)

Length of Time Seriously Considered Moving	Professional, Technical	Other White Collar	Blue Collar
One month or less	32	42	34
Between 1 and 6 months	34	29	34
More than 6 months	34	29	33
Total	100	100	100
Consideration of Alternatives			
Considered alternatives	44	20	22
Did not consider alternatives	56	80	78
Total	100	100	100
Number of Information Sources Used[a]			
None	7	6	8
One	41	46	56
Two	34	34	31
Three	16	13	2
Four or more	2	1	3
Total	100	100	100
Pre-arrangement of Job[a]			
Pre-arranged a job	85	61	49
Did not pre-arrange a job	15	39	51
Total	100	100	100

[a]By movers who went to work for a new employer.

people. That the moving decision poses a problem for older people is confirmed by other evidence in the survey of the reluctance of that group to move. The psychological measure of effectiveness show only a very small difference in the expected direction, between the deliberate and the non-deliberate groups.[5]

Thus it appears that there is some relationship whereby the people who are more thoughtful about their moving decision are also better educated, of a higher occupational status, and slightly more likely to have a sense of psychological effectiveness and good health. These are the people who are most likely to be employed in white-collar jobs; and white-collar workers do more information seeking, perhaps because they are more specialized in their work. The deliberate group also is the group which is in the most advantageous position in the labor market to start with. And it is the group which has been shown to be most deliberate in making large purchase decisions.[6] The only surprise the investigation of socio-economic characteristics does provide is that these characteristics are not more strongly associated with deliberation about the moving decision.

The reason becomes clear when we look at Tables 79 to 82: The most important factors governing the degree of deliberation are the circumstances which give rise to the move. Essentially they determine the extent to which the move requires or leaves room for problem solving behavior. One factor which may influence the deliberation which goes into any decision is past experience with similar decisions. If the family has made successful moves before, or if it has moved often, it may decide on the next move with less deliberation. In Table 79 movers are classified by the number of moves they have made since 1950. People who have moved three or more times since 1950 are much more likely to plan for a very short time than one-time movers. However, consideration of alternatives and number of information sources used do not decline with frequency of moving. A further aspect of familiarity and previous experience is the presence of friends and/or relatives in the new area. Consultation with them may replace other extended deliberation. People who moved to a place where they had relatives or friends (about 70 per cent of all movers) planned for about the same length of time as others; but they were considerably less likely to consider alternative locations. Another situation which implies familiarity is a return move to a place where the family, or at

[5]For a detailed description of how psychological effectiveness is measured and how it relates to other aspects of the moving process, see above, Chapter VII.

[6]Katona and Mueller, *ibid.*

Table 79

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUMBER OF MOVES SINCE 1950 AND MEASURES OF DELIBERATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers)

	Number of Moves Since 1950		
	One	Two	Three or More
Length of Time Seriously Considered Moving			
One month or less	23	35	42
Between 1 and 6 months	30	31	32
More than 6 months	47	34	26
Total	100	100	100
Consideration of Alternatives			
Considered alternatives	24	30	27
Did not consider alternatives	76	70	73
Total	100	100	100
Number of Information Sources Used[a]			
None	7	6	10
One	55	47	48
Two	31	34	31
Three	5	12	8
Four or more	2	1	3
Total	100	100	100

[a]By movers who went to work for a new employer.

least one family member, has lived previously (20 per cent of all moves). Again familiarity does not shorten the length of the planning period; but return moves are associated with lack of consideration of alternative locations and with use of only one (or no) information source (Table 80).

Finally, distance moved may have a bearing on familiarity. One might assume that moving to a very distant place is a more problematic and difficult decision than moving to a place only 50 or 100 miles away; hence it should be associated with more deliberate decision-making. This expectation is borne out to the extent that moves to a place 600 miles or more away, more frequently than shorter moves, are accompanied by long planning periods, consideration of alternative locations, and use of two or more information sources. However, there are no differences of this kind between medium and very short distances (Table 81).

A further important determinant of deliberation is the reason for moving, or the immediate event which triggers the decision to move. Urgency to move may arise from *unemployment* prior to the move. Also, a man who is transferred usually does not have a difficult decision to make. And finally, a worker's felt need for deliberation may be reduced, when he is offered a job or hears about a job opening, perhaps through relatives or friends. This kind of opportunity may have to be acted on quickly and may not lead the family to consider other moves they might make. The data indicate that the pressure of unemployment affects deliberation primarily in that it shortens the time span during which the family considers the move. It does not seem to affect the likelihood that the family will weigh alternative locations or use several sources of information.

The majority of families who moved because they were transferred had planning periods of a month or less, and planning periods in excess of 6 months were rare under these circumstances. *Not all* transfers were initiated by the employer. In a fourth of cases the mover said he desired the move, and in another fourth it was reported that both the mover and the employer wanted the move. Thus many transfers involve some discretion on the part of the employee. Nevertheless, only one in eight families who were transferred considered alternatives to the move they made. The questions on information sources were not applicable to transfers. People who moved because they had a job offer also had shorter than average planning periods; but they did consider alternative moves in at least one out of every three cases. They also were close to the average in number of information sources consulted (Table 82). No *strong* relationships between various other reasons for moving and extent of deliberation

Table 80

RETURN MOVES BY MEASURES OF DELIBERATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers)

	Yes, Move A Return	No, Not A Return
Length of Time Seriously Considered Moving		
One month or less	28	36
Between 1 and 6 months	37	30
More than 6 months	35	34
Total	100	100
Consideration of Alternatives		
Considered alternatives	15	30
Did not consider alternatives	85	70
Total	100	100
Number of Information Sources Used[a]		
None	13	7
One	59	48
Two	20	35
Three	6	8
Four or more	2	2
Total	100	100

[a]By movers who went to work for a new employer.

Table 81

DISTANCE OF MOVE IN RELATION TO MEASURES OF DELIBERATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers)

	Less Than 200 Miles	200-599 Miles	600 Miles Or Over
Length of Time Seriously Considered Moving			
One month or less	35	38	29
Between 1 and 6 months	33	30	27
More than 6 months	32	32	44
Total	100	100	100
Consideration of Alternatives			
Considered alternatives	27	26	38
Did not consider alternatives	73	74	62
Total	100	100	100
Number of Information Sources Used[a]			
None	8	7	6
One	53	52	34
Two	29	30	42
Three	7	9	17
Four or more	3	2	1
Total	100	100	100

[a]By movers who went to work for a new employer.

Table 82

RELATION BETWEEN EVENT TRIGGERING THE MOVE AND MEASURES OF DELIBERATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers)

	Transfer	Job Offer	All Others
Length of Time Seriously Considered Move			
One month or less	58	42	30
Between 1 and 6 months	27	29	30
More than 6 months	15	29	40
Total	100	100	100
Consideration of Alternatives			
Considered alternatives	11	38	27
Did not consider alternatives	89	62	73
Total	100	100	100
Number of Information Sources Used[a]			
None	b	6	10
One		53	51
Two		31	29
Three		8	7
Four or more		2	3
Total		100	100

[a]By movers who went to work for a new employer.

[b]Question not asked of transfers. The question was: "What first brought up the idea of moving here?"

are evident. People who said they moved wholly or partly for non-economic reasons apparently were less subject to pressure than people who moved for job related reasons. They had relatively long planning periods, considered alternatives about one-third of the time, and often consulted more than one information source.

A number of conclusions follow from our analysis of deliberation. The first is that there is in many cases surprisingly little deliberation, considering the importance which a move across labor market boundaries may have for the family's economic welfare. Secondly, a low degree of deliberation most often is explicable in terms of the circumstances under which the move occurs. People seem to see less need for problem solving behavior when they move to a place where they have relatives or friends or to a place where they once lived before, or when they have had repeated experience with moving. Deliberation also is less likely to occur when unemployment, a transfer, or a job offer have triggered the decision to move. It is understandable, and in a sense rational, that there should be less felt need for deliberation under such circumstances. It would be erroneous to conclude that people act carelessly or exercise no foresight. Most movers in the labor force do prearrange a job. The point is that in most cases a potential mover concerns himself only with a narrow range of alternatives, in terms of timing, destination, and job. The economist's "ideal" may be the young man who graduates from college and tells the employment office at his college - "I am willing to go anywhere in the country, wherever the best job is available. I'd like to have interviews with a lot of prospective employers. And I'll consider any job in my line of work." Another "near-ideal" case is the worker who goes to one or more employment agencies in a city to which he intends to move and inquires about all available openings for which he may be qualified, looks at the help-wanted column in the local newspapers, contacts the larger employers in his line of work, and talks to any friends he may have. By contrast, there is the man who writes to his brother in Phoenix, Arizona, that he would like to come to Phoenix, if the brother thinks a suitable job could be found there. Three months later the brother replies that the owner of a hardware store is interested in him and would like to meet him. As a result of a visit the job is prearranged. No alternatives are considered. It is quite clear that the latter type of move, where a very narrow range of choice is involved, is decidedly more common than the "ideal" type.

A final question to be asked is whether the extent of deliberation prior to the move affects the success of the move, as evaluated by the mover himself. Table 83 shows very little evidence that the amount of deliberation has any relation at all to the success of the move in the mover's eyes. However, it must be recalled that moves involving a

Table 83

RELATION BETWEEN EVALUATION OF MOVE AND MEASURES OF DELIBERATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers)

	Evaluation of Move by Mover	
	Very Good Idea or Good	Qualified, Poor, or Very Poor
Length of Time Seriously Considered Move		
One month or less	33	37
Between 1 and 6 months	31	33
More than 6 months	36	30
Total	100	100
Consideration of Alternatives		
Considered alternatives	26	27
Did not consider alternatives	74	73
Total	100	100
Number of Information Sources Used[a]		
None	8	11
One	50	49
Two	32	33
Three	8	5
Four or more	2	2
Total	100	100

[a]By movers who went to work for a new employer.

The question was: "All things considered, how do you now feel about the move - was it a good idea or a poor idea to move here?"

low degree of deliberation tend to be transfers, moves to a place where relatives or friends are living, or to a place where the mover has resided previously. These circumstances of themselves might tend to make the move a success. Perhaps deliberation does have the effect of making other moves equally satisfactory. It is also interesting to ask whether the extent of deliberation influences the "success" of the move from an overall economic standpoint. This question, however crucial, the available data do not answer.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In the last section we investigated information-seeking as a concomitant of the process of decision-making. We shall now look in more detail at the information sources used by various kinds of people and used in different situations. This topic deserves separate analysis since adequate information is essential to an efficient allocation of the labor force. Previous chapters have shown that the push of adverse circumstances is less influential in relation to geographic mobility than the "pull" of favorable economic conditions. Knowledge of job opportunities elsewhere is essential if this "pull" is to be effective. On the other hand, knowledge that employment opportunities do not exist in a certain area may help prevent mobility that would not be useful to the economy. Moreover, the flow of job information is of interest since it can be enlarged by planned efforts on the part of the federal or of state governments. To be sure, availability of information is not the only factor that determines the use of information. The motivation to obtain and examine information must also be present. And as we have seen, this motivation is greatly reduced by inertia and by the fact that the range of locations and jobs considered is for many migrants very narrow from the outset.

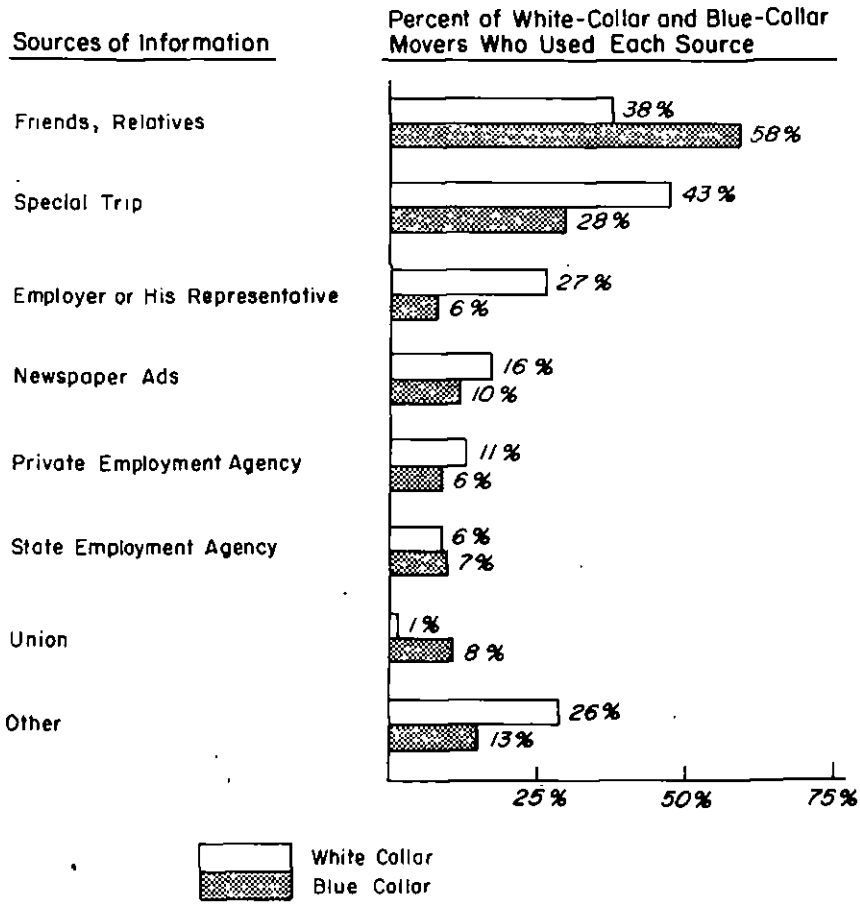
Of primary interest as regards information-seeking are workers who moved and sought work with a new employer. This group is further subdivided into blue and white collar workers, a division which helps to clarify differences in use of various sources. A second group, people who were transferred by their employer were not asked about their sources of information regarding employment opportunities in the new area since they already had jobs waiting for them. Usually the company informs the prospective transfer of the exact nature of the job to which he is being sent. Sometimes the company also may provide information about the community in general. And, as we have seen, planning is short in such cases; and a consideration of alternative moves rare. Finally there is a third group of people who are not in the labor force. Questions about sources of job information did not apply to these people. However, they were asked whether friends or

relatives lived in the area they moved to, and whether these people helped them with the move. A relatively high proportion of people who did not expect to work after the move had friends or relatives in the new area.

To return to movers who had to look for a new job, we have noted that white-collar workers are more active information-seekers than blue-collar workers. White-collar workers also use different sources of information from blue-collar workers, as Chart VIII-1 indicates.

CHART VIII-1

SOURCES OF JOB INFORMATION BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES



It is probably fair to regard movers who consult sources other than friends and relatives as exercising more initiative and obtaining on the average a broader spectrum of information. For blue-collar workers friends and relatives were the most important and, in a good many cases, the only source of information. White-collar workers are more likely than blue-collar workers to have made a special trip to the area to look over the job situation there; they are also more likely to have been in contact with an employer. Although over a third of the white-collar group learned something about the job market from friends or relatives, this is a much smaller proportion than in the blue-collar group.

As might be guessed from the differences between white- and blue-collar workers, level of education also has a bearing on how a man informs himself. College educated workers who, of course, tend to be white-collar employees usually obtain information by means of a special trip, friends or relatives, or an employer. They are, however, much less likely to rely exclusively on friends or relatives than are people with lower levels of education (Chart VIII-2).

The reader might suspect that the reliance of blue-collar workers on relatives and friends implies reliance on an inferior source (as compared for instance to an employment agency). However correct this may be, the migrant does not share this opinion. Regarding each source of information, people were asked - "Did this information help you get a job?" Most information sources, including relatives and friends, were found by the overwhelming majority of their users to be helpful, as Table 84 indicates. Friends and relatives along with special trips were the most widely appreciated sources of information. Employment agencies and unions were consulted infrequently; and when consulted, were judged of little use by one-fourth to one-half of users.

A further qualitative consideration arises because not all information is equally specific. Descriptions of the kind of job information received were divided into two main groups: 1) information about the general employment situation in the new area; and 2) information about specific job openings. In general, white-collar workers are more likely than blue-collar workers to obtain specific information. They may be more skillful in using information sources. Also, the white-collar worker usually has a narrower range of jobs which are appropriate for him. A highly skilled technician may be willing to do only one type of work, while an unskilled laborer may fit into a variety of jobs. If this is true, then the laborer may need to know primarily that job opportunities exist in another area in order to move. The highly skilled worker would want to know that there are specific jobs open that call for his training.

Some sources are more likely to be designated as having provided specific information about particular jobs than others. Newspaper ads, state employment agencies and unions were the only sources which the majority of users described as having yielded general rather than specific information. Interestingly, the opposite is true of private employment agencies. (It must be kept in mind, however, that all four of these sources were mentioned infrequently;

CHART VIII-2
SOURCES OF JOB INFORMATION BY EDUCATION

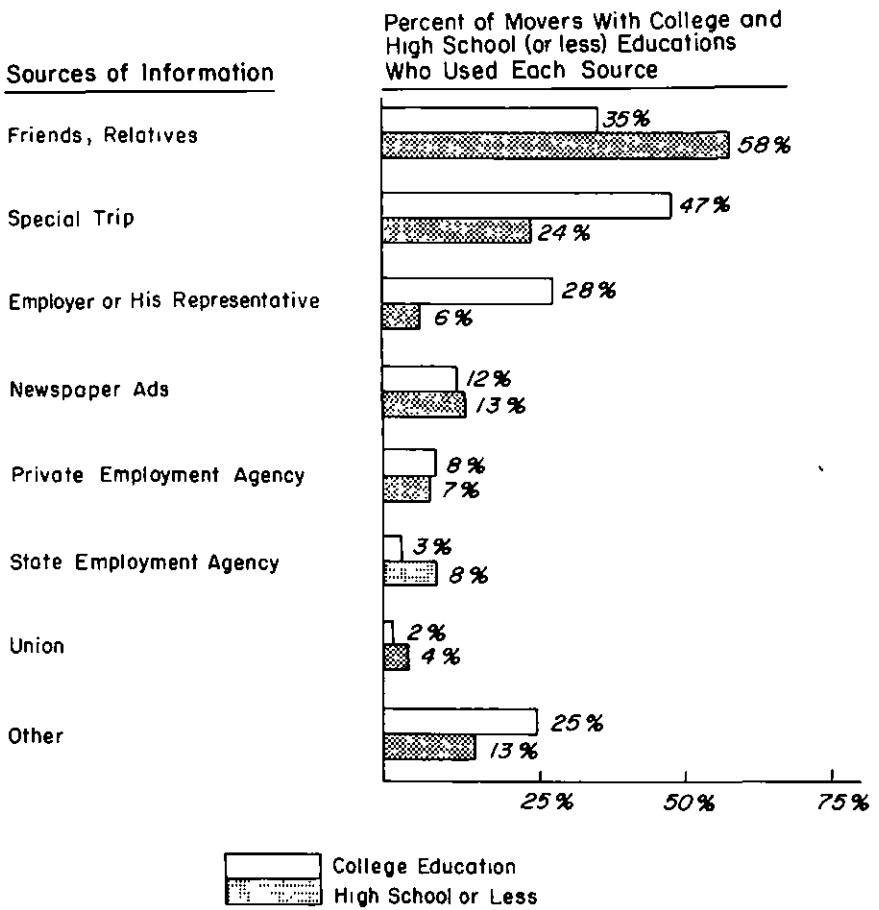


Table 84

USE AND USEFULNESS OF SPECIFIC SOURCES OF JOB INFORMATION

(Percentage distribution of recent movers who went to work for a new employer)

Whether Used And Usefulness	Source of Information						
	Friends, Relatives	Special Trip	Employer	Newspaper Ads	State Employment Agency	Private Employment Agency	Union
Used this source	48	34	14	13	7	8	4
Information was helpful	41	26	12	8	3	5	2
Information was not helpful	4	3	1	4	3	2	1
Not ascertained whether helpful	3	5	1	1	1	1	1
Did not use this source	52	66	86	87	93	92	96
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of movers	421	421	421	421	421	421	421

and hence the number of cases on which the evaluations are based is small.) As might be expected, employer representatives and special trips tend to provide the mover with information about specific job openings. Friends and relatives not only are judged a useful source of information in practically all instances; but both white- and blue-collar workers said somewhat more often that they obtained specific rather than general information about the labor market through relatives and friends (Chart VIII-3).

CHART VIII-3

TYPE OF JOB INFORMATION OBTAINED BY WHITE- AND BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS

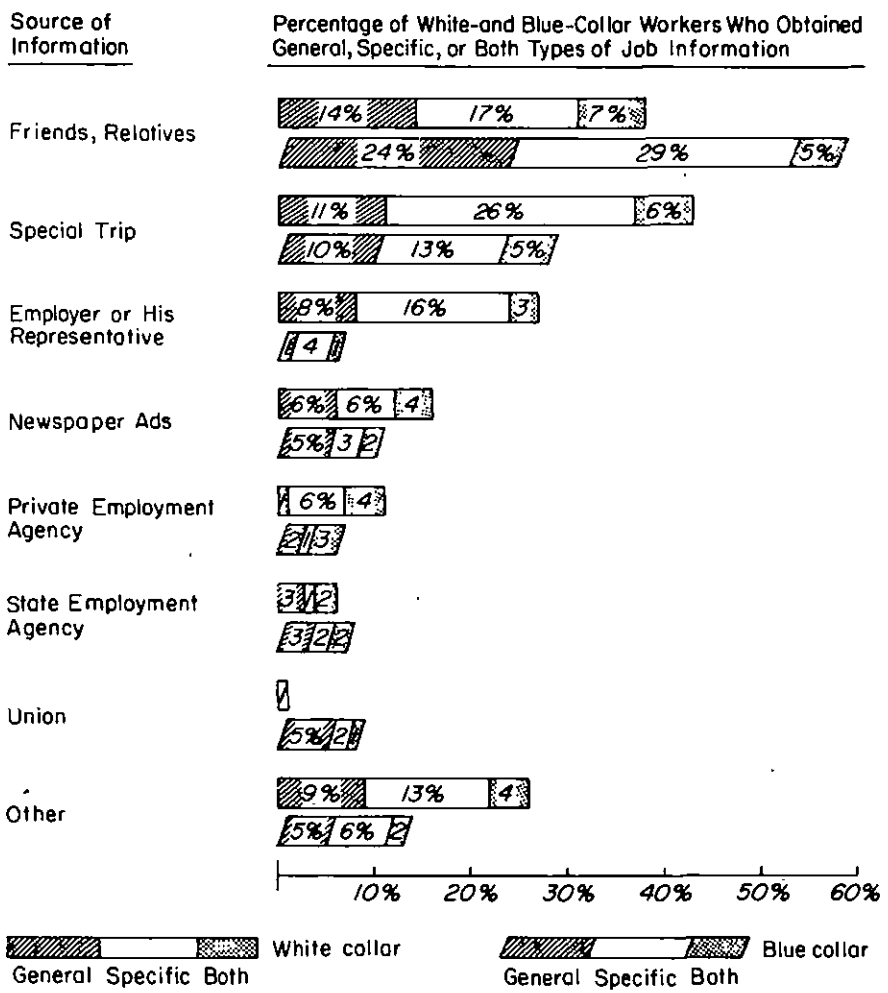


Table 85 shows, for white- and blue-collar workers, the way in which the job in the new location was obtained, for prearrangers and those who did not prearrange a job. Distinct differences do appear in the methods used. Of the white-collar workers who did the arranging before the move, only 17 per cent did so through friends or relatives. Almost half (47 per cent) made arrangements through an employer. It is also interesting to note that of the white-collar workers who arranged their jobs after the move, 13 per cent did so by means of a private employment agency. This proportion is several times greater than the proportion of the three other groups who used the private employment agencies. The most noteworthy thing about the state employment agencies is that they were used by very few people, even among the groups that got their jobs after they had arrived in the new area.

A few words may still be added about movers who are not in the labor force. For these people, friends or relatives are likely to be the major source of information about the new location. Fully three-fourths of that group move to a place where they do have relatives or friends, compared with about two-thirds of movers in the labor force. In about four cases in ten friends or relatives helped these migrants to make living arrangements, helped with moving, and helped in other ways as well.

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize briefly - most people who undertake a move to a new location and who plan to work there do inform themselves about the job situation in the new area. This is particularly true of the better-educated and of white-collar workers. Yet the decision-making process connected with moving is not as rational as the economist might wish, and a great deal of mobility is undoubtedly "inefficient" as far as the economy is concerned. We have seen in Chapters IV and V that income and employment differentials have only a marginal impact on the redistribution of the labor force through migration. One factor which contributes to the inefficiency of mobility is that of imperfect knowledge upon which decisions are made. Word-of-mouth, what one hears from relatives or friends, seems to play an undue role as a source of information. If mobile workers are to be directed toward places where the economy will derive the greatest benefit from their move, the formal job information system needs strengthening. Although blue-collar workers appear to be in greatest need of an improved formal system of providing job information, other groups as well could stand to gain from a central clearing house which would make it easy to learn about job openings in alternative locations.

Table 85

HOW A NEW JOB WAS OBTAINED

(Percentage distribution of recent movers who went to work for a new employer)

		White-Collar Workers		Blue-Collar Workers	
Job Obtained Through:	All	Pre-arranged	Not Pre-arranged	Pre-arranged	Not Pre-arranged
Friends, relatives	30	17	38	43	34
Special trip	8	8	8	16	1
Employer or his representative	37	47	26	27	35
Newspaper ads	5	5	5	2	8
Private employment agency	4	5	13	2	2
State employment agency	3	1	5	*	6
Union	3	1	*	5	6
Other	10	16	5	5	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of movers	330	130	38	82	80

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

If, in the future, the flow of job information is to be improved, a logical place to start might be the state employment agencies. In order to increase the use which movers make of these agencies, it would seem important to extend their pool of data about jobs in other labor market areas and states, both white-collar and blue-collar, and to advertise the fact that such a clearing house of information exists. In February 1966 President Johnson's National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress proposed that the state-federal employment service be nationalized, along with a "computerized" nationwide job information service that could rapidly match up available jobs and available workers.[7] Clearly, the more easily accessible information is made, the more it may be expected to be utilized. And more complete knowledge should facilitate more rational and logical decision-making.

At the same time, it must be recognized that moving decisions are heavily circumscribed by personal considerations. Typically, they are *not* highly deliberate decisions involving a wide-open choice between many alternatives and thorough information-seeking. If a man is willing to consider only one or two acceptable new locations or jobs, a comprehensive information system such as the proposed computerized nationwide clearing house goes way beyond his needs. Indeed it must be assumed that the present low use of public employment agencies results as much from the limited demand for information about a variety of job openings in a variety of places as it results from the agencies' limited capacity for supplying such information.

[7]Report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, *Technology and the American Economy*, Volume 1, February 1966, pages 50-52.

IX THE COST OF THE MOVE AND PEOPLE'S EVALUATION OF ITS SUCCESS[1]

This chapter is concerned with the cost of moving from one labor market area to another and with people's own evaluations of the success of their most recent moves. Estimates are presented in the first section of the chapter of the average cost of moves between labor areas and of the differences in cost from one type of move to another. The second section considers not only people's overall evaluations of their moves but also the reasons given for these evaluations and the success of the moves in specific respects.

It would not be accurate to describe this chapter as an exercise in cost-benefit analysis. The attempt is made, however, in the concluding section, to consider jointly some of the costs of moving and some of the gains which may result from it.

THE TOTAL COST OF MOVING

The statistics on cost which are presented here are based on people's reports concerning the expense of their most recent moves across labor market area boundaries. Only moves within the five years prior to the interview are covered, and if a family moved repeatedly within this period only the cost of the most recent move was asked. Altogether there were 637 such moves reported, including 113 transfers and 524 moves which were not transfers. Cost data are available for 89 of the transfers and up to 495 non-transfers. The lack of complete data on the cost of some transfers arises partly because people may not know the amount of moving expenses paid directly by their employers. With regard to non-transfers unavailability of cost data results from the fact that the move may have occurred several years ago, and the people have forgotten what the cost was. In using the data in this chapter it should be kept in mind that there well may be memory error in the reports people did make. The data are also subject, of course, to sampling error. All percentages and arithmetic means reported should be understood to be approximations. The data on costs are reported in three sections which concern, respectively, the total cost of moving and its two components, the cost of moving people's belongings, and the cost of moving the people themselves.

What is the total cost of moving between labor market areas? The simplest answer to this question is that the average (mean) cost is

[1]This chapter was written by John B. Lansing and Nancy Barth.

about $225. That average applies to all moves across labor market area lines, lumping together moves which on closer examination seem diverse.

About 18 per cent of the moves are transfers, which are frequently paid for by employers if made at their initiative. The average cost of transfers is $500; when transfers are excluded the average cost of all other moves falls from $225 to $180.

The average cost of moving is a useful summary statistic, but it costs most people less than the average to move while it costs a few people much more. The distribution of the total cost of moving is shown in Graph IX-1 for transfers and Graph IX-2 for non-transfers. The exact statistics are shown in Table 86. About one transfer out of four (24 per cent) costs $1000 or more, but only a very few non-transfers (3 per cent) are so expensive. Forty-five per cent of the non-transfers cost less than $50!

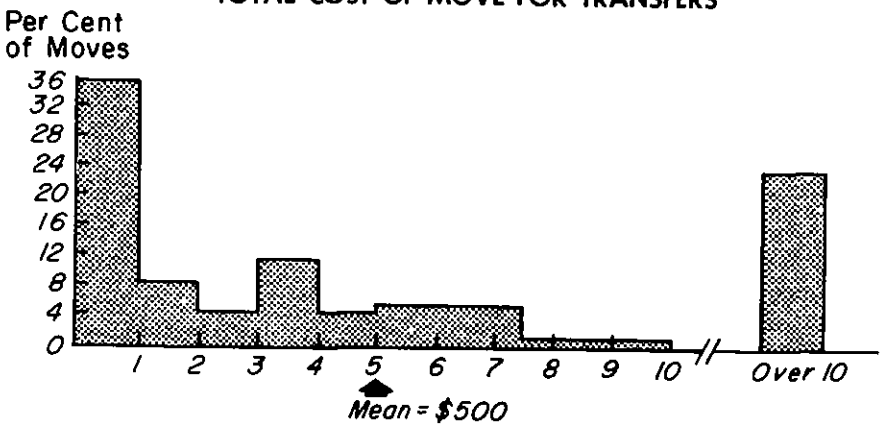
Moves also differ from each other in the distance covered, and one would expect the cost of a move to depend on the distance over which people and goods are moved. The distribution of number of moves by distance is J-shaped, as was noted in Chapter I (Table 8). There is little difference between the distribution of transfers by distance moved and the distribution of non-transfers, as is shown by Table 87. About one-third of all moves across labor market area boundaries are to places less than 100 miles away while about 22 per cent are to places 600 miles or more away.

Since short moves tend to be less expensive, it may be useful to consider the distribution of the total cost of moves exclusive of very short moves. The second column of Table 86 shows the costs of moves of 50 miles or more, for transfers and non-transfers separately. Omission of the moves under 50 miles makes less difference in the cost distribution than might have been expected. For example, of all transfers 29 per cent cost under $50, while of all transfers to places 50 miles or more away 24 per cent cost under $50. In subsequent tabulations, therefore, moves to all distances are included.

The total cost of moving depends to a large extent on the age of the head of the family. Age, of course, is not in itself a determinant of the cost of moving. Age of the head, rather, is probably an indirect measure of such variables as the total number of pounds of furniture and household possessions which a family has accumulated and willingness to undertake the physical labor of moving. The relation between age and cost of moving is summarized for non-transfers in Table 88.

GRAPH IX-1

TOTAL COST OF MOVE FOR TRANSFERS



GRAPH IX-2 TOTAL COST OF MOVE FOR NON-TRANSFERS

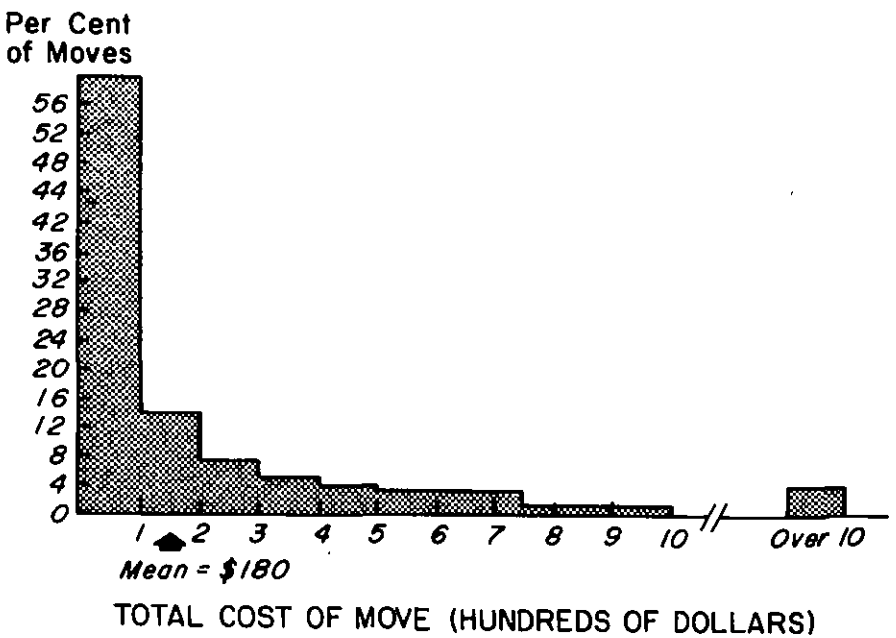


Table 86

TOTAL COST OF MOVE

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years)

	A. Non-Transfers	
Total Cost	All Non-Transfers	Non-Transfers of 50 Miles or More
Under $50	45	37
$50-99	15	16
$100-199	14	16
$200-299	7	8
$300-399	5	6
$400-499	3	4
$500-749	6	7
$750-999	2	3
$1000 or more	3	3
Total	100%	100%
Number of moves	486	418

	B. Transfers	
Total Cost	All Transfers	Transfers of 50 Miles or More
Under $50	29	24
$50-99	6	7
$100-199	8	7
$200-299	5	5
$300-399	11	10
$400-499	4	5
$500-749	12	14
$750-999	1	1
$1000 or more	24	27
Total	100%	100%
Number of moves	89	78

Table 87

TOTAL NUMBER OF TRANSFERS AND NON-TRANSFERS BY DISTANCE TRAVELED

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in last 5 years for transfers and non-transfers)

	Transfers		Non-transfers	
Distance	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Less than 15 miles	*	*	24	6
20 - 40	11	14	64	15
50 - 90	14	18	62	14
100 - 190	13	16	75	17
200 - 390	18	21	70	16
400 - 590	7	9	42	10
600 - 990	7	9	33	8
1000 - 1490	6	8	31	7
1500 or more miles	4	5	30	7
Total	80	100%	431	100%

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

Table 88

TOTAL COST OF MOVE FOR NON-TRANSFERS BY THE AGE OF THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years that were not transfers)

		Age of Head		
Total Cost	All	18-24	25-54	55 and Over
Under $50	45	73	42	31
50-99	15	12	16	14
100-199	14	9	15	18
200 or more	26	6	27	37
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	486[a]	81	331	73

[a]Excludes 38 moves for which the total cost was not ascertained.

Three out of four of the non-transfers under 25 moved for less than $50. Only about 31 per cent of those non-transfers 55 or over moved so cheaply.

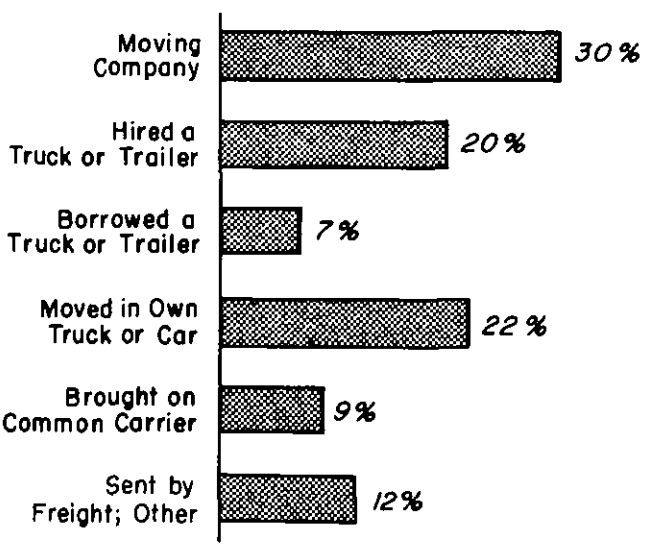
The data do not permit a reliable comparison of the cost of moving for transfers of different ages since there are few transfers in the younger age group (only about 13 per cent of transfers are under 25). The few observations which are available fall into about the same pattern by age groups as the data for non-transfers.

THE COST OF MOVING BELONGINGS

Moving expenses, as noted earlier, consist of two parts, the cost of moving belongings and the cost of moving people. Of the two, the cost of moving belongings is usually the larger. In the following discussion attention will be centered on the movers who were not transfers since for transfers the data do not permit a split between cost of moving people and goods. The average cost of moving belongings for non-transfers was $115 out of the total of $180. For all non-transfers the cost of moving belongings is shown in the first column of Table 89.

GRAPH IX-3

METHODS USED FOR MOVING BELONGINGS: NON-TRANSFERS ONLY



For almost three-fourths of these people (73 per cent) the cost was under $100.

The low cost of these moves is at least partly explained by the methods of moving used. There are a variety of methods by which one's possessions can be transported. These methods range from hiring a moving company to do the job, to hiring a truck and moving yourself, to moving only those possessions which can be brought along on a common carrier. This variety is demonstrated in Graph IX-3. Only 30 per cent of the moves for which information was available involved the use of a professional moving company. The remaining 70 per cent were divided as follows: 22 per cent moved their goods in their own car or truck; 20 per cent hired a truck or trailer; 9 per cent

Table 89

COST OF MOVING BELONGINGS FOR NON-TRANSFERS BY WHETHER HIRED A MOVING COMPANY

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years that were not transfers)

		Whether Hired a Moving Company	
Cost of Moving Belongings	All	Yes	No
Under $50	63	23	83
$50-99	10	11	10
$100-199	8	16	4
$200-299	4	9	1
$300-399	5	13	1
$400-499	3	9	*
$500-749	4	11	1
$750-999	1	2	*
$1000 or more	2	6	*
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	491[a]	140	326

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

[a]Excludes 33 moves for which the cost of moving belongings was not ascertained. Includes 25 moves for which it was not ascertained if a moving company was used.

brought only what could be checked through on a common carrier; 7 per cent borrowed a truck or trailer; while 12 per cent resorted to still other means, such as sending things by freight.

What is it that causes people to be so self-reliant in moving their possessions? Certainly some young people have very little to move, perhaps just clothing and it is not a great problem for them to do the moving on their own. The second main reason behind people's willingness "to do it themselves" is surely the smaller amount of money involved for a given move if one does the work instead of hiring it done. As shown in Table 89, the moving bill is much less for those who are able and willing to move themselves than for those who hire a moving company. For the group that moved on their own, the cost of moving their belongings was less than $50 for 8 out of 10 moves. For the group that hired a moving company, the cost of moving their belongings was less than $50 for only 2 out of 10 moves. Also, 6 per cent of this group had costs of over $1000 while not even one half of one per cent of the group who did not use a moving company had costs that high.

It would seem logical that, apart from any use of a moving company, as the distance moved increases so should the cost of moving belongings. However, even for the long moves it is still much cheaper to move yourself. As shown below for moves of 600 miles or more, 82 per cent of those who moved themselves spent under $50. By comparison only 20 per cent of those who hired a moving company were able to spend so little moving their belongings as is shown in the following tabulation:

	Moves of 600 Miles or More	
Cost of Moving Belongings	Per cent of Those Who Use a Moving Company	Per cent of Those Who Did not Use a Moving Company
Under $50	20	82
$50 - 99	4	9
$100 - 199	7	*
$200 - 299	9	2
$300 - 399	2	*
$400 - 499	10	*
$500 - 749	17	7
$750 - 999	6	*
$1000 or more	25	*
Total	100	100
Number of moves	33	52

*Less than one half of one per cent.

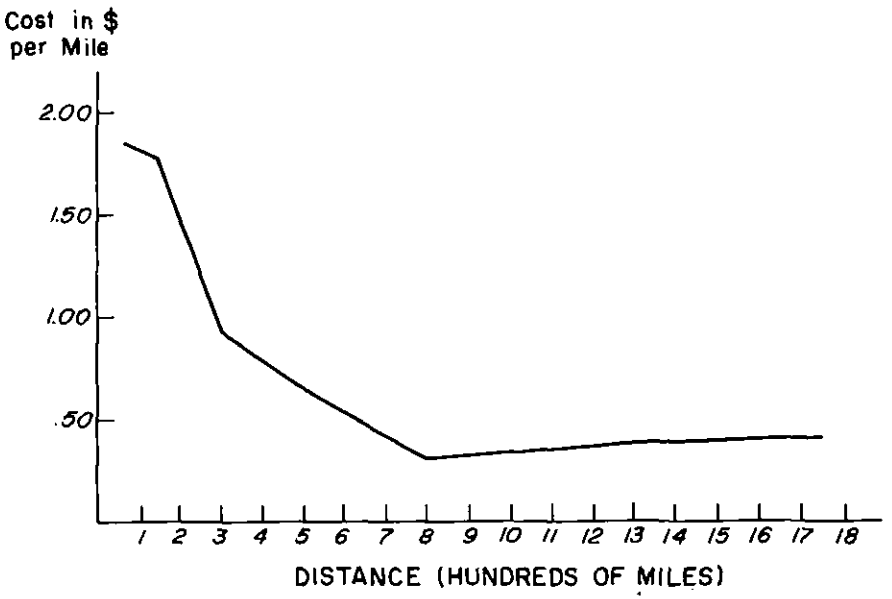
For those who do use a moving company, the cost depends on the distance. The average cost per mile for moves of different distances is summarized in Graph IX-4. Short moves cost much more per mile due to the fixed cost of packing and unpacking the moving van.

For those who do not use a moving company, as previously noted a variety of methods of moving belongings are available. The frequency distribution of costs for these methods is shown for non-transfers in Table 90. Typical costs are under $50 for all these methods. Those who hire a truck or a trailer for a move between labor market areas are more likely to spend over $50 than those who use other methods. About 43 per cent of those who hired a truck or trailer spent $50 or more. Only 6 per cent spent as much as $200.

It is interesting to note that family income does not have much bearing on the amount spent on moving belongings except at the two extremes of the income range. Families with incomes over $10,000 are likely to spend more on transporting possessions than are families with incomes under $2000. Even so, 51 per cent of the former income group spend less than $50 moving their possessions! The unemployment experience of the family head, whether help was received from friends or relatives, and family composition at the time of

GRAPH IX-4

AVERAGE COST OF MOVING BELONGINGS BY MOVING COMPANY



the move seem to have no particular effect on the cost of moving belongings.

Therefore, it appears that whether moving one's goods is cheap or expensive depends primarily on whether one has so few possessions to move or so much energy that he is willing to do most of the work himself and not entrust it to professional movers. If a moving

Table 90

COST OF MOVING BELONGINGS BY METHODS OTHER THAN MOVING COMPANIES

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years that were not transfers)

		Method of Moving				
Cost of Moving Belongings	All	Hired a Truck or Trailer	Borrowed a Truck or Trailer	In Own Car or Truck	Brought Along on Common Carrier	Other
Under $50	63	57	91	94	98	76
$50-99	10	23	3	3	*	20
$100-199	8	14	6	1	*	*
$200-299	4	1	*	*	*	*
$300-399	5	3	*	*	*	4
$400-499	3	*	*	1	*	*
$500-749	4	2	*	1	2	*
$750-999	1	*	*	*	*	*
$1000 or more	2	*	*	*	*	*
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	491[a]	89	35	102	44	50

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

[a]Excludes 33 moves for which the cost of moving belongings was not ascertained.

company is hired the cost is a function of the quantity to be moved and the distance, with short moves more expensive per mile than longer moves.

THE COST OF MOVING PEOPLE

The average cost of moving people to their new home was $65. For three moves out of four (73 per cent) the cost of moving people is less than $50. (This estimate and the statistics which follow, like those in the preceding discussion of the cost of moving belongings, are based on data for the non-transfers.) The distribution of cost of moving people is shown in the first column of Table 91.

Just as the cost of moving belongings depends on whether a moving company is engaged the cost of moving people depends on the method of transportation employed. Most moves are made by automobile, as the following tabulation shows:

Mode of Transportation	Per Cent of Non-Transfers
Auto	77
Someone else's auto	8
Air	5
Bus	5
Rail	3
Mixed modes	2
Total	100

Including moves in people's own cars plus moves in other people's cars, 85 per cent of all moves are by automobile. The distribution of the cost of moving people is shown in Table 91.

The cost of moving people by automobile depends on the distance. If median costs are estimated by distance intervals, it turns out that people's reports work out to about 8 to 9 cents per mile. Some people report amounts which are higher, and some, lower, as one might expect in view of the differences in cars and accomodations for travelers by automobile. People may also differ in whether they count such items as depreciation on the car in estimating the cost of the trip.

The cost of travel by common carrier depends, of course, on the number of people in the family as well as the distance and the rate structure of the carrier. On the average the cost of moving by common carrier is higher than the cost of moving by automobile. For those who move by common carrier, of course, the cost depends on

how many fares must be paid. When distance is taken into account the median cost of moving people, with all modes of travel both common carrier and auto averaged in together, is approximately 10¢ per mile.

All of these estimated costs per mile are based on estimates of airline distance made for each trip by locating origin and destination on a large map. Highway distances would be perhaps 15 to 20 per cent

Table 91

COST OF MOVING PEOPLE FOR NON-TRANSFERS BY HOW THEY MADE THE MOVE

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years that were not transfers)

		How People Moved			
Cost of Moving People	All	Own Auto	Someone Else's Auto	Air	Rail, Bus
Under $50	73	72	82	30	63
$50-99	10	13	8	*	20
$100-199	8	8	10	33	11
$200-299	4	4	*	15	*
$300-399	2	2	*	7	6
$400-499	1	*	*	4	*
$500-749	1	1	*	7	*
$750-999	1	*	*	4	*
$1000 or more	*	*	*	*	*
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	495[a]	367	38	27	35

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

[a]Excludes 29 moves for which the cost of moving people was not ascertained.

greater, and costs per highway mile correspondingly lower. Thus reported costs of automobile travel per highway mile would be about 7½¢ instead of 8½¢, and the average for all modes nearer 8½¢ than 10¢.

It is perhaps worth noting that the cost of moving people does *not* depend to any important extent on the age of the head of the family, nor does it depend on whether the head of the family was unemployed prior to the move or after the move. Even family income is not closely related to the cost of moving people except that high expenses for this purpose, say, over $200, which are unusual at any income level, are rare indeed for people with low incomes. If the proportion of movers at each income level who spent over $200 is tabulated, the results are as follows:

Family Income	Per Cent Who Spent $200 or More to Move People
Under $2000	2
$2000 - 2999	4
$3000 - 3999	7
$4000 - 4999	9
$5000 - 5999	15
$6000 - 7499	8
$7500 - 9999	9
$10,000 and over	18
All incomes	8

Thus, roughly 18 per cent of movers with incomes over $10,000 spent $200 on moving their families, but only about 2 per cent of those with incomes below $2000 spent so much.

With a qualification for some relation between income and cost, one may say as a rough approximation that it costs about as much to move people from one group in the population as people from another group. The financial burden of a given outlay, however, will be much greater for some people than for others.

EVALUATING THE MOVE

Is the amount of geographic mobility which takes place in the United States in some sense optimal? Or is there too much mobility? Or, too little? Or are some moves which do take place failures while other moves are never made which ought to be made? One approach to answering some of these basic questions is to seek to evaluate the success of individual moves.

There are several approaches to the evaluation of the success of a move. It is meaningful to ask, what were the economic effects of the

move? We have already considered the effects of moves on income and unemployment. It is relevant to compare directly the rate of pay of the worker immediately before and after. It is also relevant to inquire whether he likes his work more or less than before.

Perhaps the most direct way to evaluate a move is to ask the individual who made the move for his own evaluation. This method has the advantage that it permits the mover to evaluate the move against the reasons for which he made it. A move made for family reasons, for example, might accomplish its purpose regardless of whether it was an economic success. Since people may themselves evaluate moves by several criteria, evaluation of which moves are successful is simplified by permitting them to specify what is meant by success.

Finally, it is appropriate in evaluating moves to attempt to compare the advantages gained from a move with the expense of the move including any indirect costs which may have been incurred. Each of these approaches to the evaluation of individual moves will be discussed below.

Earnings: A direct economic criterion for evaluation of a move is its immediate effect on the earnings of the head of the family. Accordingly, people were asked to compare their earnings before and after the move. Excluding those who did not expect to work in the new labor market area and those for whom information on earnings was not obtained, the results were as follows:

Head's Earnings After Move	Per Cent of Moves in Last Five Years	
	All Moves	Moves to get a Better Job
Higher	65	73
Same	11	10
Lower	24	17
Total	100	100
Number of moves	401	139

After the move about 65 per cent of heads of families were earning more than before, while 24 per cent were earning less. Even unchanged earnings after a move do not indicate any direct gain from the move. (It is possible, of course, that earnings would have been lower if the move had not been made. Some moves are defensive moves.)

As one might expect, when the move was made for the express purpose of obtaining a better job the results were better and 73 per cent earned more than before the move. Seventeen per cent of moves for this purpose seem to have been failures, however, in that earnings fell.

It is a well-known characteristic of the pattern of lifetime earnings that people's incomes rise in their earlier years, reach a peak in middle age, and eventually level off or decline. It would be reasonable to expect, therefore, that when young people move to a new labor market area they would experience a rise in income. Their income is generally on the upswing.

In Table 92 the distribution of earnings after the move is shown for those under 35 and those 35 and older, education groups being kept separate. It does prove to be correct that people under 35 more often

Table 92

WHETHER EARNINGS WERE HIGHER OR LOWER AFTER MOVE BY AGE AND EDUCATION OF HEAD

(Percentage distribution of moves where head went to work for a new employer)

		Age and Education					
		Grade School or Less		High School		College	
Earnings After Move	All	Under 35	35 or Over	Under 35	35 or Over	Under 35	35 or Over
Raised	65	61	57	69	47	78	65
Same	24	39	29	19	35	12	28
Lowered	11	*	14	12	18	10	7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	400	18	44	109	72	98	57

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

The question was: "How did the move affect (HEAD'S) earnings? Raised? Lowered? No change?"

report increased earnings after the move. Of those with a high school education, for example, 69 per cent aged under 35 reported the head's earnings increased compared to only 47 per cent of those aged 35 or over. The differences associated with age seem to be smaller but do appear for the people with grade school or college educations. Indirectly these results contribute to our understanding of why young people are more likely to move. They suggest that young people are more likely to be rewarded financially for moving.

Whether the move led to an increase in earnings is also related to whether the job was arranged before the move. Table 93 is restricted to heads of families who went to work for a new employer after the move. Those who had the job arranged before the move are more likely to report increased earnings than those who did not (72 per cent as against 55 per cent). This relation is not surprising. Presumably everybody would like to arrange his job before he moves, and those who are in a strong position in the market are able to do so, as well as to earn more.

How People Like the Work: It is possible for people to evaluate jobs in non-economic terms. A man may accept a reduction in earn-

Table 93

WHETHER EARNINGS WERE HIGHER OR LOWER AFTER MOVE
BY WHETHER JOB WAS PRE-ARRANGED

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves where the head went to work for a new employer)

		Whether Job Was Pre-Arranged	
Earnings After Move	All	Pre-Arranged	Not Pre-Arranged
Raised	65	72	55
Same	24	19	32
Lowered	11	9	13
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	400	240	141

ings in order to pursue the line of work he prefers. To take this possibility into account people were asked: "In general, how does (the Head) like his work here compared to the work he did before?" This question is irrelevant for those who did not seek work, and could not be answered by others who were still unemployed. The distribution of answers for those who did reply follows:

Whether Likes Job Better	Per Cent of Moves in Last Five Years	
	All Movers	Moves to Get a Better Job
Feel job is better	61	71
Feel the same about the job	25	20
Feel the job is worse	14	9
Total	100	100
Number of moves	345	128

Again, there is a minority for whom the move was not a success in this respect. Those who like their new job better, however, are much more numerous than those who evaluate the job after the move as the less attractive of the two. Seven out of ten of those who moved explicitly in order to get a better job do report liking their work better on the new job.

People's Own Overall Evaluations: At the conclusion of the series of questions concerning their most recent move within the last five years people were asked for their own overall evaluation as follows: "All things considered, how do you now feel about the move - was it a good idea or a poor idea to move here? What do you have in mind?" The answers are distributed as follows:

Evaluation of the Move	Per Cent of Moves in Last Five Years
Very good idea	14
Good idea	75
Good in some ways, not others	5
Poor idea	4
Very poor idea	2
Total	100
Number of moves	690

These evaluations are overwhelmingly favorable. Only 6 per cent indicate that the move was a mistake and only 5 per cent that it was partially unsuccessful but had compensating advantages. It is possible that these evaluations are on the optimistic side. People may tend to accommodate themselves to their new situations and to convince themselves that their recent decision to move was wise. One way to make a rough allowance for this effect would be to group those who said the move was good in some ways but not others with those who said it was a poor idea. Even on this basis, however, only one move in ten was a mistake.

Reasons for Evaluations: The frames of reference in which people evaluate their moves are broadly similar to the reasons which they give for moving. The reasons given are shown in Table 94. The

Table 94

EVALUATION OF MOVE BY REASONS FOR EVALUATION

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years)

		Evaluation	
Reasons	All	Good Idea	Pro-Con; Poor Idea
Economic reasons	63	64	63
Occupational	53	55	48
Other economic	10	9	15
Family reasons	11	10	11
Community reasons	22	22	21
Other reasons	4	4	5
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	629	539	75

frames of reference are remarkably similar for moves which are positively and negatively evaluated. A few people responded in terms of general attitudes toward moving or to the appropriateness of moving for people like themselves. Most people responded in terms of the economic, family, or community consequences of the particular move.

It is possible to compare the frames of reference in terms which people evaluate their moves with their statements as to the reasons for making the same moves. The results appear in Table 95. Economic considerations remain the most prominent. For example, 35 per cent of all moves were made for occupational reasons only and evaluated in occupational terms only. On the other hand many moves involve other considerations. Indeed, 15 per cent both were made for non-economic reasons only and were evaluated in non-economic terms entirely. These results imply once more that moving is a complex phenomenon which has different aspects, and which aspect is stressed will depend on the direction from which the subject is approached.

Variables Related to People's Overall Evaluation: In considering the relation between the success of a move and the reasons for a move, therefore, it is appropriate to look also at the relation between the reasons given for making the move and the evaluation of the move. As shown in Table 96 moves for different reasons all are regarded as successful. If anything there is a tendency for moves made *exclusively* for family reasons to be less likely to be considered successful. Even of these moves, however, eight out of ten were reported to have been a good idea.

It would be reasonable to expect that people who get an increase in pay would ordinarily evaluate the move as a good idea, while those whose earnings were lowered would feel differently. As shown in Table 97 the relation exists but is not very close. Of those with lowered earnings 21 per cent were ambivalent or negative about the move, compared to 7 per cent of those with higher earnings. Thus, the direction of the effect is as predicted. But 79 per cent of those with lower earnings feel the move was a good idea. Either these moves were made to prevent even worse reductions or other considerations also were in people's minds.

It also would be reasonable to expect that transfers would be especially successful moves. The degree of advance knowledge of how

the move will work out should be unusually high both for the employer, who knows what to expect from the worker, and for the employee, who is likely to know that he will have a job and also to be informed as to what it will be like. Transfers, however, in some instances are desired by the employer, in some by the employee, and only in a minority of cases by both. Table 98 shows the evaluation of the move by the employee for each of these types of transfer and for non-transfers. The most successful moves are those which were desired by both parties. Only 3 per cent of the people interviewed were ambivalent or negative about such moves. When the employer is the one who wanted the move, the employee may be less enthusiastic. After 21

Table 95

RELATION BETWEEN REASONS GIVEN FOR THE MOVE AND

REASONS GIVEN FOR EVALUATION OF MOVE

(Percentage distribution of most recent move)

		Reasons for Evaluation				
		Economic		Non-Economic		
Reasons for Move	All	Occupation	Other Economic	Family	Community	Other
Economic only						
Occupation	52	35	3	3	9	2
Other economic	10	5	2	1	2	*
Economic and other reasons	16	8	2	2	3	1
Family only	12	3	1	4	3	1
Community	7	1	1	1	4	*
Family and community	3	1	*	1	1	*
Total	100%	53	9	12	22	4
Number of moves	611					

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

per cent of these moves, the people concerned were ambivalent or negative. For moves which were not transfers the corresponding percentage is 11 per cent. People are more likely to evaluate negatively moves which they did not seek.

Search for other predictors of the general evaluation of the move has not turned up as many relationships as one might have anticipated. Among the variables investigated which have little or no relation to this criterion are: the number of different sources of job information consulted, the age and education of the head, whether the family had friends or relatives in the area prior to the move, whether the head's job was arranged before the move, and the length of time people report that they spent thinking of moving before they actually moved.

The general reason for the lack of meaningful relationships seems to be that, as previously stressed, moving is a complex

Table 96

PERCENT WHO SAID THE MOVE WAS A GOOD IDEA BY

TYPE OF REASON GIVEN FOR THE MOVE

Type of Reason	Percent Who Said Move Was a Good Idea	Number of Moves
Family reasons only	78	76
Family and community reasons	96	24
Community reasons only	87	54
Economic reasons only	90	413
Economic and other reasons	87	103

phenomenon. It involves typically several people in the same family and concerns their relation to their family and close friends as well as to the community at large in addition to the economic position of the family. Even if the economic situation of the head of the family is all that is considered, it has at least three dimensions, regularity of employment, rate of pay, and how well he likes his work. It would not be surprising if gains on one dimension often were associated with losses on another.

Table 97

EVALUATION OF MOVE BY HOW MOVE AFFECTED EARNINGS

(Percentage distribution of the most recent move of heads who are self-employed, unemployed or changed jobs)

		How Move Affected Earnings		
Evaluation of Move	All	Raised	No Change	Lowered
Very good	14	16	9	11
Good	75	77	81	68
Pro-con	5	5	4	7
Poor	5	2	4	12
Very poor	1	*	2	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	401	259	46	96

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

The Cost of Moving in Relation to Income: It is obviously not easy to reduce to a dollar equivalent all of the diverse considerations which enter into people's evaluations of their moves. Yet one would like to form at least an approximate judgment as to the relative magnitudes of the cost of moving and any resulting benefits. The easiest way to approach the problem may be to start from the cost side since data on the direct cost of moving are available and are set forth in detail in the first part of this chapter.[2]

Table 98

EVALUATION OF MOVE BY WHETHER MOVE WAS A TRANSFER[a]

(Percentage distribution of most recent moves in the last 5 years)

		Move Was a Transfer			
Evaluation of Move	All	Head Wanted Move	Employer Wanted Move	Both Wanted Move	Move Was Not a Transfer
Very good	12	14	6	6	14
Good	78	77	73	91	75
Pro-con	4	3	6	3	5
Poor	5	3	13	*	5
Very poor	1	3	2	*	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of moves	737	35	68	36	546

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

[a]The questions were: "Was (Head) transferred here because he wanted to come here or was it because his employer wanted him here?" "All things considered, how do you now feel about the move - was it a good idea or a poor idea to move here?"

[2]For a discussion of what might be included in non-money costs and returns see Larry A. Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration", *Journal of Political Economy*, October 1962, pages 80-93.

Considered in relation to people's annual income, the cost of moving is small. The average cost, it will be recalled, is only $225. Compared to the national median family income in 1962 of $5800, $225 does not seem a large amount.[3]

With the data in the survey it is possible to do better than to compare average moving costs with average income. The moving costs reported by each individual family can be compared to that family's own annual income at the time of interview, that is, subsequent to the move.

The comparison was made only for non-transfers. For transfers there is no clear logical relation between the cost of the move and the income of the family who moved. The cost is commonly met in whole or in part by the employer out of his resources in the expectation that his income will rise as a result of more efficient location of his employees. In contrast, people who pay for their own moves usually are seeking to increase their income by moving to a location where they can earn more or are spending part of their income in order to enjoy the satisfaction of living at a preferred location. Either way, it is reasonable to look at the relation between their income and the cost of the move.

A working table was prepared showing the relation between total cost of move and family income. Using this table non-transfers could be divided into three groups: those for whom the cost of move was less than 10 per cent of a year's income, those for whom it was between 10 per cent and 30 per cent and those for whom it was over 30 per cent. Suppose it is agreed that for the first group the cost is a light burden; for the second, a moderate burden; and for the third, a heavy burden. How many movers fall in each group?

Burden of Moving Cost	Per Cent of All Moves Excluding Transfers
Light (less than 10 per cent of a year's income)	83
Moderate (10 per cent to 30 per cent of a year's income)	14
Heavy (30 per cent of a year's income or more)	3
Total	100

[3]The estimate of median family income is from the 1963 Survey of Consumer Finances.

For only 3 per cent was the cost of moving a heavy financial burden, and for more than four out of five the cost of moving was a light burden by the standard proposed here. The benefits resulting from a move do not have to be large to justify the direct expenditure which, after all, need be made only once while any benefits presumably would continue indefinitely into the future.

CONCLUSION

There are two problems of public policy toward geographic mobility on which data regarding the cost of moves have a bearing. The first problem concerns the economic value to society of mobility. In any calculus of the costs and gains of mobility, information on the direct cost of moving must play a part. The second set of problems arises only if mobility seems desirable. Given the objective of increasing mobility, what would be the usefulness of a policy of making it financially easy for people to move? Will such a policy work as a device to increase mobility? Is it likely to be an efficient instrument for the purpose?

On the issue of the economic value of mobility the results reported here cannot be conclusive in themselves. But they do point in one direction: the direct cost of mobility is usually small. An average cost of $225 is not large absolutely. Also, it is not large relative to the income of the people who move. For about eight out of ten of those who move, the direct cost of the move is less than 10 per cent of a year's income.

There are other, indirect costs of moving which are not discussed here, such as the cost of selling a house (but see Chapter VI). There may be social or psychological costs or gains, which also are not discussed here. It can be said, however, that a move which prevents as much as five weeks unemployment, i.e. unemployment for a tenth of a year, covers at least its direct costs 83 per cent of the time. It covers its direct costs in the sense that the social value of the services consumed by moving is exceeded by the value of the goods or services created by the worker in five weeks on the job.

Many moves do not involve unemployment either before or after the move. Many are by people of a high level of education and skill. Are these moves economically justified? It is suggestive, at least, that many of the most expensive moves are paid for by employers. (There were only 22 moves in the sample where the employer paid the full cost of moving both people and goods, but for these moves the average cost was $1050.) There is a presumption that when employers

incur the expense of shifting their employees from one area to another they have considered the question of whether to spend their money and concluded that the move does have economic advantages.

On the question of whether the cost of moving is an important barrier to mobility, the data indicate a complex answer. Since so many moves are cheap, in many situations the cost of moving cannot be an important consideration. Nearly half of all moves actually made, exclusive of transfers, cost less than $50. At that price not many people are likely to be prevented from moving by financial reasons.

Some moves, however, are more expensive. The fact that few people make the expensive moves is not proof that the cost of moves is unimportant, nor, on the other hand, is it proof that cost prevents many moves. The expensive moves can be characterized: they are long distance moves, and moves by people in the middle and older part of the age distribution. It is the young single people and the newly married couples who can put everything they own in the back of the car and drive to a new home. A family with children which has had time to accumulate furniture and household goods cannot move so easily. (Moves by people in the upper income groups are also likely to be expensive, but there is less occasion to assist these people.) Other barriers to mobility are also likely to be high for people for whom the cost of moves is high. They are more likely to own a home, for example.

Older people of moderate means, then, are likely to find moving to a new home at a distance of several hundred miles a considerable financial burden. These people do not form a large fraction of all movers at the present time. To assess for this group the relative importance of the expense of moving and other factors related to the decision to move requires consideration of a range of topics not covered in this chapter. While the cost of the move itself may not prove to be the most important consideration, a policy of making it easier financially for these people to move should work in the direction of increasing their willingness to move to a different labor market.

PART IV

Geographic Mobility and the Poverty Problem

X NEGRO-WHITE DIFFERENCES IN GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY[1]

The massive movement of the Negro population from South to North and from rural to urban areas is a conspicuous feature of the internal migration history of the United States. Yet at the present time geographic mobility is considerably lower among Negro than among white families in the U. S. This phenomenon is of interest and deserves detailed analysis. On the one hand, Negroes have incentives to move which have no exact counterpart among white families – the greater racial barriers confronting them in the South and the rapid disappearance of employment opportunities in Southern agriculture, which was once their principal livelihood. On the other hand, Negroes have a number of characteristics which are known to inhibit geographic mobility. Their educational level is relatively low; they are found predominantly in blue collar and service occupations; small incomes are frequent; and they are less likely to have financial reserves than white families. The recent high level of unemployment among Negroes has made their lesser geographic mobility a matter of particular concern.

The first part of this chapter compares mobility patterns of Negro and white families. The second part explores the *reasons* for the relatively low geographic mobility of Negro families in the recent period. Of the 4000 interviews on which this study is based about 3570 were with white respondents, 350 with Negroes, and 50 with other non-whites. Because of the relatively small number of Negro respondents, figures in this chapter relating to subgroups of the Negro population are indicative of orders of magnitude but should not be read too closely.[2]

PATTERNS OF MOBILITY AMONG NEGROES

The finding that in recent years Negro families have been considerably less mobile than white families emerges from the Survey Research Center study and is fully confirmed both by the 1960 Census and annual surveys conducted by the Bureau of the Census. The Census surveys, available annually since 1947, have registered a lower rate of inter-county moves ever since 1948 for the Negro than for the white

[1]This chapter was prepared by Eva Mueller.

[2]The primary concern of this chapter is the geographic mobility of Negroes as compared with white familes. The Survey Research Center figures relate specifically to Negroes. Some of the Census data cited relate, however, to all non-whites. The discrepancy involved is hardly significant for our purposes. According to the 1960 Census, more than 90 per cent of non-whites in the U. S. are Negroes.

population. Moreover, in recent years the gap between the mobility rate of whites and of Negroes seems to have widened. This situation has not always prevailed. Many Southern-born Negroes were at one time migrant agricultural workers. Such data as are available indicate that during the later years of World War II and just after the war, and probably also at the time of World War I and the years immediately following, Negroes were at least as mobile as white workers.[3] Therefore, in comparing mobility rates, the time period under review is crucial.[4]

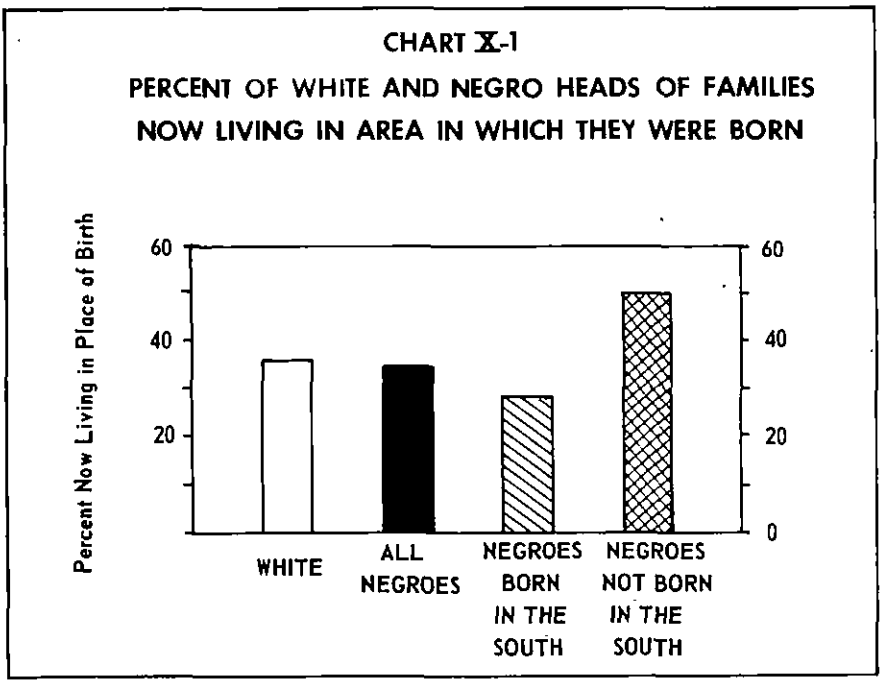
Comparisons of the proportion of Negro and white adults who have moved at some time during their life are affected both by the high mobility of the Negro population during and immediately following the two World Wars and its relatively low mobility since 1948 and during much of the inter-war period. In all, both Census and Survey Research Center data show lifetime mobility to be somewhat higher for Negro than for white adults. According to the Census, 58 per cent of white adults were still living in their state of birth in 1960, compared with 52 per cent of non-whites. The Survey Research Center data on lifetime mobility differ in that they refer to family heads rather than all people aged 20 or over, and more importantly, in that they measure the proportion who still live in the same labor market area (rather than state). This proportion is 36 per cent for whites and 33 per cent for Negroes (Chart X-1). By contrast, the proportion of children living in their state of birth was higher for Negroes than for whites, reflecting the low Negro mobility of recent years.

Interestingly, the Negro population is far from homogeneous with respect to lifetime mobility. Of the three-fourths of Negro adults who were born in the Deep South,[5] only slightly more than 1 in 4 are currently living in the labor market area in which they were born. This group has a considerably higher lifetime mobility than the white

[3]Conrad Taeuber and Irene B. Taeuber, *The Changing Population of the United States*, New York (John Wiley & Sons), 1958, pages 109-111; also Henry S. Shryock Jr., *Population Mobility Within The United States*, Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 1964, pages 335-346; and by the same author, "Wartime Shifts of Civilian Population," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, July 1947, pages 279-81.

[4]As we shall see later, fluctuations in the demand for Negro labor may be responsible for differences in Negro migration rates between time periods.

[5]The Deep South is considered separately here from the rest of the South, in order to distinguish between areas where Negroes have been a large part of the population over a long period of time, and areas where the Negro population has grown more recently because of migration. The Deep South is here defined as: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.



population. For the much smaller group of Negro family heads born outside the Deep South, Chart X-1 conveys a different picture: about one-half of them are still living in the area in which they were born. Thus the northern-born Negro represents a particularly immobile group in the population, and one which is of course growing in importance.

As is commonly known, migration toward the West and from rural to urban areas has been characteristic of the white population in recent decades. Migration of Negroes took place primarily from the South to all other areas of the country and also from farms to industrial areas. Over the past 50 years or so Negro migration was accelerated by the rapid decline of employment opportunities in Southern agriculture, particularly cotton production. Negroes, who were for the most part tenants, sharecroppers, and agricultural laborers were particularly hard hit by mechanization. As a result Negro migration off the farm has proceeded more rapidly than white off-the-farm migration. According to the Census of Agriculture, the proportion of farmers (including tenants and sharecroppers) who are Negroes fell from about 29 per cent in 1920 to 16 per cent in 1959. The 1960 Census was the first to show the American Negro more urban

than the white population: 73.2 per cent of Negroes were found to be living in cities, as compared with only 69.5 per cent of whites.[6]

Table 99 illustrates the shifts between regions of the white and Negro population in so far as these shifts have resulted from the migration of the present adult population. Those changes in the distribution of the population which result from the migration of children and any regional race-specific differences in fertility and mortality rates between racial groups are not reflected here. Only the West shows a net gain in white population in the sense that a higher proportion of the present white adult population lives there than was born there; all other regions show no significant net change due to white migration. Negro migration shows greater specificity of direction than white migration. All regions except the Deep South have

Table 99

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF FAMILIES
BY COLOR, AT BIRTH, AT COMPLETION OF SCHOOL, AND IN 1962-63
(Percentage distribution of family heads)

	At Birth	Finished School	1962-63
	White		
Northeast	22	23	23
North Central	32	31	30
Deep South	23	23	23
South - other areas	7	7	7
West	8	10	17
Foreign	8	6	--
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases: 3572			
	Negro		
Northeast	5	8	17
North Central	6	11	22
Deep South	77	69	42
South - other areas	10	10	14
West	1	1	5
Foreign	1	1	--
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases: 354			

[6]For a more detailed account of these shifts, see C. Horace Hamilton, "The Negro Leaves the South", *Demography*, 1964, Vol. 1, No. 1, pages 273-95.

gained population through Negro migration. Over three-fourths of present Negro family heads were born in the Deep South but only 42 per cent of Negro family heads remain there now. Conversely, 6 per cent of present Negro family heads were born in the North Central States, but 22 per cent live there now.

The differential impact of the farm-urban migration on race groups is illustrated by the following tabulation, which shows the origin of family heads living in metropolitan areas at the time of interview. About a third of the present white adult population in metropolitan areas was born on a farm or lived for at least a year on a farm. Among Negroes born in the Deep South and now residing in metropolitan areas, 52 per cent have a farm background. Among Negroes born outside the South and now residing in a metropolitan area, this percentage is much lower: only about 18 per cent have a farm background. It is also interesting to note that among white adults who have lived in rural areas, about 46 per cent remain rural residents; while among adult Negroes with a rural background, only about 32 per cent are still in rural areas.

Race	Per Cent of Heads of Families Now Living In Metropolitan Areas Who Once Lived On A Farm. For a Year or More	Per Cent of All Heads of Families Having A Rural Background Who Are Still Living In Rural Areas
Negro	42	32
Born in Deep South	52	33
Born elsewhere	18	a
White	34	46

[a]Too few cases.

Survey Research Center data show that since 1950 the proportion of white family heads who have moved between labor market areas has been substantially higher than the proportion of Negroes who have made such moves. Table 100, based on the annual Census surveys, also points to a sizable Negro-white differential in inter-county migration rates for every year since 1948. For the period since 1950, in contrast to earlier periods, the Survey Research Center data disclose no significant difference in mobility rates between Negroes born in the South and outside the South (Chart X-2). However, since northern-born Negroes are younger and better educated on the average than those born in the South, their low geographic mobility remains noteworthy.

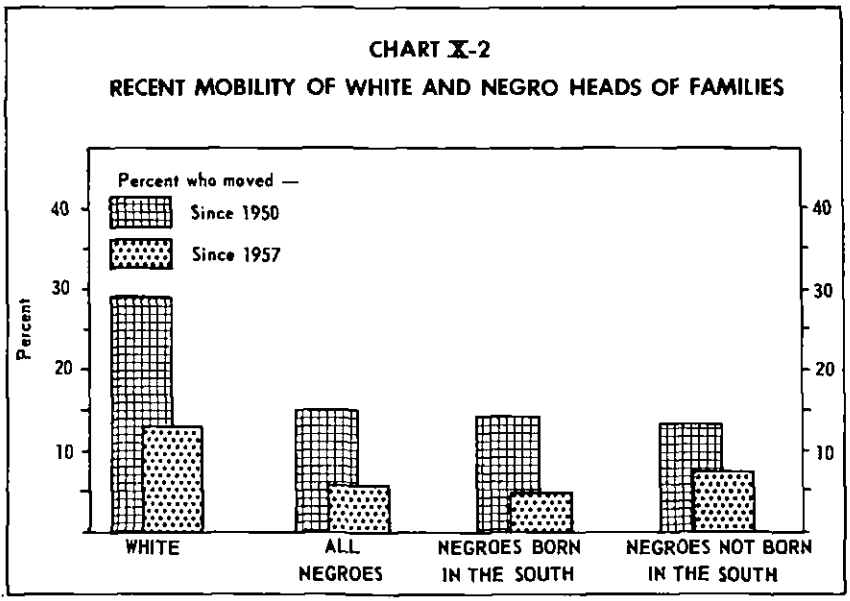
Table 100

MOBILITY STATUS BY COLOR: CIVILIAN POPULATION 1 YEAR OLD AND OVER, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1948-1964

	Inter-County Movers		Intra-County Movers	
	White	Non-white	White	Non-white
March 1963 to 1964	6.9%	4.7%	12.2%	19.3%
March 1962 to 1963	7.1	4.3	11.9	18.1
April 1961 to 1962	6.4	4.0	12.2	18.8
March 1960 to 1961	6.6	4.3	13.1	18.4
March 1959 to 1960	6.8	4.0	12.2	18.4
April 1958 to 1959	6.4	4.2	12.3	19.6
March 1957 to 1958	6.9	5.3	12.3	19.8
April 1956 to 1957	6.5	4.4	12.5	17.8
March 1955 to 1956	7.0	4.9	13.0	19.9
April 1954 to 1955	6.8	4.4	12.7	18.0
April 1953 to 1954	6.6	4.8	11.8	16.0
April 1952 to 1953	6.7	6.2	12.4	21.7
April 1951 to 1952	6.8	5.1	13.0	15.5
April 1950 to 1951	7.2	5.6	13.7	16.1
March 1949 to 1950	5.7	4.7	12.9	15.2
April 1948 to 1949	5.9	4.7	13.0	13.6

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P20, Numbers 39, 127, 141.

Data on duration of residence, collected by the Census Bureau in 1958, also provide us with information on recent migration. These data tell the same story. Moves between places (cities, towns, etc.) were less frequent among the non-white than the white population. Karl Taeuber found racial differences in migration rates to be quite pervasive. For example, the proportion of males aged 45-64 who reported having lived in their present place of residence less than 10 years was higher in 1958 for whites than for non-whites in every region of the country, in places of every size, and in urban as well as rural areas.[7]



On the other hand, as Table 100 indicates, intra-county moves have been considerably more common among Negroes than whites in recent years. The high residential mobility of the Negro population may be explained in part, at least, by the fact that only 38 per cent of Negroes are homeowners, compared with 64 per cent of whites. Renters generally make local moves much more frequently than homeowners.

During the postwar period, the discrepancy between the geographic mobility of the white and that of the Negro population

[7]Karl Taeuber, "Duration of Residence Analysis of Internal Migration in the United States," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, January 1961, pages 116-131.

increased. According to the annual Census surveys, during the three years 1948-51 the average annual inter-county migration rate for non-whites was 5.0 per cent; in 1959-62 it had fallen to 4.1 per cent. Over the same period the migration rate for the white population changed from 6.3 to 6.6 per cent. The 1960 Census found that 16.8 per cent of the white population over 5 years of age lived in a different county in 1960 than 5 years earlier, compared with 8.5 per cent of the non-whites, a very large difference. The Survey Research Center data for 1957-62 show a similar differential in 5-year migration rates: 17 per cent for white family heads as against 7 per cent for Negroes.[8] C. H. Hamilton, after analyzing both the 10-year Census migration data for 1950-60 and the 5-year data for 1955-60 and adjusting for differences in coverage, concluded that "the migration rate for non-whites from the South must have slowed down substantially during the later half of the 1950-60 decade."[9]

In addition to the proportion of each racial group who moved, the Survey Research Center study measured the number of moves made by each migrant since 1950. Of those who moved since 1950, on the average, white people made multiple moves more often than Negroes. About 15 per cent of white family heads have moved four or more times since 1950; for Negroes the corresponding figure is 4 per cent.

Besides making more or less permanent moves, as discussed in Chapter II people work away from home on a temporary basis. Migratory farm laborers, construction workers, and some types of sales workers are groups for which this kind of mobility is characteristic. Long distance commuting is another sort of recurrent mobility which affects a community's labor supply, but in this case no change of residence is involved. Both temporary moves and long distance commuting have occurred less frequently since 1950 among Negro than among white family heads. The survey shows that since 1950 about 8 per cent of white workers who are family heads, as compared with 4 per cent of Negro workers, have gone away temporarily to work and then returned to their former place of residence.[10] Similarly about

[8]There is evidence that the Census under-reports Negro mobility to some degree. The Negro population has been under-enumerated in recent censuses, and apparently it is young, mobile adults in big cities who are most likely to be omitted. See C. H. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, page 433. The Survey Research Center data show the same shortcoming, perhaps even to a somewhat larger degree.

[9]See C. H. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, page 285. Karl E. and Alma F. Taeuber express uncertainty regarding this conclusion on the ground that the 1955-60 data are not sufficiently comparable with the 1950-60 data. See Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Changing Character of Negro Migration," *American Sociological Review*, January 1965, page 435.

[10]Migratory workers are not fully covered by the survey, since the sample excludes people housed in temporary dwellings and those living in large rooming or boarding houses.

8 per cent of white workers, as against a little more than 4 per cent of Negroes, have commuted 50 or more miles to work for some period since 1950. These figures are another manifestation of the apparently greater mobility of the white than the Negro population.

The regional pattern of migration between 1950 and 1960 is shown in Table 101. Among the white population the movement to the West continued, while the Northeast and the North Central regions tended to lose population through migration. For Negroes, all regions but the South continue to be destinations of moves more often than origins of moves; the South shows a substantial net loss of Negro migrants. Yet during this period the South remained the destination of 37 per cent of all Negro moves. Some of these were moves within the

Table 101

ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF ALL MOVES SINCE 1950

(Percentage distribution of movers)

	White		Non-white	
	Origin	Destination	Origin	Destination
Northeast	21	15	11	20
North Central	29	22	16	23
South	33	36	63	37
West	17	27	10	20
Total	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of Census.

South, say from rural to industrial areas; others were return moves from other areas of the country.

Of all moves made by Negroes since 1950, at least 25 per cent were returns to a previous place of residence, usually the place of birth or a place of residence during childhood. There is little, if any, difference between Negroes and whites in regard to the proportion of moves that are returns.

Return moves	Race: White	Race: Negro
Proportion of all moves since 1950	20%	24%
Return to place of birth	9	9
Return to place lived during childhood excluding place of birth	10	15
Return to other place of previous residence	1	*

*Less than half of one per cent.

In addition to asking about past mobility, the survey inquired into the likelihood that people might move in the near future. A likelihood of moving might be indicated by dissatisfaction with one's present place of residence or by actual plans to move. A disposition to move in the near future, according to these indicators, was found less frequently among Negroes than among white people.

People were asked—"If you could do as you please, would you like to stay in . . . or would you like to move?" In their replies, Negroes indicated a greater attachment to the community in which they are now living than did white citizens. The proportion of people reporting a preference for moving away from their present place of residence is higher for white adults than it is for Negroes, as is shown below:

Preference	Race: White	Race: Negro
Prefers to move	20	15
Not sure	3	1
Prefers to stay	77	84
Total	100	100

Subsequently respondents were asked whether there was any chance that they might move away from the area of their present residence in the next year. Only a very small proportion of Negroes had any moving plans, however uncertain; 96 per cent saw no possibility of moving in the 12 months following the 1962 interview. On the other hand, about one in every nine white adults thought they would or might move to another labor market area in the coming year. Negroes who were born outside the Deep South, the younger and better educated part of the Negro population, expressed moving plans more often than Southern-born Negroes, although since 1950 the two groups did not differ significantly in mobility rates. The data on expressed moving plans below refer to those who said they would or might move in the following 12 months:

Race	Some Chance of Moving
Negro	4%
Born in Deep South	2
Born elsewhere	8
White	11%

If we consider only those people who have moved at least once since 1950, we still find considerably more moving plans among those who are white than among those who are Negroes.

WHY ARE NEGRO FAMILIES GEOGRAPHICALLY LESS MOBILE THAN WHITE FAMILIES?

The relatively low geographic mobility of Negroes now and earlier in the postwar period requires explanation. Is it due entirely to socio-economic factors such as education, occupation, and income level? Or are there social-psychological factors, or differences in motivation, at work in addition? We shall examine the two questions in turn.

As we have seen in the American population as a whole four demographic factors—age, occupation, education, and type of place of residence—account for a large part of the difference in mobility between individuals. Young people, college graduates, those in professional and managerial occupations, and those living in small towns and the smaller cities are much more mobile than people who do not have these characteristics.

With respect to the age distribution, white and Negro family heads resemble each other closely. The observed racial differences in mobility clearly have nothing to do with age (Chart X-3). The situation is quite different as regards education and occupation. Differences in education and occupation between white and Negro family heads are extensive, as the middle part of Chart X-3 shows. Data for the population as a whole indicate that a person with a college education is at least three times as likely to have moved in the past five years as a person who has attended only grammar school. Therefore it is highly relevant that 26 per cent of white family heads, but only 12 per cent of Negroes, have had some college education. Conversely, only 28 per cent of white family heads, as against 55 per cent of Negroes, have had 8 years or less of schooling.

Since education and occupation are closely related, occupational differences between Negroes and whites also may contribute toward the

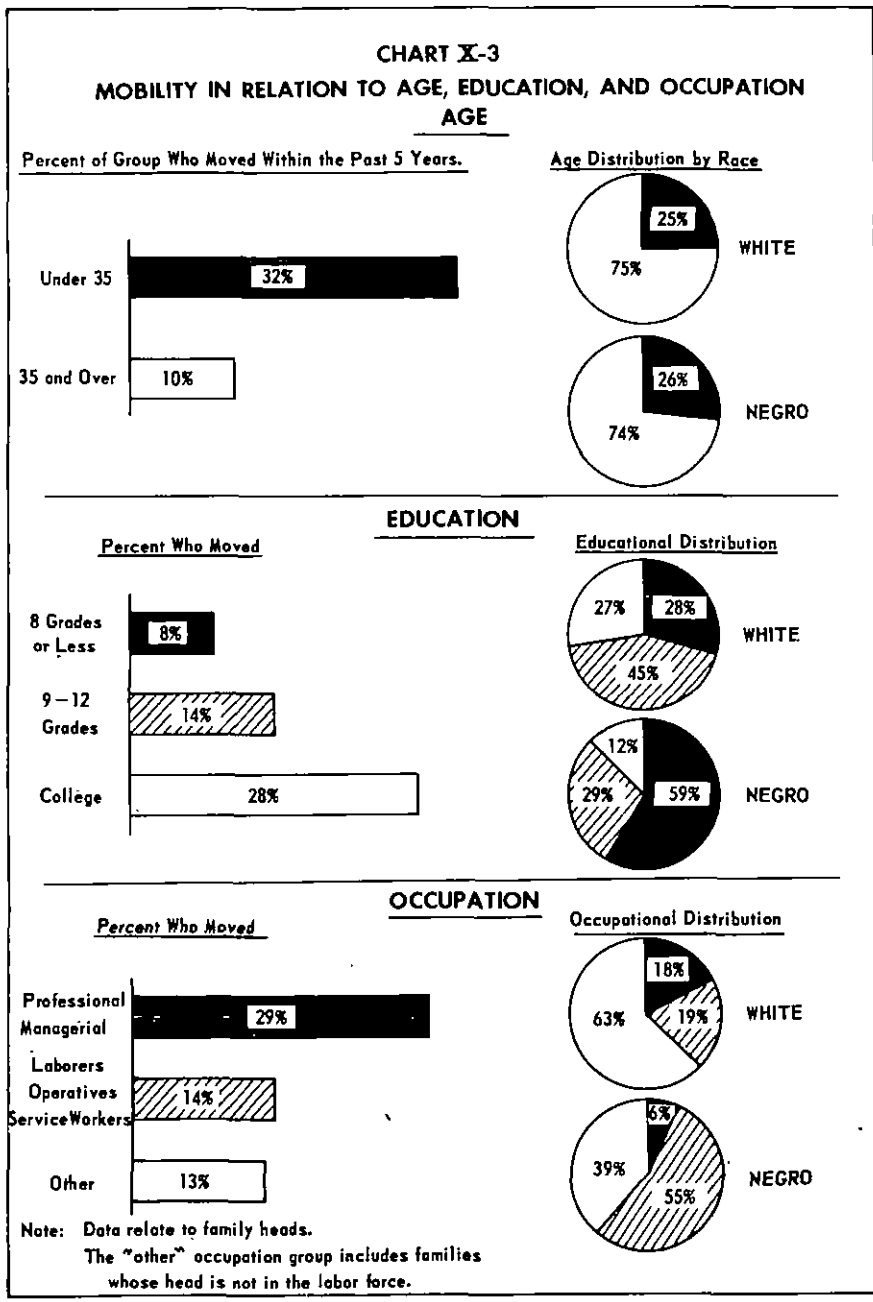


CHART X-3
MOBILITY IN RELATION TO AGE, EDUCATION, AND OCCUPATION
AGE
Percent of Group Who Moved Within the Past 5 Years.
Under 35
32%
35 and Over
10%
Age Distribution by Race
25%
75%
WHITE
26%
74%
NEGRO
EDUCATION
Percent Who Moved
8 Grades or Less
8%
9–12 Grades
14%
College
28%
Educational Distribution
27%
28%
45%
WHITE
12%
29%
59%
NEGRO
OCCUPATION
Percent Who Moved
Professional Managerial
29%
Laborers Operatives ServiceWorkers
14%
Other
13%
Occupational Distribution
18%
63%
19%
WHITE
6%
39%
55%
NEGRO
Note: Data relate to family heads.
The "other" occupation group includes families whose head is not in the labor force.

lower mobility of Negroes. In the adult population as a whole the proportion of movers was about twice as high in the last five years among families headed by managerial and professional workers as among those headed by operatives, laborers, and service workers. Negroes are predominantly in the less mobile occupations: 51 per cent of them are operatives, laborers, and service workers and only 6 per cent are professional workers or salaried managers. The corresponding percentages for white family heads are 19 and 18.

In brief, in a modern economy geographic mobility occurs in part because people with highly specialized knowledge and highly differentiated skills must be matched with job openings which call for very specific types of knowledge and training. To use his special qualifications to best advantage, a person may have to move across county or even state lines to the most suitable job opening. This matching of specialized jobs and people affects primarily people in professional, managerial, or skilled technical work. Often it takes place within large companies which "transfer" personnel from one location to another. Since only a small proportion of Negroes are in highly specialized or skilled occupations, this reason for geographic mobility is not applicable to most of them. For example, among white people 20 per cent of all recent moves were transfers. Among Negroes only 5 per cent of such moves were transfers.

Do educational and occupational differences between the Negro and the white population account fully for the observed differences in recent geographic mobility? The following tabulation, though some of the Negro subgroups are small, suggests that the answer to this question is—no. When Negro and white adults with the same education or occupation are compared, the Negro groups still appear considerably less mobile than the corresponding white groups.

Demographic Characteristics	Percentage In Each Group Who Have Moved In The Past 5 Years	
Education	White	Negro
8 grades or less	8	4
9-12 grades	15	11
College	30	10
Occupation	White	Negro
Professional, managerial	31	5
Laborers, service workers, operatives	16	6
Other	13	8

The Survey Research Center study does not include a sufficient number of cases of Negro migrants to warrant comparison of the socio-economic status of Negro migrants and Negro non-migrants. Such an analysis was made by Karl and Alma Taeuber, however, on the basis of Census data.[11] They found that in 1955-60 Negro migrants into large non-southern metropolitan areas were of "substantially higher socio-economic status" (defined in terms of education and proportion in white-collar occupations) than the resident Negro population. This parallels findings that white mobility is positively related to socio-economic status.

A striking difference between the Negro and the white population lies in the larger proportion of Negroes with very low incomes and no savings or reserve funds. In 1962-63, 33 per cent of Negro families, compared with 12 per cent of white families, earned less than $2000. People in this bottom income bracket are less mobile than others: in the population as a whole 10 per cent moved in the 5 years preceding the interview as against 17 per cent of families with incomes above $2000. However, low income is associated with low levels of education and occupational skills and with old age and seems to reflect primarily the low mobility associated with these factors.

Regarding financial reserves, there is no evidence, for the population as a whole or for race groups, that lack of such funds reduces geographic mobility significantly. Although one might suppose that poverty would make it more difficult to meet the expenses and the financial risks involved in moving, the survey data do *not* indicate that the relatively low income and reserve funds of the Negro population constitute *per se* a barrier to mobility. Low-income Negro movers studied in the survey often reported that their moving expenses were small (for instance, the price of a bus ticket) and that they had nothing to take along but their clothes.

Poverty may lead to dependence on some form of public assistance or private charity. About 40 per cent of Negro families with incomes below $4000 received such assistance in the year prior to the survey. The corresponding percentage for white low income families was 30. It will be shown in Chapter XII that among families with incomes below $4000 dependence on financial aid on the whole does not have a significant negative effect on mobility: 11 per cent of low income white families who had recently received financial assistance moved in the past 5 years; the corresponding figure for familes *not* receiving financial assistance was 12 per cent. Among low-income

[11]Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *op. cit.*, pages 429-441.

Negro families mobility was, if anything, more frequent among recipients of financial aid (public or private) than among non-recipients: the 5-year mobility rates were 6 per cent and 4 per cent respectively. These percentages are based on small numbers of cases and need to be re-examined in future studies. For the time being there is no evidence that the more frequent dependence on private welfare or public assistance among the low-income Negro population helps to explain its low geographic mobility.

We have examined separately a number of socio-economic characteristics associated with low geographic mobility in an attempt to explain the Negro-white migration differential observed in recent years. None of these characteristics by itself adequately explains the relatively low Negro mobility, although education and occupational characteristics account for it *in part*. The next step is to look at the joint effect of several of these variables.

Table 102 shows the results of a multivariate analysis. In Columns 1 and 2 the proportions of Negroes and whites who moved during the 5 years prior to the survey appear, as measured by the survey, without any adjustments. In Column 3 some of the major factors (other than race) which affect mobility have been set equal for Negroes and whites by statistical means. The adjusted mobility differential is smaller because the depressing effect on Negro mobility of factors like education and occupation has been removed. Yet, even after allowing for an array of socio-economic factors, Negroes remain less mobile than the white population. The differences appear particularly large for young people.[12] A parallel analysis of moves in the year following the initial survey and of moving plans reveals similar mobility differentials between Negroes and the white population.

It is necessary then to turn to social and psychological factors in an attempt to explain the residual mobility differential. Psychological differences between Negroes and whites and differences in their relations to the social environment are rooted in the discrimination problem, the poverty problem, and generally, the disadvantaged position of the American Negro. This is not the place, however, to trace these differences to their origin. We are interested in their consequences: how and to what extent do they constitute barriers to mobility?

As reported previously in Chapter VII two psychological variables were measured in this study: the respondent's sense of personal effectiveness and his security vs. achievement orientation. Table 103

[12]See, however, footnote 8 on page 270.

Table 102

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACE AND FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY

(Per cent who moved in the five years 1957-62)

	Mean Proportion Who Moved	Deviations From The Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
Under 35	28.3			947
Negro	9.9	-18.4	-11.3[a]	81
Not a Negro	30.0	+ 1.7	+ 1.1	866
35 and Over	8.9			3027
Negro	4.1	- 4.8	- 3.5	266
Not a Negro	9.2	+ 0.3	+ 0.3	2761
Metropolitan Areas	11.3			2465
Negro	3.6	- 7.7	- 6.0[a]	247
Not a Negro	12.2	+ 0.9	+ 0.7	2218
Non-Metropolitan Areas	17.6			1468
Negro	9.8	- 7.8	- 3.5	102
Not a Negro	18.2	+ 0.6	+ 0.3	1366

[a]Significant at the 5 per cent level.

shows that both variables are distributed differently among the Negro and the white population. Negroes registered a lesser sense of personal effectiveness than whites and also a greater preoccupation with security, as against chances for achievement, in evaluating jobs. Neither result need surprise us. Both the sense of personal effectiveness and achievement orientation are low among the less educated, the less skilled occupations, and among low income people. Negroes thus show psychological characteristics which are associated with low socio-economic status. In Chapter VII we found no differences in mobility rates between those people characterized by a low sense of personal effectiveness and security orientation and others. However, the data in Chapter VII refer to the entire population and reflect largely the behavior of the white population. It is conceivable that our psychological factors operate differently in the social and economic environment in which Negroes find themselves. Therefore the analysis was repeated for the Negro population alone. It turns out that the psychological factors measured here do not make a significant contribution of their own to the explanation of the Negro migration rate, once education, occupation, and income have been taken into account by multivariate analysis.

A priori one might conceive of discrimination as alienating the Negro from society and of making him hostile toward his environment. Alternatively, one might expect the Negro to compensate for his unsatisfactory relationship with society at large by a close attachment to relatives and friends and his immediate surroundings. The second view seems to be more correct. Despite the large movements of the Negro population from South to North and from rural to urban areas within the South during the first half of the 20th century, Negroes on the whole seem to have somewhat stronger emotional and family ties to their current place of residence than the white population. We have noted already that, in reply to the question—"If you could do as you please, would you like to stay here in . . . or would you like to move?"—84 per cent of Negroes compared with 77 per cent of white adults indicated a decided preference for staying in their present community. When asked further whether there might be any disadvantages in staying "here," only 40 per cent of Negroes, but 47 per cent of whites, mentioned some disadvantages. Interestingly, economic or job disadvantages were cited more frequently by Negroes than by whites. In contrast, criticisms of the community—its size, climate, schools, traffic congestion, and the like—were voiced more often by white respondents, as is shown in the following tabulation:

Table 103

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES AND PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS SCORE BY RACE

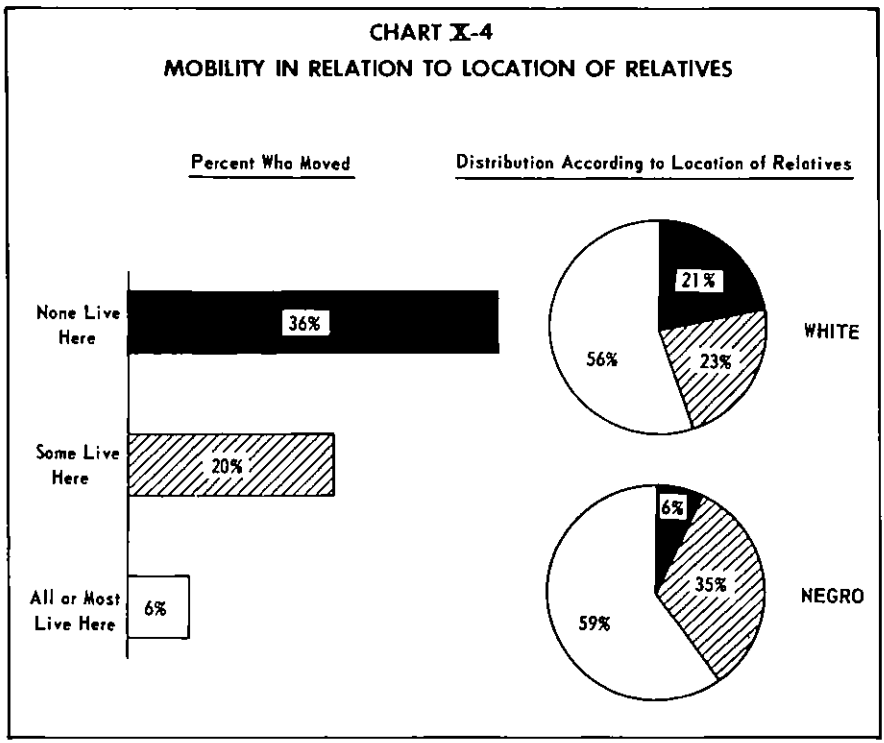
(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Race	
Occupational Preferences	White	Negro
Achievement oriented	33	19
Security oriented	45	52
Other responses	22	29
Total	100	100
Number of heads of families	2222	219
Number of Effective Responses		
None	1	5
One	8	22
Two	16	18
Three	26	23
Four	26	18
Five	23	14
Total	100	100
Number of heads of families	2215	223

Mentions	Disadvantages of Staying Here	
	White	Negro
Economic reasons	15	21
Family reasons	3	2
Community reasons	28	16
Other	1	1
None	53	60
Total	100	100

The ties of the Negro to the community seem to be to an important extent family and friendship ties. Apparently the Negro migrant from the rural South, like the immigrant from Europe before him, often sent for or was followed by other members of his family. As a consequence, even though only 33 per cent of Negro adults are still living in the county where they were born, 57 per cent said that all or most of their relatives live near them now in the same community (Chart X-4). Most of the remaining Negro families reported that "some" relatives are living in the same community where they are. The survey showed that only 8 per cent of Negro families, in contrast to 20 per cent of white families, had no relatives in the community where they were residing. It should be added that 52 per cent of Negro families, but only 40 per cent of white families, reported that *all* their close friends were living in their current place of residence. These contrasts between the Negro and the white population are important since, as we saw in Chapter V, both past geographic mobility and moving plans are particularly low among families who have all or most of their relatives and friends living near them.

When a family does decide to move, relatives may play a further role in facilitating and guiding the move. In discussing their most recent move across labor market lines, Negro just like white families most frequently mentioned job or economic factors as the primary reason for moving. However, among Negroes who were born in the South and have moved North or West, family reasons were mentioned with considerable frequency. A third of this group said that they moved in order to be closer to a relative who had moved earlier. A study of inter-county moves conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1962-63 found that "marriage and family" was designated as the major reason for moving by 14 per cent of white men in the 18-64 age range,



but 21 per cent of non-white men.[13] A closer look at cases of recent Negro migrants in the Survey Research Center study suggests that job and family considerations tend to be inseparable in many instances, since relatives are the major source of job information and often help the migrant to find work. For example:

> A 51 year-old Negro and his wife moved from Arkansas to California where their daughter and her family lived. The son-in-law told him he could get work there as a common laborer and in fact helped him to locate his first job as a janitor.
>
> A young Negro moved from Louisiana to the West Coast to join a brother who urged him to come. The brother then helped him to find a job in a shipyard by sending him to the appropriate union.

[13]Samuel Saben, "Geographic Mobility and Employment Status, March 1962-March 1963", *Monthly Labor Review*, August 1964, pages 873-881. Previous mention of this study of reasons for moving was made in Chapter II.

> A 30 year-old single Negro had moved from Kansas to California and had made several moves in California in an attempt to find suitable work. Then he heard that his father was in San Francisco and he joined him there. The father had an apartment and took him in until he had work; the father also took him around in his car to look for a job. He is now a waiter.

Similarly, in the case of return migrants to the South:

> A young Negro woman, domestic worker, who had been living in New York with her mother returned to North Carolina when her mother died. All her other relatives were living in North Carolina.
>
> A middle-aged Negro born in the South had migrated to New York City in the early 1950's. In 1959 his boss died, and he became unemployed. He and his family returned to his wife's home town in the South. A friend there gave him a job as a farm laborer.

These sketches of individual cases, together with the data on the location of relatives, throw some light on the tendency of Negroes to cluster in certain communities. Bogue, Shryock and Herman, analyzing 1935-40 Census migration data for metropolitan areas, found that the higher the proportion of Negroes in a metropolitan area in 1935, the higher the percentage of Negroes among in-migrants between 1935-40.[14] This relationship was significant in multiple correlation after holding constant such factors as age, education level in the area, size of metropolitan area, per cent urban, unemployment in the area, and population growth from 1930-40. Indeed none of the other variables was significant in explaining the destination of Negro moves after the proportion of Negroes in the area of destination had been taken into account. Balakrishnan replicated Bogue's analysis for the period 1940-50, using a larger number of variables to measure economic opportunity factors.[15] He found that for metropolitan counties outside the South the proportion of the population who were Negroes in 1940 had a significant positive influence on net in-migration between 1940 and 1950 after allowing for such economic opportunity variables as median family income in the county, retail sales per capita, service

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[14]Donald J. Bogue, Henry S. Shryock, Jr., and Siegfried A. Hermann, *Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40*, Scripps Foundation, Oxford, Ohio, 1957, Volume 1, pages 69-75.

[15]T. R. Balakrishnan, "Migration and Opportunity: A Study of Standard Metropolitan Areas in the United States," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963, pages 101-120.

expenditures per capita, age of the city, and per cent of the population in growth industries.

It appears then not only that family ties and emotional ties to a place and to friends are a greater barrier to mobility among Negro than among white families. In addition such moves between labor market areas as do occur among Negroes, particularly among unskilled workers, in many instances seem to be guided as much, or more, by the location of relatives as by job opportunities. Relatives may be a source of job information and may help to solve the difficult problems of adjustment to a new environment which the Negro migrant faces. But this system hardly provides an effective mechanism for guiding Negroes into areas of new opportunities or expanding employment.

It should not be inferred from the strong influence which the location of relatives exerts on Negro migration patterns that Negro migration is insensitive to economic incentives. The story is not quite that simple.

For many Negroes the economic incentive which persuades them to move need not be a higher wage somewhere else; it might simply be the prospect of steady work. At least at the time of the survey, when unemployment among unskilled Negro workers was high, the economic advantage of moving was stated most often in terms of available jobs. The relation of unemployment to mobility is best studied by classifying people according to their unemployment experience over a long period rather than their current employment status. In the white population, both recent mobility and moving plans were only moderately higher for those who reported that they were often unemployed than for those who had never or rarely been unemployed (especially if other characteristics are not taken into account). Among Negro families the mobility differential between those with and without unemployment experience appears to be much larger than in the white population, as the data below indicate.

Mobility in Relation To Unemployment

(Family heads who are in the labor force)

Whites	Moved Within Past 5 Years
Occasional or frequent unemployment	23%
Steady employment	21%
Negroes	
Occasional or frequent unemployment	12%
Steady employment	3%

Table 104

NET MIGRATION OF NEGROES AND WHITES, 1950-60

In Relation to County Income Level and Degree of Urbanization

Counties Grouped By 1959 Median Family Income	Migration Rate[a]	
	White	Non-white
Under $2000	-19.4%	-31.3%
$2000 - 2999	-19.3	-27.9
$3000 - 3999	-11.0	-19.9
$4000 - 4999	- 2.2	- 6.1
$5000 - 5999	- 1.8	+12.6
$6000 and over	+11.7	+25.2

In Relation To Degree of Urbanization

Counties Grouped By Per cent Urban in 1950	Migration Rate[a]	
	White	Non-white
None	-12.7%	-26.1%
1 - 29	- 9.9	-25.0
30 - 49	0	-15.5
50 - 69	+ 7.1	+ 0.3
70 and over	+ 4.4	+17.1

[a]Change due to net migration expressed as a percentage of persons expected to survive to the end of the decade.

SOURCE: U. S. Census, special tabulations prepared by Gladys Bowles, U. S. Department of Agriculture for the Area Redevelopment Administration.

Another piece of evidence regarding the responsiveness to economic incentives of Negro as compared with white workers is provided by Table 104, which is based on Census tabulations. Although overall between 1950 and 1960 migration rates were lower for Negroes than for whites, the *net* shift from lower to higher income counties and from rural to urban areas was more pronounced for Negroes. The difference between overall migration level and *net* shifts is due to the fact that white migration into and out of given counties largely cancels out in the net figures, while Negro migration flows one-way to a greater extent. Table 104 reflects the predominant movement of the Negro population from the rural South to the industrial centers of the North and West (where incomes are higher than in the South). This movement had no doubt a combination of economic and non-economic reasons.

The history of Negro migration also would suggest that the Negro population does move in response to *strong* economic incentives. According to Census data, the growing inadequacy of employment opportunities in Southern agriculture, together with prosperity in the urban sector of the economy, induced a net migration from the South of over 700,000 Negroes between 1920 and 1930. During the 1930's, when few job openings were available, net Negro migration out of the South fell below 350,000. In the decade of World War II, as previously noted, large numbers of job openings for unskilled workers at rising rates of pay led an unprecedented 1.2 million Negroes to leave the South. The migration rate during World War II was higher for Negro than for white men; it was particularly high for unskilled workers. Between 1950 and 1960 net Negro migration out of the South declined slightly, to 1.0 million. The total intercounty Negro migration rate has been below the corresponding white migration rate ever since 1948, as previously noted. Chart X-5 relates average annual unemployment rate in the years 1948-63 to the corresponding intercounty migration rate of Negroes and whites. The data suggest that the growing shortage of jobs available to Negroes may have been responsible for the decline in Negro migration. No corresponding influence of unemployment on the migration rate is visible for the white population, which had a much more stable migration rate. Everett S. Lee, on the basis of the statistical evidence available through 1950, concludes that non-white migration fluctuates more over time than white migration. He drew the inference that non-white migration is more stimulated by periods of expanding economic opportunity than is white migration, probably because of the relaxation of barriers against entrance of Negroes into many jobs.[18]

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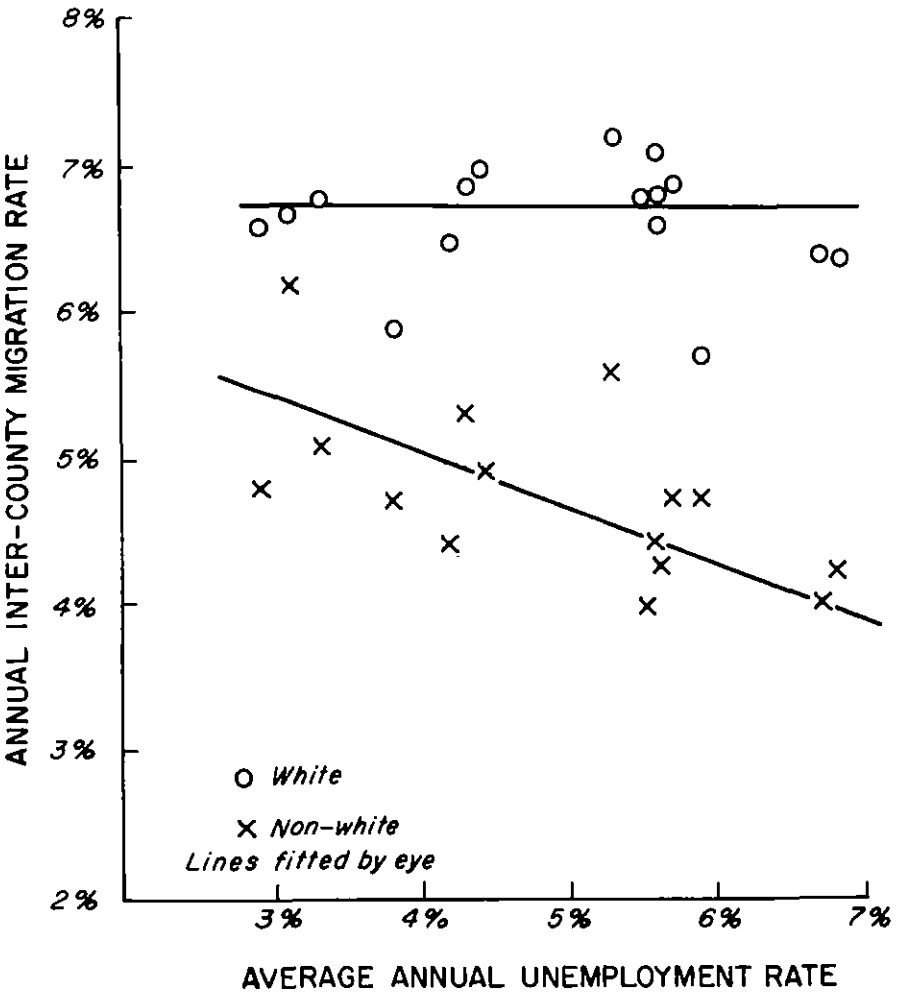
[18]Everett S. Lee, *Migration Differentials*, Volume I, 1953, (mimeographed), pages 80-91.

CHART X-5

RELATION BETWEEN AVERAGE ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AND MIGRATION RATE, 1948-1963



SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, it appears that emotional or family ties to a place, or uneasiness about unfamiliar surroundings, are barriers to mobility among the Negro population primarily when economic incentives to move are weak. Racial discrimination probably has a bearing on the disinclination of Negroes to leave family, friends, and a familiar place of residence. Having relatives elsewhere may bring better job opportunities to the Negro worker's attention. And at the same time, knowing that he will join relatives may lower his reluctance to leave accustomed surroundings. In the past strong economic incentives to move were provided primarily by the very high demands for labor generated by the two World Wars and by the disappearance of jobs in Southern agriculture. As a result of past migration the reservoir of Southern rural Negroes has now been greatly reduced.[17] It is likely then that the geographic mobility of the Negro population will remain below that of the white population unless (1) the demand for unskilled labor is more insistent than it was during the late 1950's and early 1960's, (2) racial discrimination is reduced, (3) the educational and skill level of the Negro population becomes more comparable to that of the white population.

The policy implications of this chapter may be considered briefly with the assumption that greater geographic mobility on the part of the Negro population should contribute toward lowering its unemployment level and raising its earnings. Besides enhancing the welfare of the Negro community, greater mobility should make for a more efficient utilization of the labor force generally. The findings of this chapter then underline the importance of three broad goals of national policy. Of first importance is a high level of aggregate demand; the "pull" of available job openings for unskilled labor is essential if Negroes are to achieve greater geographic mobility. Two other goals of national policy also are relevant to the mobility problem: overcoming racial discrimination, and upgrading the educational and vocational qualifications of the Negro population.

Needless to say, the sheer volume of migration is less important than its effectiveness in shifting workers to places where they will be most useful economically. With this end in view, direct steps might be taken to reduce the dependence of potential Negro migrants on relatives and friends in connection with the migration and job seeking process.

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[17]This point has been emphasized by Irene Taeuber, "Migration, Mobility, and the Assimilation of the Negro," *Readings in Unemployment*, Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, United States Senate, Washington 1960, pages 933-957.

Such efforts would grow out of the recognition that the transmission of job information is at present a haphazard process, especially at the lower educational and skill levels. Such special steps would also recognize that, until racial discrimination has been overcome, it is more difficult for Negroes than for other workers to find jobs, housing, and to settle down successfully in a strange community. This assistance could take the form of providing, preferably in a single office, information about job openings, aid in filling out job applications, housing information, and information about community and religious organizations which would welcome the newcomer. One could go even further and aid the newly arrived Negro worker to arrange transportation for his job hunting trips within the new labor market area and temporary housing while he is looking for work. For such an effort close cooperation between public agencies and Negro community organizations would be vital. Negro community organizations could be particularly useful in transmitting information about possible job openings. Such personal help might well be more effective than financial subsidies, say in the form of moving or resettlement allowances.

XI GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AND DEPRESSED AREAS[1]

Chapters III and VI were concerned with the effect of economic incentives on geographic mobility. They confirmed what has always been supposed—that differences in work and earnings opportunities have some marginal influence on migration decisions. Yet they also led us to question the strength and effectiveness of the "unseen hand" in guiding labor force migration. Our findings do not necessarily imply that geographic mobility cannot make a significant contribution to the alleviation of unemployment or unproductive employment in depressed areas. Extreme pressures often have a very different impact on behavior—quantitatively and qualitatively—from mild pressures. Large and conspicuous economic differentials may induce people to make changes, while small ones may not be of sufficient interest to overcome inertia.

The pattern of migration as it relates to depressed areas is, of course, of interest in its own right. In addition, the analysis of geographic mobility into and out of depressed areas will enable us to observe the effect of strong economic incentives and disincentives. Section I is concerned with this issue. It analyzes the magnitude of recent migration into and out of depressed areas. It has been a matter of debate among economists whether the employment and pay differentials between depressed and other areas should induce out-migration and inhibit in-migration under all circumstances, or whether full employment outside the depressed area is a prerequisite for such labor force adjustment. The first section of this chapter will throw some light on this problem. The second section compares the socio-economic characteristics of the population in depressed areas and in the rest of the country. Differences which emerge may result partly from migration, partly from environmental conditions in depressed areas. Therefore the third section asks—Who moves out of and into depressed areas? The question is explored in order to assess the effect which substantial net out-migration might have, or is perhaps already having, on the composition of the labor force left behind in depressed areas. Some policy implications are explored in the final section of the chapter.

Our classification of depressed areas is that adopted by the Area Redevelopment Administration of the U. S. Department of Commerce as of January 1962. Depressed areas were classified under the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 into Section 5A areas, which are characterized by high and persistent unemployment, and Section 5B areas,

[1]This chapter was prepared by Eva Mueller and Jane Lean.

having a high percentage of low-income families. 5B areas are predominantly rural counties or small labor market areas. Both 5A and 5B areas suffered at the time of the survey and in the preceding 4 years from relatively severe economic disabilities.

In order to obtain an adequate representation of families in redevelopment areas it was necessary to supplement the basic Survey Research Center sample used for this study by a representative subsample of families in redevelopment areas. The representation of counties in redevelopment areas was enlarged from 19 to 26, and additional interviews were conducted there. Altogether, about 1000 families in redevelopment areas, in addition to the 3400 families residing in other areas, were interviewed. Combinations of the two groups of interviews are presented on a weighted basis.

THE MAGNITUDE OF MIGRATION OUT OF AND INTO DEPRESSED AREAS

Some indication of the impact of recent migration on depressed areas can be obtained from U. S. Bureau of the Census data. The Census data have been tabulated to show *net migration* out of depressed areas and into the rest of the country over the ten-year period 1950-1960. According to these figures, net migration (across county lines) out of areas classified as 5A in February, 1963 amounted to 4.1 per cent for the 1950's; for 5B areas the Census yields a ten-year net out-migration figure of 15.2 per cent. The remaining areas of the country (those not designated as redevelopment areas) experienced a net in-migration of about 4.7 per cent over the same time period.[2] This is the expected pattern, but the net migration rates are not very high on an annual basis. Every year at least 5 per cent of the total U. S. population moves from one county to another; yet annual *net* migration out of 5A areas was only 0.4 per cent, out of 5B areas 1.5 per cent. These Census data cannot tell us what role out-and in-migration played in bringing about the observed *net* migration rates. We therefore turn to Survey Research Center data which permit us to look separately at the gross movements.

For the analysis of *out*-migration, people were grouped according to the 1962 Area Redevelopment Administration classification of the county they had lived in in 1957. This classification should, in

[2]Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Population-Migration Reports, *Net Migration of the Population, 1950-1960 by Age, Sex and Color;* Vol. II. Analytical Groupings of Counties, by Gladys K. Bowles and J. D. Tarver, pages 169, 170.

most cases, reflect economic conditions in the 5 years after 1957 fairly accurately, particularly since it is based on non-temporary conditions in the areas being classified. The figures below indicate that very little difference existed in five-year out-migration from counties classed as 5A, 5B or not redevelopment areas.

	Place of Residence in 1957		
	Redevelopment Area 5A	Redevelopment Area 5B	Not a Redevelopment Area
Per cent who moved away over five-year period	14.6%	13.5%	13.2%
Number of cases	303	436	3615

The survey data also permit investigation of mobility in the year after the survey was taken. The ARA classifications apply most precisely to the county or area at these dates, 1962-63, so that the one-year mobility data provides valuable reinforcement of the 1957-62 findings. As the figures below show, if any differences in out-migration over one year exist between areas, they are extremely small and in the wrong direction. The differences, however, are not significant.

	Place of Residence At Time of Interview		
	Redevelopment Area 5A	Redevelopment Area 5B	Not a Redevelopment Area
Per cent who moved during the year following the interview	4%	5%	5%
Number of cases	384	199	1009

The out-migration data for the two periods support a limited, if disagreeable, conclusion—from 1957 to 1963 a low level of economic opportunity in depressed areas did little to stimulate out-migration. Although the findings here are based on a small number of cases in redevelopment areas, they are in full agreement with our earlier findings that neither low income nor high unemployment in an area will exert a significant stimulus to out-migration. The fact that economic pressures in these areas were particularly severe does not seem to modify this conclusion.

As Section II will disclose, certain characteristics which make for immobility in a population tend to be particularly associated with redevelopment areas. In order to see whether the relatively high frequency of these characteristics masks a real tendency for depressed economic conditions to induce out-migration, mobility in the year after

the first interview was analyzed by a multivariate technique. Account was taken of age, home ownership, residence of relatives, education, labor force status, and unemployment history. As Table 105 shows, after these factors have been allowed for, there are no significant differences among the proportions of people who move out of 5A, 5B, and other areas. There is a suggestion that conditions in the 5B areas, which are predominantly depressed rural counties, do exert some positive "push" which leads to out-migration; but this is not true of the 5A areas. The lack of significance in the findings may be due to the small number of families who actually moved; in any case such differences as may exist are small.

Measures of expectations and preferences also throw light on the willingness of people in depressed areas to move elsewhere. Contrary to what might be assumed, the data below indicate that redevelopment areas in 1962-63 most definitely did *not* contain a particularly high proportion of people who preferred to move away or considered moving away.

	Place of Residence At Time of Interview		
	Redevelopment Area		Not a Redevelopment Area
	5A	5B	
Per cent of total who prefer to move away	17%	12%	20%
Per cent of total who have seriously considered moving away	17%	11%	15%
Number of cases	600	422	3390

Other measures of potential mobility were also assessed, with the same results. Table 106 shows the relationship between expressed plans to move and the ARA classification of the present county of residence. Here again the differences between the proportion of people in redevelopment and other areas who foresee some chance of moving are extremely small and not significant. Just as depressed economic conditions have not encouraged actual out-migration in the recent past, they do not appear to bring about a higher migration potential for the future, as measured by expectations or preferences.

The disinterest in moving, or inertia, in redevelopment areas is associated with a striking lack of labor market information. Many people seem to have quite incorrect impressions about relative economic conditions elsewhere. People in the labor force all over the country were asked "For someone in the line of work (HEAD) is now

Table 105

ONE-YEAR MOBILITY IN REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Per cent of heads of families who moved in the year following the interview)

ARA Classification of Place of Residence at Time of Interview	Mean Proportion Who Moved	Deviations from the Mean	Adjusted Deviations	Number of Cases
All	4.7			1612
5A	3.6	-1.1	-0.1	388
5B	5.4	0.7	1.6	202
Not a redevelopment area	5.1	0.4	-0.3	1022

doing, how does the rate of pay here in . . . compare with other places?" Even in 5B areas (areas with chronically low income) more than twice as many people replied "same" or "higher" as replied "lower". Similar results were obtained in reply to the question: "For someone in the line of work (HEAD) is now doing, how much work is there around here compared to other places?" In redevelopment areas the answer "less" was given more often than in other places, but was not nearly as frequent as the total of the two answers "same" or "more". Table 107 shows the distribution of replies to these questions by wage and salary earners.

The failure of unsatisfactory unemployment and income conditions to generate a larger volume of gross migration out of depressed areas may be partly due to the lack of a strong "pull" by economic conditions elsewhere in the country. As has been emphasized repeatedly the survey was taken during a period when unemployment in the country as a whole exceeded 5 per cent and there may have been little demand for additional blue-collar workers in non-redevelopment areas. A higher rate of utilization of the labor force (especially the blue-collar labor force) elsewhere could conceivably have induced more out-migration. This consideration implies, however, that the "pull" of employment opportunities elsewhere plays a crucial role. With this in mind, we turn now to a comparison of migration *into* redevelopment and non-redevelopment areas.

It appears that unfavorable economic conditions are more influential as a deterrent to migration *into* redevelopment areas than an inducement to *out*-migration. Table 108 compares migration into 5A areas, 5B areas, and all places not designated as redevelopment areas. It is quite clear that redevelopment areas experienced a decidedly smaller in-migration in the past 5 years, as well as since 1950, than did the more prosperous areas of the country.[3] The table also shows that residents of redevelopment areas have a history of slightly lower mobility than people who live elsewhere. A higher proportion of people

[3]The alert reader may note a seeming discrepancy between the Census estimate of net migration out of 5B areas and the net figure derived combining the survey data on gross out- and gross in-migration. The Census estimate of net out-migration is larger than that derived from the survey data. The major reason for this difference is that only people who were family heads at the time of the interview were included in the survey. (However, they need not have been family heads in the preceding years for which migration patterns were studied.) As will be pointed out below the Census and survey data agree in indicating that many of the out-migrants from 5B areas have been very young people. In many cases they may not yet have become family heads by the time of the survey. It is worth emphasizing then that the data presented in this section apply to household heads, their wives, and younger children. A later section will present some material on the out-migration of sons aged 18-29.

Table 106

EXPECTATIONS OF MOVING IN THE NEXT YEAR COMPARED

FOR REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

Expectation	Present Place of Residence		
	Redevelopment Area 5A	Redevelopment Area 5B	Not a Redevelopment Area
Definitely will move	2	2	3
Probably will move	2	2	2
Uncertain or depends	4	5	6
No chance of moving	92	91	89
Total	100	100	100
Number of families	600	422	3390

in 5A and 5B areas than elsewhere are still living where they were born—38 per cent for redevelopment as opposed to 30 per cent for other areas. If all people (including recent movers) are classified by whether they are now living in the place where they were born, the difference is larger—44 per cent for redevelopment areas as opposed to 33 per cent elsewhere. Furthermore, a smaller percentage of family heads currently living in redevelopment areas than of family heads in non-redevelopment areas have moved several times since 1950 (Table 109).

The finding that the depressed economic conditions of redevelopment areas inhibit in-migration more than they induce out-migration is not unexpected in the light of previous chapters which have shown that the "pull" of better economic opportunities is the most influential

Table 107

PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF RATE OF PAY AND AMOUNT OF WORK AVAILABLE IN REDEVELOPMENT AREAS AND ELSEWHERE

(Percentage distribution of heads of families in the labor force who are not self-employed)

	Present Place of Residence		
	Redevelopment Area		Not a Redevelopment Area
Perceptions of Rate of Pay	5A	5B	
Higher here than elsewhere	19%	14%	25%
Same here as elsewhere	34	45	39
Less here than elsewhere	31	27	22
Uncertain	16	14	14
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	374	187	2170
Perceptions of Amount of Work Available			
More here than elsewhere	24%	16%	33%
Same here as elsewhere	23	30	34
Less here than elsewhere	31	32	14
Uncertain	22	22	19
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	374	187	2170

Table 108

PAST MOBILITY OF FAMILY HEADS INTO REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Present Place of Residence		
	Redevelopment Area		Not a Redevelopment Area
Past Mobility	5A	5B	
Moved into the area within 5 years	10%	14%	17%
Have moved into the area since 1950, but not in last 5 years	10	8	14
Have been in present area since 1950 but born elsewhere	42	39	39
Have been in present area since 1950, born there, but once lived elsewhere	6	8	5
Have been in present area since 1950, born there, never lived elsewhere	32	31	25
Total	100%	100%	100%

economic stimulus to mobility, while the "push" of poor opportunities at home is less effective. At the same time we should note that migration into depressed areas is by no means negligible. The sizable in-migration rate may not be surprising in the case of the 5A group which includes many places (for instance, Detroit) which alternate between good and bad times, and where employment opportunities were only temporarily deficient in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Moreover, not all industries in 5A areas are declining. George Iden notes that, "Significant shifts were taking place within these areas in the relative importance of industries. Although employment declined precipitously in a few industries, it increased markedly in others . . . The areas possessed vital growth sectors . . . Industries which served local businesses and the local population expanded . . . In addition, employment in particular manufacturing industries tended to expand rapidly."[4]

Table 109

FREQUENCY OF MOVES SINCE 1950 COMPARED FOR FAMILY HEADS NOW RESIDING IN REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Present Place of Residence		
	Redevelopment Area		Not a Redevelopment Area
Gross Number of Moves Since 1950	5A	5B	
None	80%	78%	68%
One	8	9	14
Two	8	7	8
Three	1	3	4
Four	1	2	3
Five or more	2	1	3
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	600	422	3390

[4] "Industrial Growth in Areas of Chronic Unemployment", *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 89, No. 5, May 1966, pages 489-485.

These considerations are less applicable to the 5B areas, which usually are rural and have been depressed for many years. Hence it is perhaps astonishing that of the people who live in 5B areas now, 14 per cent moved into these areas during the 5 years prior to the survey and 22 per cent since 1950.

The reader need hardly be reminded that some moves are motivated by non-economic considerations. It is true that moves into depressed areas occurred primarily for personal, family, community and similar reasons, while moves into non-depressed areas were made to a larger extent for economic reasons? Our only clue is based on people's own explanations of the reasons for their most recent moves during the past 5 years. As indicated in Table 110, people who moved

Table 110

COMPARISONS OF REASONS FOR MOVING INTO REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families who moved in the last 5 years)

	Destination of Move		
	Redevelopment Area		Not a Redevelopment Area
Reasons for Most Recent Move	5A	5B	
Economic reasons only	46	52	62
Transfer, reassignment	12	6	18
Unemployed; moved to find new, more, steadier work	8	8	13
Higher rate of pay; a better job	13	19	19
Other economic reasons	13	19	12
Both economic and non-economic reasons mentioned	32	21	14
Non-economic reasons only	22	27	24
Family reasons only	9	7	13
Family and community reasons	2	6	4
Community reasons only	11	14	7
Total	100	100	100

into redevelopment areas did indeed give purely economic reasons somewhat less frequently than people moving to areas with more satisfactory employment conditions. But the difference is small, and mixed economic motives (rather than purely non-economic motives) appear relatively frequently for redevelopment areas.

To sum up, a general characteristic of the population now residing in redevelopment areas does seem to be a relatively low historical mobility. We learn from the survey that the *net* loss of population due to migration indicated by Census data is due more to a relatively low level of gross in-migration than to a relatively high level of gross out-migration from depressed areas. Yet migration into depressed areas is not negligible and is by no means exclusively motivated by non-economic factors. That geographic mobility fulfills its function as an economic adjustment mechanism in an imperfect manner is not a new discovery, but it is well illustrated by these findings. Further shortcomings of this adjustment mechanism emerge, when we examine the impact of migration on the population remaining in redevelopment areas, and conversely the impact of these population characteristics on the mobility-potential of these areas.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION IN DEPRESSED AREAS

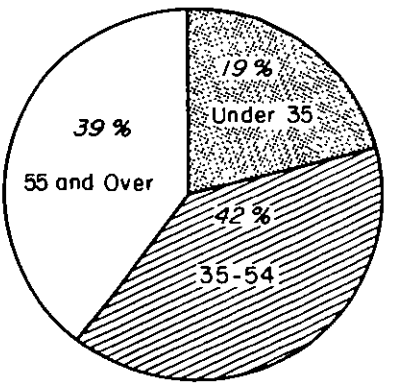
Since both gross out- and in-migration are substantial in redevelopment areas, it is conceivable that over a period of years significant changes may take place in the composition of both the population, and (more importantly for present purposes) the labor force in these areas. Furthermore, even taken alone the continued depressed economic conditions in these areas are bound to affect their social environment—including education and labor force participation. Changes have already occurred which set redevelopment area populations apart from others.

One change is in the age distribution of the population. Chart XI-1 shows that people now living in redevelopment areas tend to be somewhat older than those living in other areas. The age differentials are particularly large in 5B areas, where 46 per cent of the population is 55 years old or over, compared with 33 per cent in non-redevelopment areas. Since the environment cannot affect the rate at which people grow older, (although it may affect mortality rates) this change is unambiguously due to past migration. Martin Segal and Richard B. Freeman, in a study of chronically depressed areas, have also found that "In 1960, the areas had an older population than the *urban* U. S." They report on the basis of Census comparisons that "The data . . . show a tendency for the age groups containing young people (less than

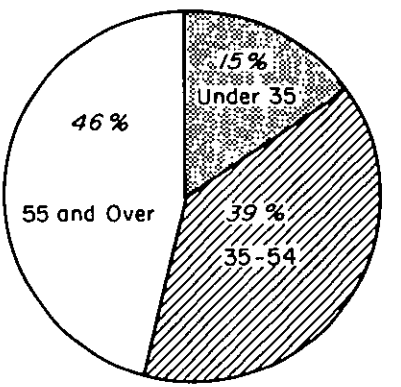
CHART XI-1

AGE DISTRIBUTIONS IN REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

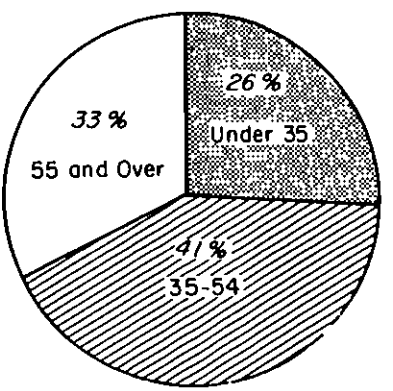
5A Redevelopment Areas



5B Redevelopment Areas



Not a Redevelopment Area



30 years old) to decline as a proportion of population in most of the depressed areas as compared to the change in the proportion of young people in the population of *urban* U. S. At the same time, the relative proportion of older people—particularly those 65 years old and older—increased in the depressed areas.[5]

A second, and perhaps even more striking difference is evident when one looks at educational levels (Chart XI-2). Over 50 per cent of the family heads in 5B areas have only a grammar school education, compared to 39 per cent in 5A areas and only 27 per cent in non-redevelopment areas. Also, redevelopment areas fall far short of the national average in their proportion of college-educated adults. These educational differences are, at least for some redevelopment areas, due to the lower quality and quantity of education provided in those areas. George Iden studied school expenditures for cities with persistent high unemployment and populations of 100,000 or more, and 25,000-99,999. He found that in 1955-56 expenditures per pupil in the public school systems of these cities were 81 and 89 per cent, respectively, of the national averages for cities of those size classes.[6] Speaking of one locus of redevelopment areas, the President's Appalachian Regional Commission reports that "Appalachia is a region apart . . ." Deficiencies are listed for income, employment, urbanization, and educational levels, living standards, and population trends. In regard to education, the report states:

> "Economic growth in the modern world depends to a large degree on educational excellence. While assistance can be provided in Appalachia from outside the region, the primary drive for recovery must originate within its own boundaries. Yet the educational resources to mount that drive are inadequate. It has not produced a sufficient corps of educated persons in the past—it lacks the tax base to provide an adequate education effort in the future."[7]

Deficient educational opportunities are exacerbated by the heavy out-migration of those with higher educational levels that has been going on for some time. Characteristics of out-migrants will be examined below.

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[5]Economic Redevelopment Research, U. S. Department of Commerce, Area Redevelopment Administration, *Population, Labor Force and Unemployment in Chronically Depressed Areas* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964), page 15.

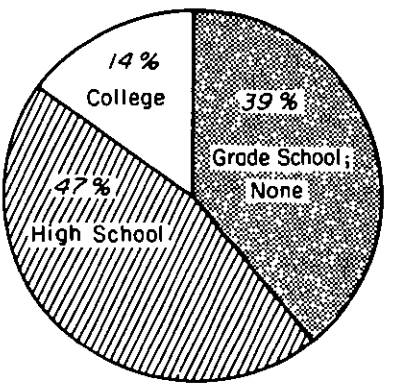
[6]George Iden, *op. cit.* page. 489.

[7]*Appalachia*, A Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, 1964 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pages 1, 8.

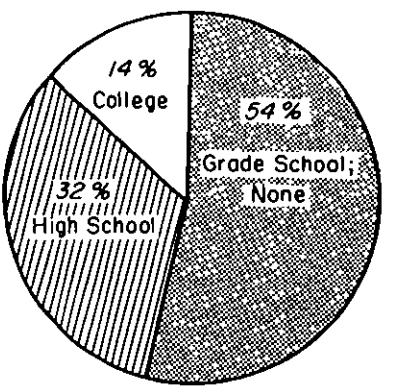
CHART XI-2

EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS IN REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

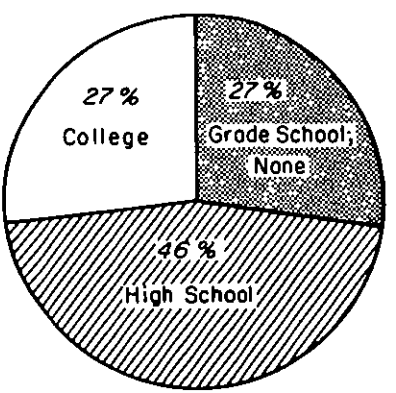
5A Redevelopment Areas



5B Redevelopment Areas



Not a Redevelopment Area



The economic opportunities in redevelopment areas in part determine the occupations and labor force status of the population. Furthermore, as we shall soon see, the nature of out- and in-migration compound the adverse distribution of work-related characteristics. Table 111 shows that the net result of these two influences is a less productive population and occupational structure in redevelopment areas than elsewhere. Redevelopment areas, particularly 5B areas, have a smaller proportion of family heads in the labor force than does the rest of the nation, and 5B areas have a larger proportion of farmers and other self-employed. Segal and Freeman[8] have also found that "Male labor force participation is significantly lower in chronically depressed (urban) areas than in the rest of the *urban* U. S." and furthermore, that "It is . . . reasonable to interpret the overall results as supporting the view that persistent job scarcity in depressed areas has had a negative effect on labor force participation of males." Speaking only of wage and salary workers, redevelopment areas have a decidedly smaller proportion of professional and in fact of all white-collar workers than other areas, and a higher proportion of unskilled workers (operatives and laborers). These occupational characteristics hold true for the 5A areas, although they are very largely industrial counties.

The socio-economic characteristics which are "over-represented" in depressed areas—being in the upper age brackets, having only a grammar school education, being out of the labor force, being an unskilled worker—are associated with low geographic mobility. These same characteristics also make for low incomes. About 45 per cent of the people living in 5B areas, 29 per cent of those in 5A areas, but only 21 per cent of those in non-redevelopment areas had incomes below $3000 in 1962-63. Furthermore, the proportion of families without any financial reserves also is considerably higher in the depressed areas than elsewhere. We found in Chapter III that low income *per se* neither stimulates nor impedes migration, and the same is true of the absence of financial reserves. As discussed in Chapter VII, the lack of a financial cushion makes moving more risky and more difficult. Thus, poverty may strengthen the causal nexus between certain socio-economic characteristics of the population in redevelopment areas and its reluctance to move away.

A further factor which reduces geographic mobility is the frequent presence of relatives. In 5A and 5B areas, 65 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of the families reported that all or most of their relatives were living in the same place; in non-redevelopment areas

[8] *Ibid.*, page 24.

the corresponding figure is only 54 per cent. This finding partly reflects the lower migration into redevelopment areas in the recent past since new in-migrants often would have left their relatives elsewhere. It also reflects the relatively large proportion of people in redevelopment areas who are now living at their birth-place.

There is one other difference between redevelopment areas and other places that might be expected to work in the opposite direction: the higher proportion of people with unemployment experience in depressed areas. In 1962-63, 12 per cent of wage and salary earners in non-redevelopment areas reported that they were often or occasionally

Table 111

LABOR FORCE AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS COMPARED FOR REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Present Place of Residence		
	Redevelopment Area		Not a Redevelopment Area
Labor Force Status	5A	5B	
Wage and salary workers	60%	43%	65%
Self-employed and farmers	11	24	11
Not in the labor force	29	33	24
Total	100%	100%	100%
Occupation of Wage and Salary Workers			
Professional, technical	11%	16%	19%
Managerial, officials	6	7	10
Clerical and sales	13	9	17
Craftsmen and foremen	26	16	20
Operatives	25	25	20
Laborers and service	19	27	14
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	600	422	3390

unemployed. The corresponding figure for 5B areas was 17 per cent and for 5A areas 23 per cent. The analysis in Chapter III showed that in the country as a whole the mobility of people who suffered unemployment is only moderately higher than the mobility of people without unemployment experience. The exceptionally unfavorable re-employment prospects in depressed areas appear to lead unemployed workers, particularly the very young, to view the possibility of moving more favorably. But, as far as middle-aged and older workers are concerned, the unemployment factor barely counterbalances the influence of other labor force characteristics which make for low mobility.

The differences observed—in age, education, labor force status and occupation, income, financial reserves, location of relatives, and in past mobility—provide a partial explanation for the absence of high gross migration rates out of redevelopment areas. We turn now to an analysis of the characteristics of people who have moved out of and into redevelopment areas in order to see just how migration may be contributing to the distinctive composition of the population in redevelopment areas.

WHO MOVES OUT OF AND INTO DEPRESSED AREAS?

Starting with out-migration, two kinds of questions may be asked: (1) How do out-migrants differ from the people who remain in redevelopment areas? (2) How do people who move out of depressed areas differ from people who move out of more prosperous areas?

Table 112 relates to people who moved between 1957 and 1963 and enables us to make both kinds of comparisons.[9] Large age differences are apparent between those who moved out of 5A and 5B areas and those who stayed. Out-migrants are much younger than those remaining in depressed areas. However, the same is true of movers out of non-redevelopment areas. The only apparent age differences between the three groups of movers are (1) that there is a relatively high proportion of people over 55 among movers out of 5A areas, and (2) that moves out of 5B areas (depressed rural counties) occur at an even earlier age on the average than moves out of other areas. Both these findings are supported by Gladys K. Bowles and J. D. Tarver,[10] who have analyzed the age pattern of migration out of redevelopment

[9]The 6-year data are based on weighted averages of out-migration in the 5 years prior to the survey and the one year following the survey.

[10]Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of *Agriculture*, *op. cit.*, pages 169-70.

areas on the basis of Census data, which however refer to *net* migration. They find that net migration rates decrease with age in 5B and in non-redevelopment areas, but turn up slightly after age 45-49 in 5A areas. Bowman and Haynes[11] encounter the same phenomenon when they compare migration by age out of coal counties and other more agricultural counties in East Kentucky. They suggest that older people who are established in a predominantly agricultural community (such as 5B areas) are less likely to suffer a "drastic absolute deterioration" in their standard of living than, say, an older coal miner who becomes unemployed. This idea can be generalized by attributing the relatively high migration rate of older people out of 5A areas to the rising incidence of unemployment with advancing age. If in fact some

Table 112

AGE BY SIX-YEAR OUT-MIGRATION, COMPARED FOR REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Place of Origin of Move					
	Redevelopment Area				Not a Redevelopment Area	
	5A		5B			
Age	Moved	Stayed	Moved	Stayed	Moved	Stayed
18-24	8%	3%	22%	3%	14%	4%
25-34	35	18	30	10	37	17
35-44	21	19	16	18	21	21
45-54	14	21	16	24	15	20
55-64	17	19	10	19	8	17
65 and over	5	20	6	26	5	21
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

[11]Mary Jean Bowman and W. Warren Haynes, *Resources and People in East Kentucky: Problems and Potentials of a Lagging Economy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), pages 193-196.

people are more "migration-prone" than others, these people would have tended to move out of 5B areas early in life; but they might not have moved out of 5A areas until these areas became depressed or until they themselves were hard hit by unemployment. There is some indication here that even older people may be induced to move, if the economic "push" is very strong. Yet it must be emphasized again that even in 5A areas young workers are much more likely to move than older workers.

Since the mobility of young people has particular relevance for depressed areas, data pertaining to household heads need to be supplemented by data on young adults. With this idea in view, people, both in redevelopment areas and elsewhere, were asked in the survey about the place of residence of any sons they had between the ages of 18 and 29. In view of the much higher likelihood that the young people were the ones that moved, rather than their parents, differences in residence are assumed largely to indicate mobility by the sons. Sons were studied instead of all children because daughters are likely to marry and settle with their new husbands, and their residence does not depend so directly on education and economic factors.[12]

As the figures below show, 46 per cent of the sons with parents in 5A areas, 52 per cent with parents in 5B areas, but only 37 per cent with families in non-redevelopment areas were living in a different labor market area than their parents. Adult sons in redevelopment areas thus *do* seem to be more mobile than sons elsewhere despite the fact that on the average they have received less education. One question arises: Are the many sons who left their home town in the service or away at college—that is, are they only temporarily away? No doubt, some are. However, it is unlikely that the *differences* in out-migration rates between areas can be attributed wholly to temporary absences. While sons in redevelopment areas may be more likely to join the armed services, sons in more prosperous areas should be more likely to go away to college.

[12]Of course, their mobility has economic effects—the large out-migration of women in the child-bearing years helps to keep down the birth-rate in some rural redevelopment areas. *The Southern Appalachian Region*, Ed. by Thomas R. Ford (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1962), page 67, reports "a second consequence (of the relationship between migration and age) is the decline in the number of births in the Region, brought about in part by the loss of women in the reproductive years."

Residence of Adult Sons	Residence of Parents: Redevelopment Area 5A	Redevelopment Area 5B	Not a Redevelopment Area
Different labor market area from parents (moved)	46%	52%	37%
Same labor market area as parents (stayed)	54	48	63
Total	100%	100%	100%

The educational level of sons who leave depressed areas is of particular interest. Table 113 suggests that out-migration by young people does entail a depletion of human capital. Sons who leave

Table 113

EDUCATION OF ADULT SONS WHO MOVE AWAY AND THOSE WHO STAY: COMPARISON BETWEEN REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution)

	Parent's Place of Residence					
	Redevelopment Area				Not a Redevelopment Area	
	5A		5B			
Education of Sons	Sons Moved	Sons Stayed	Sons Moved	Sons Stayed	Sons Moved	Sons Stayed
8 grades or less	10%	19%	17%	27%	7%	7%
Some high school - not graduates	16	27	20	20	17	24
High school graduates	36	34	31	41	34	36
Some college - not graduates	25	19	19	11	25	25
College graduates	13	1	13	1	17	8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

depressed areas have on the whole attained a substantially higher educational level than those who remain. The sons who stay in redevelopment areas include a disporportionate number with low levels of educational attainment. In non-redevelopment areas the educational differences between sons who moye away and those who stay seems to be smaller. A good many of those who at the time of the survey had "some college" may be away at college completing their degree. Whether or not they will settle in their home town remains to be seen. The figures which are most striking and meaningful are those which relate to college graduates. Clearly, only a very small proportion of college graduates remain in depressed areas when they have completed their education.

Returning now to migration by family heads, we find (Table 114) that in both redevelopment areas and non-redevelopment areas movers have on the average much more formal education than non-movers. At the same time, migrants out of redevelopment areas also tend to have a lower educational level than migrants out of other areas, educational attainment being lower in both 5A and 5B areas than elsewhere.

Further differences exist between those who move out of redevelopment areas and those who do not related to labor force status and occupation (Table 114). A large majority of those who leave 5B areas are wage and salary earners (at least after the move),[13] while the group who continue to live there includes a disproportionate number of family heads who are not in the labor force or who are farmers. Wage and salary earners who migrate from 5A or 5B areas are more often professional or technical people and businessmen than those who stay. The same occupational contrast between movers and non-movers may be found in non-redevelopment areas. Considerable occupational differences appear, however, between movers out of redevelopment and non-redevelopment areas. About 40 per cent of movers out of redevelopment areas are unskilled or semi-skilled (operatives, laborers and service workers) compared with 24 per cent of those leaving non-redevelopment areas. This difference reflects the occupational composition of the labor force in redevelopment areas and results from a higher out-migration rate among unskilled workers in depressed areas than elsewhere.

In total, then, redevelopment areas tend to retain a relatively high number of older people, those who have only a grammar school

[13]There is a data problem here. For those who moved in the 5 years prior to the survey, the occupational category describes occupation *after* the move. Probably some former farmers became unskilled or semi-skilled workers when they moved.

education, and those not in the labor force. They tend to lose members of the more productive groups in the population: the young, the better educated, and professional or technical workers and businessmen. These characteristics of migrants are not confined to depressed areas, however, but are common to all migrants. As we noted previously, migration into depressed areas is by no means negligible. Before we draw pessimistic conclusions about the losses due to out-migration, we must examine the characteristics of people who move into depressed areas.

Table 114

EDUCATION BY SIX-YEAR OUT-MIGRATION COMPARED FOR REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Place of Origin of Move					
	Redevelopment Area				Not a Redevelopment Area	
	5A		5B			
Education	Moved	Stayed	Moved	Stayed	Moved	Stayed
8 grades or less	17%	39%	25%	53%	16%	31%
Some high school	18	22	21	16	14	20
High school graduate	31	26	20	18	28	26
At least some college	34	13	34	13	42	23
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 115

LABOR FORCE STATUS AND OCCUPATION, BY SIX-YEAR OUT-MIGRATION, COMPARED FOR REDEVELOPMENT AND OTHER AREAS

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

	Place of Origin of Move					
	Redevelopment Area				Not a Redevelopment Area	
	5A		5B			
Labor Force Status	Moved	Stayed	Moved	Stayed	Moved	Stayed
Wage and salary	79%	66%	84%	44%	78%	64%
Self-employed	3	8	0	8	5	9
Farmers	0	1	0	17	2	4
Not in labor force	18	25	16	31	15	23
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Occupation						
Professional, technical	19%	10%	24%	13%	31%	16%
Managers, officials	8	6	6	5	14	9
Clerical, sales	4	14	12	11	15	17
Craftsmen, foremen	29	26	17	19	15	22
Operatives	19	27	24	24	14	22
Laborers, service	21	17	17	28	10	14
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 116 compares age, education, and occupation of migrants into redevelopment areas since 1950 with the characteristics of migrants into other areas. Interestingly the redevelopment areas do not attract a cross-section of all movers. On the whole, family heads who have moved into redevelopment areas since 1950 include a relatively high proportion of older, less educated people, and people who are not in the labor force or else are blue-collar workers, self-employed, or farmers. Conversely, the more prosperous areas seem to receive a higher proportion of younger, better educated migrants, people who are in the labor force, and who are white-collar workers.

How can this disparity be explained? First, somewhat over 20 per cent of movers into redevelopment areas in recent years were return movers (the same percentage as for non-redevelopment areas). Return movers into redevelopment areas are likely to have educational and skill characteristics similar to out-migrants. Second, depressed areas are deficient in the economic opportunities which would attract well-educated young people or the professional and managerial group. Third, depressed areas tend to be clustered geographically. Since many moves are short-distance moves, people who move into redevelopment areas often come from neighboring counties or labor market areas where economic conditions are similar; in consequence they tend to have less education and training than movers who come from areas with better economic opportunities. Interestingly, over a fourth of the moves into redevelopment areas also originated in a redevelopment area, almost always a near-by place. By contrast only about one-eighth of moves into the other, economically better off, areas originated in a depressed area. In many cases, people in depressed areas apparently have relatives in cities and towns which are only a short distance away (and which may also be depressed areas); through the help of relatives they get a better or more steady job there.

The relationship between distance moved and economic factors requires further attention at this point. As was shown in Chapter II, the median distance of recent moves was 190 miles and nearly a fourth of moves between labor market areas covered a distance of less than 50 miles. Table 117 shows that moves of less than 200 miles are made with frequency by movers with low educational attainment, by blue-collar workers, and by those who were unemployed before the move. Age, race, and number of years lived on a farm did not have any clear association with the distances people moved. The presence of relatives at the destination of the move also is associated with short-distance moves. People who moved to a place where they had relatives were more likely to make a very short move (less than 50 miles) and slightly less likely to make moves between 50 and 600 miles; no differences appeared with regard to moves over 600 miles.

Even more interesting and relevant at this point are data on the relation between distance moved and the income level prevailing in the county of origin and destination (Table 118). Out-migrants from poorer counties as well as migrants into poorer counties moved shorter distances than movers from or to higher income counties. In counties with median incomes of less than $4450, more than two-thirds of the out-movers and about two-thirds of the in-movers had made moves of less than 200 miles. On the other hand, the data for high income counties (median income $5950 or more) show that only about two-fifths of the out- and in-movers migrated such short distances. To some extent these realtionships result from the fact that rural

Table 116

CHARACTERISTICS OF IN-MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY THE ECONOMIC LEVEL OF THE DESTINATION OF THE MOST RECENT MOVE SINCE 1950

	Age of Head of Family						
Destination of Move	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over	Total	Number of Cases
Redevelopment areas	34%	27	17	14	8	100%	191
Other areas	41%	27	15	10	7	100%	927

	Education of Head of Family				
Destination of Move	8 Grades or Less	9-12 Grades	College	Total	Number of Cases
Redevelopment areas	28%	46	26	100%	206
Other areas	15%	44	41	100%	1030

	Occupation of Head of Family					
Destinations of Move	White Collar Workers	Blue Collar Workers	Self-Employed; Farmers, Farm Managers	Not in Labor Force, Other	Total	Number of Cases
Redevelopment areas	26%	41	10	24	100%	209
Other areas	41%	34	7	18	100%	1036

migrants tend to move to a near-by small town, while New Yorkers are more likely to go to Chicago or Boston or Washington. Still, there is a tendency for people in places with inadequate economic opportunities and for people having the weakest position in the labor market to make the shortest moves, thus effectively narrowing their range of choice—geographically and jobwise. Where redevelopment areas are in close proximity to each other, a considerable interchange of migrants between them is bound to occur. Thus it is no surprise that movers into redevelopment areas have characteristics which resemble those of the population residing in those areas.

Table 117

HOW THE DISTANCE MOVED VARIES WITH PRESENCE OF RELATIVES, EDUCATION, OCCUPATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(Per cent distribution of heads of families who moved in the last 5 years)

	Distance of Move					
	Under 50	50-199	200-599	600 or over	Total	Number of Cases
Education						
8 grades or less	24%	38	16	22	100%	82
High School	25%	32	24	19	100%	217
College	16%	29	33	23	100%	218
Occupation						
Professional, technical	16%	32	26	26	100%	125
Other white-collar	16%	31	31	22	100%	111
Blue-collar	28%	32	24	16	100%	179
Unemployment Experience						
Unemployed before the move	17%	47	21	15	100%	72
Not unemployed before the move	15%	37	28	20	100%	182
Location of Relatives, for those with relatives only						
All or most at destination	28%	29	21	22	100%	116
A few at destination	24%	31	26	19	100%	154
None at destination	15%	34	29	22	100%	243

Since we are interested in the *net* effect of out- and in-migration on the characteristics of the population in redevelopment areas, we must now bring together the data on out- and in-migrants. For the country as a whole out-migrants are of course the same people as in-migrants, and as a group they have identical characteristics. For small sub-groups of migrants—movers into and out of redevelopment areas—the identity of out- and in-migrants does not hold true. Nevertheless, Chart XI-3 shows that people who move out of and into rede-

Table 118

DISTANCE OF MOST RECENT MOVE BY 1960 MEDIAN INCOME OF COUNTY OF ORIGIN AND COUNTY OF DESTINATION OF MOVE

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

Distance of Most Recent Move	1960 Median Income of County of Origin of Move		
	$4449 or Less	$4450-5949	$5950 or More
Under 50 miles	28%	21%	16%
50 - 199 miles	42	34	21
200 - 599 miles	19	27	30
600 or more	11	18	33
Total	100%	100%	100%

	1960 Median Income of County of Destination of Move		
	$4449 or Less	$4450-5949	$5950 or More
Under 50 miles	30%	18%	17%
50 - 199 miles	37	36	25
200 - 599 miles	23	24	30
600 or more	10	22	28
Total	100%	100%	100%

velopment areas have considerable similarity. Such differences as do appear are to the disadvantage of redevelopment areas. In-movers, as compared with out-movers, are somewhat older, somewhat more likely not to be in the labor force, and to have had no education beyond grammar school. That is, in-movers show somewhat more tendency than out-movers to resemble the population that has stayed in redevelopment areas.

Since in- and out-migrants have similar characteristics, we can deduce that changes in population characteristics due to migration arise primarily from the excess of out-migrants over in-migrants. The data have shown that out-migrants are younger, better educated, more likely to be in the labor force, and also more likely to be white-collar workers than people who remain in redevelopment areas. It follows that net out-migration deprives redevelopment areas of some of their potential business and community leadership as well as some of their most productive people. A study of Southern Appalachia arrives at a similar conclusion with respect to education:

> "Out-migrants and in-migrants are better educated than the Southern Appalachian region as a whole, but since out-migration has exceeded in-migration for many years, the net result has been to retard the rise in the educational level of the population . . . The migrants have a lower average education than the population of their destination, should they migrate out of the region. . . . Consequently, Appalachian out-migration tends to lower the level of education both in and out of the region."[14]

Furthermore, to the extent that in-migration replaces the more productive out-migrants with people who may be less productive economically (older, less educated, non-working people), the tendency for redevelopment areas to lose valuable human capital is accentuated. Since net out-migration is small in any one year, these phenomena become really important only when an area is chronically depressed and experiences fairly prolonged out-migration.

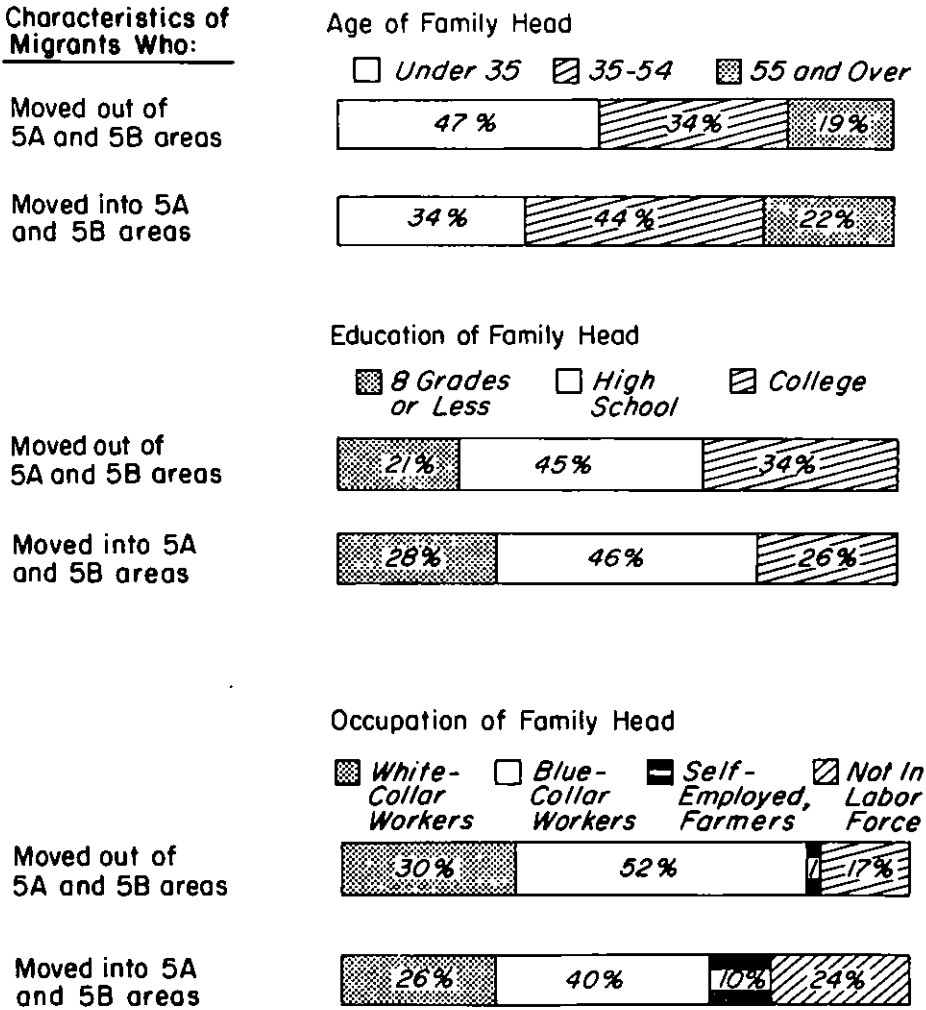
CONCLUSION

To conclude, migration as an economic adjustment to conditions in redevelopment areas works in the right direction: these areas are experiencing a net outflow of population. Moreover, since young people in the child-bearing years have been leaving and older people tend

[14] *The Southern Appalachia Region, op. cit.*, pages 68-69.

CHART XI-3

COMPARISON OF CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS INTO AND OUT OF REDEVELOPMENT AREAS



to remain, the total effect of mobility on population growth in depressed areas must be larger than the figures on the number of migrants alone would indicate.

Yet this adjustment mechanism has at least three serious limitations. First and most important, it gradually deprives areas of some of the most desirable elements of their labor force—the young, the well-educated, and the skilled. It may also deprive them of people with certain desirable psychological characteristics—such as a high degree of enterprise or need achievement—which are not measured by the survey. Similar conclusions were arrived at in a recent detailed study of a smaller area, East Kentucky:

> "Out-migration on a scale large enough to mean significant population decline dampens local economic life and activity. And it leaves behind a population in which the aged constitute a large proportion of the total. . . . The long-term prospects for most of East Kentucky are for a declining and progressively aging population. . . . (this means) . . . a rising burden of dependency of the aged and a relatively obsolete stock of 'human capital'. . . . The problems created by migration have other faces also, bound up with the selectivity of migrants by age, education, and other personal traits . . . the tendency for the better educated and the more energetic and ambitious of the young people to leave deprives the local community of a large proportion of its most promising future citizens. It may take many decades for migration to have perceptible effects on the genetic quality of the population that remains, but the social and economic effects show up much more quickly . . . The removal of a large proportion of the more ambitious drains the dynamic qualities out of the community so that each generation grows up in an environment relatively deprived of creative stimulation."[16]

A second limitation is bound to become evident when the process of out-migration has gone on for some time. In that case the population remaining in depressed areas will gradually show a reduced mobility potential. Among the present population of redevelopment areas, characteristics associated with low mobility already are relatively frequent. To be sure, relatively low educational levels, low skill levels, and low labor force participation rates also are brought about by environmental conditions in these areas. Regardless of their origin, it seems that increasingly strong economic incentives may be required to maintain net out-migration.

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[16]M. J. Bowman and W. W. Haynes, *op. cit.*, pages 203, 251.

The third limitation concerns the influence of economic incentives on the decision to move. The survey data analyzed in this chapter suggest that even strong negative pressure—the "push" exerted by exceptionally unsatisfactory economic conditions—is only moderately successful in inducing people to abandon depressed areas. The "pull" provided by awareness of attractive opportunities elsewhere is crucial, whether we are concerned with depressed or more prosperous areas. The point to be emphasized is that redevelopment areas experience a net loss of population primarily because they attract fewer in-migrants than non-redevelopment areas.

From a policy point of view the survey findings imply that migration can and does make some contribution toward the solution of the depressed area problem, but it cannot bear the brunt of the adjustment. Moving industry into depressed areas is not necessarily a more feasible or more promising alternative. Both kinds of movement—the out-movement of people and the in-movement of industry—may be stimulated to some extent by public policy. Yet programs to locate new industries in depressed areas are beset by many difficulties and will at best alleviate unemployment in some spots. It would appear that a high level of aggregate demand in the nation is a primary prerequisite for helping depressed areas. If "pull" is more decisive than "push" (or the carrot more effective than the stick) in promoting adjustments in labor supply to demand through migration, it follows that the higher the level of job openings (especially for blue-collar workers) outside of depressed areas, the greater the potential contribution of migration.

Given job openings, an improvement in the flow of information about employment conditions in other places would be useful. It could serve two ends: (1) to step up the migration out of redevelopment areas; and (2) to direct migrants to places of expanding economic opportunity (rather than places where they happen to have relatives). Furthermore, it is necessary to recognize the harmful, as well as the useful effects of out-migration for redevelopment areas. Net out-migration of the kind that has taken place in redevelopment areas in the past and is likely to continue in the future leaves behind a population that is less and less able to cope with the already difficult economic conditions in these areas, *and* that is less and less likely to migrate. Educational and vocational training efforts as well as guidance programs are sorely needed to maintain or improve the quality and also the mobility potential of the labor force in redevelopment areas.

XII WELFARE, AID, AND ASSISTANCE: THEIR IMPACT ON GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY[1]

The moderate geographic mobility among the lower income groups in our society has been noted repeatedly in this book. The question is sometimes raised whether receipt of public or private financial assistance might not be a barrier to mobility. One might wish that people with low earnings would do more moving about between labor market areas in a search for more work or a better paying job. To be realistic, however, many of the poor are people with less than a high school education, Negroes, and elderly people. In addition, some have personality characteristics such as low achievement motivation or a weak sense of personal effectiveness which handicap them further in the labor market and in the adjustment to a new community. Certainly, the failure of lower income people to be highly mobile can be explained readily without reference to dependence on private or public assistance.

Yet the problem of the impact of public welfare payments and private charity on the efficient allocation of the labor force should not be dismissed too easily. We need to know whether these programs do or do not impede worker mobility, after allowance is made for other factors associated with poverty. If it should be true that dependence on private or public assistance *per se* reduces geographic mobility, this fact should be known and should be taken into account in designing programs to alleviate poverty.

For the purpose of studying this issue, a series of questions on financial assistance was included in the mobility survey. These questions were limited to families with incomes below $4000, the group for whom an inquiry about outside financial support is generally relevant. The key questions were

> During the last twelve months did you people get any help with family living expenses from family, friends, a church, or a private agency?
>
> During the last twelve months did you people get any welfare, aid, or assistance from the state or local government? (IF NO) Since you were 18, have you ever received any welfare, aid or assistance from the state or local government?

[1]This chapter was prepared by Eva Mueller.

> If you added up the months you have received some kind of welfare or assistance from the state or local government since you were 18 years old, would it come to: less than one year, one year, two years, about 3-4 years, or five or more years?
>
> Did you people at any time in the last twelve months receive from the government any surplus commodities or government food stamps?

A question on the dollar amount of aid was asked only of recipients of public welfare.

Of the 800 families in the sample with incomes under $4000 about 14 per cent reported that they received public assistance in the year preceding the survey, 14 per cent reported private assistance in the previous year, and 7 per cent said that they had obtained food stamps or surplus food. In all, since some families got more than one type of support, 27 per cent of these low income families had benefitted from some kind of aid in the twelve-month period.

The proportion of families who received assistance is tabulated by income brackets in Table 119. Not unexpectedly, very low income—under $2000—is the most common characteristic of families who depend on private or public assistance. From the point of view of the analysis which follows, the sharp decline in the proportions who got assistance in the brackets above $2000 is reassuring. The decision not to ask those with incomes above $4000 about possible receipt of assistance was made in order to avoid putting these questions to people whose socio-economic status might make the queries seem ridiculous and perhaps even offensive. It appears unlikely that many recipients of public assistance were lost by the cut-off at $4000. A few middle-income people who receive private support by more well-to-do relatives undoubtedly are excluded by the $4000 income limit. These people in any case may not belong in an analysis of the relation between dependency and geographic mobility.

The upper part of Table 120 compares mobility in the 5 years preceding the survey and mobility since 1950 for low income families who did and those who did not depend on public assistance in the past year. These data suggest that recent beneficiaries of public assistance are less likely to have moved than other families in the low income category. The lower part of Table 120 affords us a longer-term perspective. It relates past mobility to the number of years since age 18 in which low income people have received public assistance. It appears from these data that the association between receipt of public assistance and low mobility is confined to longer-term or hard-core welfare recipients.

Table 119

RECEIPT OF ASSISTANCE IN THE LAST YEAR BY FAMILY INCOME

(Per cent of respondents with family income under $4000)[a]

Kind of Assistance in the Past Year	All	Family Income: Under $2000	$2000-2999	$3000-3999
Received surplus commodities	7	9	6	5
Received private assistance	14	17	12	9
Received public assistance	14	21	8	3
Amount received				
Under $500	3	6	1	*
$500-999	6	9	2	1
$1000-1499	3	5	*	1
$1500-1999	1	1	1	1
$2000 or more	1	*	4	*
Number of respondents	817	370	232	215

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

[a]Totals will not add to 100 because only the per cent who received the assistance is shown.

Table 120

PAST MOBILITY AMONG LOW-INCOME FAMILIES WHO DID AND DID NOT RECEIVE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE PAST

(Per cent of families with incomes under $4000)

Past Mobility	Receipt of Public Assistance in the Past Year: Did Not Receive Public Assistance	Received Public Assistance
Moved to area within 5 years	12	6
Have moved since 1950 but not in past 5 years	10	8
No recent moves	78	86
Total	100	100
Number of cases	678	109

Past Mobility	Receipt of Public Assistance Since Age 18: Did Not Receive	Received Less Than 2 Years	Received 2 Years or More
Moved to area within 5 years	13	13	3
Have moved since 1950 but not in past 5 years	11	10	5
No recent moves	76	77	92
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	628	69	90

Both parts of Table 120 have an important drawback: the time sequence of events is not clear. Did availability of public aid reduce mobility? Or did mobility make it more difficult to become eligible for aid from a public agency, especially long-term aid? To clarify the causal sequence, Table 121 presents data on receipt of aid in the year *preceding* the survey, together with data on mobility in the year *following* the initial survey (obtained by reinterview). We now find an association running in the opposite direction: Irrespective of whether the aid is private or public, or consists of food or food stamps, recipients seem to be more mobile geographically than other low income families. Tentatively, it would appear then that Table 120 reflects the impact of mobility on subsequent eligibility rather than a negative influence of public assistance payments on geographic mobility.

The relatively high mobility of families obtaining private and public assistance, evident in Table 121, requires further examination.

Table 121

MOBILITY OVER A TWELVE MONTH PERIOD RELATED TO KIND OF ASSISTANCE RECEIVED IN THE PREVIOUS YEAR

(Percentage distribution of respondents with family incomes under $4000)

		Kind of Assistance		
Mobility	Received None of the 3 Kinds of Assistance	Received Surplus Commodities	Received Private Assistance	Received Public Assistance
Moved in the year	3	15	10	8
Did not move in the year	97	85	90	92
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	261	27	52	63

To evaluate this finding one must know as a first step how low income families who did receive each type of assistance differ from low income families who did not obtain assistance. A further step then follows: a comparison of aid recipients and other families with respect to mobility making allowance for socio-economic differences between the two groups (other than receipt of aid). Attention will be focused on private and public assistance, since food receipts are less important, and only 21 families in the sample received food or food stamps without also getting some kind of other assistance.

Families who are recipients of food or food stamps may be characterized briefly at the outset. Most often the head is in the middle age brackets. A disproportionate number of such families have children or consist of single adults with children. The proportion of Negroes, of unemployed, and of families headed by housewives also is relatively high. Finally, food recipients were found with particular frequency in agricultural and other low income areas and in areas of high unemployment. It does not appear from these findings that food or food stamp recipients have, predominantly, characteristics which make them more mobile than the low income population as a whole, except perhaps for the age factor.

The case of families which depend on welfare or other forms of *public* assistance is different. According to Table 122, this group is heavily weighted with people having socio-economic characteristics associated with low mobility. Half of these families have heads over 65 years old, for the most part retired. Another substantial proportion are headed by housewives, usually widows or younger women, presently not married, but having children (labeled "other" in Table 122). Another striking characteristic of public welfare recipients is their low educational level. Fully 70 per cent of family heads in this group had only 8 years of schooling or less. A third were Negroes. And a good many resided in agricultural areas or other low income counties. Together more than 7 in 10 recipients of public financial assistance are not in the labor force. For most of these people then the question of mobility in relation to the efficiency of labor force use does not even arise. And even those who are in the labor force are not the kinds of people of whom one would expect a high degree of geographic mobility, regardless of financial aid.

Table 123 shows the mean percentage of families with moving plans and the mean percentage who actually moved in the year following the survey, distinguishing between public aid recipients and other low income families. There is no evidence that dependence on public aid inhibits geographic mobility, whether we look at moving plans or actual moves in the year following the initial survey. This

Table 122

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF AID RECIPIENTS AND ALL LOW INCOME PEOPLE

(Percentage distribution of respondents with family income under $4000)

	Received Public Aid	Received Private Aid	All With Income Less Than $4000
Age			
18-25	2	13	7
25-54	34	44	35
55-64	13	8	15
65 and over	51	35	43
Total	100	100	100
Work Status of Head of Family			
Retired	39	19	32
Student	0	9	3
Housewife	33	25	16
Working	21	35	43
Unemployed	7	12	6
Total	100	100	100
Life Cycle			
Single - under 45	3	12	6
Other	19	13	8
Married with children	16	24	22
Married without children	20	20	32
Single - 45 and over	42	31	32
Total	100	100	100
Education			
8th grade	70	54	57
High school	28	29	34
College	2	17	9
Total	100	100	100
Race			
White	68	81	82
Nonwhite	32	19	18
Total	100	100	100
Place of Residence			
Standard metropolitan area	42	62	51
Rural nonfarm	5	5	9
Rural farm	53	33	40
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases	112	111	800

Table 123

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF MOBILITY BY RECEIPT OF ASSISTANCE

(Per cent of respondents with family income less than $4000)

	Mean	Unadjusted Deviation	Adjusted Deviation	Number of Cases
Public Assistance				
	Expected to move in the year			
All	10			809
Received public assistance	8	-2	+1	109
Did not receive public assistance	10	*	*	693
	Actually moved in the year			
All	4			375
Received public assistance	8	+4	+4	61
Did not receive public assistance	3	-1	-1	314
Private Assistance				
	Expected to move in the year			
All	10			802
Received private assistance	15	+5	+1	110
Did not receive private assistance	9	-1	*	692
	Actually moved in the year			
All	4			375
Received private assistance	9	+5	+3	52
Did not receive private assistance	3	-1	-1	323

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

conclusion remains unchanged when age, education, race, labor force status, occupation, and city size are taken into account by means of multivariate analysis. If anything, the extreme financial circumstances in which public aid recipients find themselves seem to provide a moderate incentive to move. The reader should, however, be warned that because of the small number of cases involved, the mobility differential in favor of public aid recipients cannot be considered statistically significant.

Recipients of private aid seem to be a potentially more mobile group than recipients of public aid. Private aid, as the question was worded, includes not only aid from private charitable and religious organizations, but also financial assistance from relatives and friends. Recipients of private aid sometimes seem to be only temporarily in need, while public welfare recipients to a larger extent come from the groups which are chronically poor. As Table 122 illustrates, the proportion of old people, of family heads who are retired or are housewives, of rural residents, and of Negroes, though again sizable, is smaller among recipients of private aid than among public aid recipients. At least a third of private aid recipients are under 35 years old, sometimes college students or young professional people who may be receiving some support from parents. Nearly half are high school or college educated. Given these characteristics, particularly the sizable proportion of young people not yet established in a career, it is not surprising that both moving plans and mobility in the year following the survey are higher among private aid recipients than among the low income population as a whole.

In Table 123 the results of a multivariate analysis of the data on private aid recipients can be seen. After taking account of the socioeconomic characteristics of these families, private aid recipients still appear somewhat more mobile than the rest of the low income population. However, the difference is not statistically significant. What can be asserted with some confidence is that there is no evidence in the survey data that private aid programs interfere with geographic mobility. It should perhaps be pointed out once again that throughout this chapter aid recipients are compared with other low income people, and that the low income strata as a whole are somewhat less mobile than the rest of the population.

To sum up, the data lead us to identical conclusions regarding public and private assistance: Dependency on such aid does not appear to reduce geographic mobility. There is even a small positive mobility differential for aid recipients, but it is not statistically significant. It is reassuring that moving plans likewise show somewhat higher mobility for aid recipients than other low income families since those data are based on a larger number of cases. The association between

past receipt of public assistance and low past mobility (Table 120) seems to reflect largely the effect of mobility on eligibility for assistance, and also the socio-economic characteristics of public welfare cases. To be sure, there must be instances where public or private support makes a low income family reluctant to move. But such cases seem to be approximately balanced by other cases where families are stimulated by their plight to seek a solution to their financial problems elsewhere. A move, by the way, need not imply looking for work in another locality. It may mean, for instance, that an elderly person will move in with children elsewhere, or that an unwed mother marries and moves to a new community.

PART V

Summary and Conclusions

XIII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter is intended to summarize the main conclusions reached in this investigation and to discuss some of the implications for policy of the findings. It is divided into four sections corresponding to the four divisions of this report, which concern patterns of mobility, the determinants of geographic mobility, the process of moving, and geographic mobility and the poverty problem.

PATTERNS OF MOBILITY

Logically the first step in the analysis of the geographic mobility of labor is the definition of what constitutes mobility. In this investigation a move is defined as a change of residence between labor market areas. Labor market areas are defined according to the practice of the U.S. Department of Labor, which means essentially that a metropolitan area is a labor market. Outside of metropolitan areas a county is taken as a labor market area. This definition is similar to the definition of migration used by the Bureau of the Census but not identical. The Census considers any move across a county line as migration even when both counties in question are in the same metropolitan area. What constitute moves in contrast to trips across these boundaries ordinarily is clear. At some time or other during a period of a dozen years 13 per cent of all family heads either commuted to a job 50 miles or more away from home or went away temporarily to work, but for purposes of this study they are not considered to have moved to a different labor market area.

The proportion of heads of families who have moved between labor market areas depends on the time period considered. In one year 5 per cent move; in 5 years, 15 per cent. Fifty-seven per cent of all heads of families are not living where they were when they graduated from high school or left school. Much of the analysis of the determinants of mobility reported here is concerned with whether or not people moved during a period of about a year between an initial interview and a reinterview. In view of the small proportion who move in such a length of time, in future research the possibility should be considered of keeping track of people's mobility for longer periods after an initial interview.

Any statistical analysis of who moves must somehow take into account the strong effects of age and education on mobility. Mobility rates are highest for young adults and fall off rapidly as older age groups are considered. Mobility rates are much higher for those with a college education than those with only a grade school or high school

education. The differences in mobility rates as between those with a grade school education and those who have been to high school are small but on the average the latter are more mobile. Highly trained people are likely to move because their specialized services are in demand in a different area. Young people are likely to move because it is easier and less expensive for them, and because they have not yet developed specific knowledge which is useful in particular jobs in particular areas but may be less useful elsewhere.

THE DETERMINANTS OF GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

Personal Economic Incentives and Mobility: Most people in the labor force give job-related economic reasons for their moves. The people with the strongest economic position in terms of skill level and education seem particularly likely to respond to economic incentives such as the opportunity for a better paying job (on the basis of their own responses to direct questions).

The unemployed are only moderately more mobile than the employed. In the early 1960's family heads with unemployment experience may have been as much as two times as likely to move as family heads with steady employment, and quite a few (possibly one-fourth) of all moves may be related in some way to unemployment. Nevertheless, most families with unemployment do not move, and the mobility induced by unemployment has not been great enough to eliminate wide discrepancies in unemployment rates between areas. One reason why the push of unemployment brings about only a limited response is that unemployment rates are highest for the less mobile groups in the economy. The unemployed who do move have relatively more education and higher skills, or other relative advantages in the labor market anyway. Some members of the low mobility groups—older people, less skilled or less educated people or Negroes—may be induced to move (if at all) only as their unemployment becomes a severe hardship. Another reason why unemployment did not push more workers into the migration stream is the low level of aggregate demand in the period covered by the survey. Workers were not attracted by job opportunities elsewhere.

The survey provided little evidence that people who moved attained higher incomes once differences in occupation and location of residence after the move were taken into account. Misinformation may have led to moves that did not lead to expected income increases. Income increases resulting from the move may not have taken place during the period covered by the survey. Distress moves may mute the observed effect of mobility on income. Migrants from poor to

prosperous areas may be at a competitive disadvantage compared to those who always have lived in prosperous areas. Moves are often made for non-economic or only partly economic reasons.

Economic opportunities guided mobility most effectively for people who had relative advantages in the labor force anyway. Moving did not provide a ready means of economic adjustment for many unemployed people who lacked skills, education, or other economic advantages, even though in some cases these may be the very people who would benefit most by a move.

Economic Differences between Labor Market Areas and Their Impact on Mobility: Low levels of employment opportunity or low income levels in an area do not stimulate out-migration, nor do high levels of economic activity inhibit out-migration. High levels of employment opportunity do attract in-migration. To a much lesser extent in-migration also varies with area income level. Thus economic conditions do not have a symmetrical effect on in and out-migration. In fact, during the 1957-63 period studied, in general a period suffering from inadequate levels of aggregate demand, economic differences between labor market areas exerted only a moderate influence on mobility. This influence was felt because areas with low unemployment rates attracted in-migrants. Active demand for labor in an area appears to be a necessary condition to induce people to move from economically less favorable locations. Active labor demand in an area also appears to induce a large volume of cross-movement from other nearby and economically well-off locations, as happens in the West. In fact, a surprising amount of in and out-migration occurs to and from labor market areas with all types of economic conditions. Much of this movement is not entirely economically motivated, and may not result in measurable economic gain. Such adjustments as do occur between areas with economic differentials rely on the response of the younger, most mobile groups in the population, who respond most readily to economic inducements to move, and on the response of those suffering (extreme) personal economic hardship. People with characteristics associated with low mobility potential (blue-collar, older, less educated, Negroes) cannot be induced to move out of an area merely because generally unfavorable economic conditions prevail there.

Federal Support for Education in Poor Areas: The fact that migration selects the young people with good educations is not a new finding of this research, but it is here confirmed. This fact has important economic consequences. It implies that there is an export of social capital from the poor areas to the rest of the country in the form of the money invested in the education of the people who leave. The export of trained personnel from relatively poor sections to

relatively rich sections of the country is an economic anomaly. Should not the country at large pay a substantial share of the basic cost of the education of these people? This question was less urgent say, fifty years ago, when the average level of education in the country was lower, but it becomes important as the investment in education rises.

Federal support for education in depressed areas could contribute to the improvement of the quality of the labor supply in those areas. To the extent that the people involved remain in the areas, they will contribute to the economic development of the areas. The better the quality of the labor force in an area, the greater the economic potential of the area. To the extent that the people involved move away from the depressed areas after they are educated, they will make a greater contribution elsewhere. A policy of support for education may in the end facilitate migration, but it does not prejudge the question of whether people should migrate. The decisions concerning location are left to the working of the market and the choice of the people themselves. What is here proposed is not short run training courses, though these have value, but contributions to the cost of the improvement of the quality and raising of the general level of education of young people in low income areas.

Family and Community Ties: Family ties play a considerable part in geographic mobility. Of those who have moved within 5 years 24 per cent report that their most recent move was wholly or partly for family reasons. Usually the purpose mentioned is to reunite people who have been geographically separated. Similarly, statistical analysis shows that people whose close relatives all live in a different area are more likely to move than people who otherwise are similar who are not separated from their families. Of those who do move, 46 per cent go to locations where there already is someone in their family. Some of these moves are returns to locations where people had lived previously and where others in the family are still living.

Community considerations also play a part in mobility. Of those who moved within 5 years 20 per cent report that their most recent move was wholly or partly for community reasons. These reasons for moving are about evenly divided between reasons arising out of the general attractiveness of an area because of its climate or other features which might appeal to anyone and reasons arising out of the specific attractiveness of an area to particular people who have friends there or had lived there earlier. Community considerations are often mentioned in addition to economic or family considerations rather than as the sole reasons for a move. Statistical analysis shows that people all of whose close friends live elsewhere are more likely to move than people who otherwise are similar but have at least some of their close friends in the area where they are living.

There is a period of social adjustment after people move to a new area. Within two years the newcomers belong to as many formal organizations as the old inhabitants, but it typically takes two to four years before people report that most of their close friends live in the same area they do.

The persistence of family and community ties is shown by the travel patterns of recent movers. They take more trips than people who are similar in income, education, and other characteristics but have not moved recently.

Mobility and Economic Ties. Home Ownership, Pension Plans, and Unemployment Insurance: Home ownership, pension plan coverage, and unemployment insurance rights are becoming increasingly widespread in the United States. The survey evidence indicates, however, that none of these three economic ties are as yet strong barriers to mobility.

Home ownership and low geographic mobility are associated, partly because the kind of people who are not very mobile are the kind of people who are likely to own their own home, and partly because expectations of future mobility may deter or delay home ownership. Therefore the direction of causality between home ownership and low mobility is difficult to establish. Nevertheless, home ownership in itself seems to make for some reluctance to move.

A considerable portion of people who owned their home before they moved did not sell it or sold it at a loss when they moved; only 4 out of 10 sold their home without a loss. There is no information as to how many people were discouraged from moving by difficulties in selling their home. A program to assist people in selling their home when they plan to move might serve to encourage or assist *otherwise planned or considered* mobility. However, it must be realized that such a program would only be an *enabling condition*. It would not, in itself, provide the impetus to move.

The statistical evidence that pension rights (vested or unvested) or unemployment insurance coverage inhibit mobility, if significant at all, is very weak. Many other factors (some strongly associated with these two economic ties) are more important in prompting a decision to move or not to move. Provisions of coverage are also complex and not always clearly understood. While a program to vest pension rights fully or a program to increase unemployment insurance coverage may be desirable on its own merits, it would not be a major impetus to mobility. Since the fear of losing these two equities has not been shown

to decrease mobility significantly, it cannot be expected that such programs would facilitate geographic mobility in a significant way.

Policy Toward Barriers to Mobility: As already suggested, the survey results indicate that a program to provide assistance in selling a house may be the most helpful of all policies considered for reducing barriers to mobility. Since a large proportion of home owners who move have some difficulty in selling their house, such a program may enable planned mobility to take place more readily.

The problems faced or expected by especially disadvantaged groups such as Negroes when they attempt to settle in a new community may be considered barriers to the mobility of the specific group. Any steps to reduce discrimination, to ease difficulty in finding housing, or to tackle other community adjustment problems, as suggested in Chapter X, may be expected to lower these kinds of barriers and encourage otherwise desirable mobility.

Other Determinants of Mobility: There is little or no relation between the overall probability that a person will move and either of the two measures of personality considered in this study, the sense of personal effectiveness and achievement-security orientation. The sense of personal effectiveness, however, especially for those with a grade school education, is correlated with the reasons for the most recent move, those with low effectiveness scores being less likely to give economic reasons and more likely to give community reasons. Those low in sense of effectiveness also are more likely to report that their most recent move was a return move.

These results suggest that there may be in general little relation between psychological characteristics and mobility when all types of moves are lumped in together because the psychological meaning of mobility varies from one situation to another. For example, a move may be a return after defeat in an attempt to succeed in a new locality, or an escape from a difficult marital situation, or a search for a better climate. It may be an advancement in recognition of personal success, or a routine shift of personnel initiated by an employer. Important relations between personality characteristics and mobility are more likely to appear when attention is restricted to situations which are similar from the point of view of the people involved.

Two potential facilitators of mobility were investigated, car ownership and liquid asset ownership. Car ownership seems to be irrelevant. People who have some liquid reserves probably find it easier to move, but the statistical evidence on this point is inconclusive.

THE PROCESS OF MOVING

How Moving Decisions are Made: There is a good deal of inertia about moving. About 30 per cent of the labor force are aware of better economic opportunities elsewhere but don't move to take advantage of these opportunities. Most people who prefer to move don't plan to move, and most people who think they might move in the next year do not do so. All in all, most people who haven't moved over the 5 years 1957-1962 have never even thought of moving (about 80 per cent). This amount of inertia is bound to limit the efficiency of mobility in bringing about needed economic adjustments in individual cases and between areas.

The general level of deliberation about moving is low. Many moves take place on short notice, without consideration of alternatives, or after few sources of information about jobs have been investigated. The planning period was a month or less for about one third of the moves; alternatives were not even considered in about two-thirds of the moves; and heads of families who went to work for a new employer investigated only one or even no sources of information in over half of the cases.

The circumstances under which a move takes place are more important determinants of the extent of deliberation than the characteristics of the people involved. Some circumstances such as previous familiarity with moving or with the area, or information and help from friends and relatives, seem to replace part of the need for deliberation. Other circumstances such as the press of unemployment or the receipt of a job offer or transfer in one way or the other shorten deliberation or preclude consideration of alternatives. In general, most movers consider only a narrow range of choices.

The well-educated, highly skilled worker who is the most mobile and the most advantaged in the labor force in any case is impeded the least by inertia, and tends to deliberate more about moving although the relationships are not strong. Other workers who are not so advantaged are also limited more in their decision-making by inertia and by consideration of a narrower range of choices. Heavy reliance is often placed on friends and relatives for information, especially by blue-collar workers and those with lower levels of education. These workers also often rely on general information as opposed to white-collar workers who gain specific information, often from special trips to their proposed destination.

Information Flows: On the face of it, a program to increase and make more readily accessible information about job opportunities in

alternative locations, perhaps through state employment agencies, would be of assistance in directing more economically efficient mobility—particularly for blue-collar and less educated workers. However, the usefulness of such a program is likely to be limited by the low level of deliberation that precedes most moves. At present, people seem to consider only a narrow range of choices, and there is no guarantee that increased availability of job information would lead them to expand their thoughtfulness about moving. Once this limitation is accepted, it still remains probable that the flow of information in state employment agencies would be of more help to potential movers if it included more detailed, precise information about opportunities in other areas and other states.

Furthermore, some special groups such as Negroes and the population of depressed areas need more specialized guidance about the location of economic opportunities and they need assistance in finding a job and getting settled, once they have moved. At present they rely much too heavily on friends or relatives and tend to make only short-distance moves, and in this way circumscribe the opportunities open to them. It may be that new community organizations to help in-migrants extensively and on a personal level could help overcome these limitations. Cooperation with state employment agencies elsewhere, who could direct migrants to such organizations in areas of expanding economic opportunity, and with other community organizations would be necessary. Suggestions for this type of agency are spelled out in more detail in Chapter X. For this kind of program to be effective it must be well advertized, and word-of-mouth discussion of experiences with it must be favorable. Also, it is doubtful that it would reach full potential unless there was active demand for labor in the economy and thus jobs existed to which migrants could be successfully directed.

The Cost of Moving: Moving is cheap. Transfers, which usually are paid for at least in part by employers, cost an average of $500. The mean cost of non-transfers is $180. These averages are influenced by a comparatively small number of expensive moves. Sixty per cent of non-transfers cost under $100, counting both the cost of moving people and their belongings. In general, young people move more cheaply. One way to assess the economic burden of a move for individuals who have moved is to compare the cost of the move with their income. For 83 per cent the cost is less than 10 per cent of one year's income. It follows that if the criterion of economic success for a move is whether it pays for its direct cost, it doesn't take much economic benefit to make a move a success.

Financial Assistance: There has been considerable experimentation with policies of providing financial assistance to people to

help them to move.[1] The assistance provided may include the cost of moving people, including the cost of a trip to negotiate with the prospective employer and make living arrangements at the new location prior to the actual move; the cost of moving belongings; and additional allowances to cover the cost of getting settled at the new location.

The information on the cost of moving collected in this study indicates that there are situations in which such allowances are likely to be useful. For many moves, especially moves by young people for short distances, no assistance is likely to be needed. But when people are older, have children, and have accumulated household goods, and when considerable distances are involved, the cost of moving to a new labor market area may very well be more than can be met without help by families who have no financial reserves. Thus, there are likely to be some marginal situations in which financial assistance may make possible moves which make economic sense but would not otherwise take place. A policy of financial assistance in selected situations has the advantage that the sums involved need not exceed a few hundred dollars per family moved. Since the cost per move will be low, the policy may be a success even if some of the moves turn out to be economic failures.

GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AND THE POVERTY PROBLEM

Negro-White Differences in Geographic Mobility: By all measures the geographic mobility of Negroes has been less than that of whites in the post-war period, and the discrepancy increased in the latter half of the 1950's; potential mobility is also lower for Negroes than whites.

Part of the lower mobility of Negroes is explained by their generally lower levels of education and skill. Nevertheless, these socio-economic factors do not account for all of the discrepancy.

The lack of aggregate demand in the economy during the period studied was accompanied by an even more pronounced lack of jobs available to Negroes. While in the past Negroes have exhibited high mobility in response to strong economic incentives, during this period

[1]See the report prepared by Martin Schnitzer, *Programs for Relocating Workers Used by Governments of Selected Countries*, Joint Committee Print, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, Joint Economic Committee, *Economic Policies and Practices, Paper No. 8*, Government Printing Office, 1966.

no strong incentives were offered them. Their mobility was inhibited by the very high overall unemployment rates for Negroes.

Furthermore, in the face of a hostile environment—both in terms of weak demand for their skills in the job market and in terms of discrimination—family ties and emotional ties to a place and to friends appeared to be a greater barrier to mobility for Negroes than for whites. And friends and relatives, rather than economic opportunity, guided Negro mobility that did take place more than they guided white mobility.

National policies which increase aggregate demand, lower the barriers of discrimination, and help increase Negroes' educational and skill level will also increase Negro mobility. Besides these general policy measures, more specific measures, which could be implemented largely on a community level, would help bring about a more economically rational *kind* of Negro mobility. At present, as mentioned above, Negroes rely too heavily on friends and relatives for information about areas to which they might move, job information, aid in moving, finding a house, and getting settled. This reliance limits their choices to communities where friends and relatives have already settled, which may not be the most economically advantageous places for them. A partial solution to this problem could be to develop community services similar to those now occasionally provided by friends. That is, the aid needed includes information about jobs, about housing, and about community organizations, and aid in moving.

Depressed Areas: The unfavorable economic conditions in depressed areas, although they were more severe than elsewhere in the country, did little to stimulate out-migration from these areas between 1957 and 1963, or even earlier in the 1950's. The relatively poor economic opportunities in these areas did, however, deter in-migration, and therefore they brought about a net out-migration. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, a surprising amount of in-migration did occur.

The selectivity of previous out-migration in combination with depressed economic conditions has resulted in a less mobile population in depressed areas than elsewhere. It is an older, less educated, less skilled population that is less likely to be in the labor force, and more likely to be poor, to have low past mobility, and to have relatives nearby.

Current out-migration is continuing this trend toward a population with less potential mobility; the best-educated, younger, most highly skilled workers tend to leave depressed areas. In-migration

does not fully compensate these losses, both because although sizable it is smaller than out-migration and because in-migrants have more tendency to resemble the population that gets left behind than do out-migrants.

So, in the extreme case of depressed areas geographic mobility as a mechanism of economic adjustment leaves much to be desired. It works in the right direction, since net out-migration occurs. Yet the survey data give little evidence that the unfavorable economic conditions in these areas relative to the country as a whole *in themselves* bring about more gross out-migration than occurs from other areas. High levels of demand for labor elsewhere (which did not typify the period in question) must prevail for this kind of adjustment to take place. The net out-migration that does occur leaves behind a less productive population that has a low mobility potential—it drains depressed areas of their most valuable human capital.

Two approaches are needed to assist depressed areas, assuming the existence of a national policy to increase and maintain high levels of aggregate demand. First, since much mobility out of one depressed area seems ill-directed to other nearby similar areas, a program to expand information about job opportunities elsewhere in the country and make this information more readily available such as has been suggested above would help migrants to move rationally. Second, since the labor force remaining in depressed areas suffers debilitating effects both from the prevailing economic conditions and from the selective out-migration, steps to improve and maintain the quality and mobility potential of this labor force are very important. Guidance programs and assistance with special educational and training programs are recommended as well as the more general support for education previously discussed.

Welfare, Aid and Assistance: There is no evidence in the survey that receipt of public or private welfare by low income people reduces their geographic mobility compared to the mobility of other low income people. If anything, it may be indicative of extreme financial circumstances which provide some moderate incentive to move, but this incentive is not shown conclusively.

On the face of it, low past mobility seems associated with the receipt of aid, but this association appears because past mobility affects eligibility for aid. Furthermore, most people who receive public welfare are not in the labor force or for reasons of age or lack of education are not likely to be highly mobile anyway. But even though many welfare recipients are not likely to be mobile people, the survey shows that receipt of welfare payments does not *reduce* their mobility

below that of similarly situated non-recipients. Existing welfare systems do not appear to constitute an additional barrier to mobility for low income people.

APPENDICES

Appendix A.
SAMPLING METHODS AND SAMPLING VARIABILITY[1]

The data for this report were obtained through four personal interview studies conducted by the Survey Research Center during the summer and fall of 1962 and the summer of 1963. Three of the surveys employed cross-section samples of United States families while the fourth was a study of families living in redevelopment areas. Although the sampling procedures were similar, it is convenient to discuss the two samples separately and to refer to them as the national sample and the sample of redevelopment areas.

THE NATIONAL SAMPLE[2]

The sample was selected using the method of area probability sampling which progressed through several stages. The procedure was: (1) Choose a probability sample of counties or county groups (primary sampling units). (2) Within selected counties, choose a probability sample of places—which might be cities, towns or rural areas. (3) Within the sample of places, make a probability selection of dwellings.[3] (4) Within occupied dwellings, include all families[4] in the sample.

In the first stages of sampling, the primary units (counties or county groups) were sorted into strata homogeneous with respect to geographical region, degree of urbanization and other relevant variables. Each of the 12 largest metropolitan areas was a stratum; each

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[1]This Appendix was written in collaboration with Irene Hess of the Sampling Section, Survey Research Center.

[2]In this report, the term national refers to the 48 states and the District of Columbia.

[3]The Survey Research Center uses the dwelling unit concept defined by the United States Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Housing: 1950; Vol. I.*, "General Characteristics, Part I: U. S. Summary," XVI. Dwelling units on military reservations are excluded from the study universe. Also excluded are persons living in nondwelling unit quarters; examples of these are. large rooming houses, residential clubs, hospitals, penal institutions, and dormitories.

[4]Persons living in a dwelling unit comprise a *household*, which may include one or more family groups. A *family* may be one individual living alone, or two or more household members related by blood, marriage or adoption. The *primary* family includes the head of the household; household members not related to the household head may compose one or more *secondary* families.

was one primary sampling unit. The remainder of the counties is distributed among approximately 60 strata[5] containing from 2 to 200 primary sampling units and averaging around 2 million population. From each of the strata, one primary sampling unit was selected with probability proportional to population. Within each selected primary unit about five places, on the average, were chosen by probability methods. These places were cities, towns, suburban and rural areas.

Within each sample city a probability selection of dwellings was made in one of two ways. (1) For cities of 50,000 or more population, census statistics showing average rental and property values were available for each census tract; this information was used to stratify tracts before selecting a block sample which was sent to interviewers, who visited each sample block to divide it into small portions or segments containing about four dwellings each. After the interviewers' work was returned to the central office, a sample of segments was selected for interviewing. (2) In cities where an up-to-date city directory was available, addresses were selected, usually in clusters of about four, from the street address section of the directory. These sample addresses were supplemented by an area sample to insure that dwellings not located at directory addresses had the appropriate probability of selection for the survey.

In smaller towns, suburban and rural areas, maps were divided into small "blocks" and numbered systematically to yield a rough geographical stratification. Following the procedure used in some cities, a sample of blocks was sent to interviewers who visited the blocks and divided them into segments with an average of four dwellings each. After this preliminary work was returned to the central office, a probability selection was made from these segments.

Each sample segment was outlined on a map or sketch, and directory addresses were typed on listing forms. These materials guided the interviewers in carrying through an exact sampling procedure. All dwellings in sample segments or at sample addresses were included in the survey.[6] Likewise, within the sample dwellings,

[5]The first two studies used 54 strata and the second 62—in addition to the 12 largest metropolitan strata.

[6]It is noteworthy that although segments were formed prior to the interviewing period, the interviewers were instructed to include all sample segment dwellings existing at the time of interviewing. In this way, an area sample is self-correcting with respect to changes, both increases and decreases, in the universe. In a similar manner, the area supplement, not described in detail here, corrects the directory address sample to the date of interviewing.

all families, both primary and secondary, were selected for interviewing. Thus all dwellings and all families had equal selection probabilities.

Family heads or wives of heads were eligible respondents; however, if the head was unmarried, there was the further requirement that the individual be at least 18 years of age. A selection sheet, prepared in the central office, designated the respondent from each family. In one-half of the families where the head was married, the heads were the selected respondents; in the other half, the wives were the respondents. In families where the head was not married, he (or she) was in all cases the designated respondent.

In this manner a sample of about 4,950 families in 4,850 occupied dwellings was selected at an over-all rate of 1:10,840.[7] About 4,000 interviews were taken during the three interviewing periods (summer and fall of 1962, and summer of 1963). The total sample was distributed equally among the three waves, and each had about the same response rate which averaged 81 per cent. If an individual to be interviewed was not at home on the first call, several additional calls were made. If after repeated calls the designated respondent was not found at home or refused to be interviewed, no substitution was made. Neither were the survey data adjusted for nonresponse.

SAMPLING VARIABILITY IN THE NATIONAL SAMPLE

Estimates from properly conducted sample interview surveys are subject to errors arising from several sources. Among these are sampling errors, response and reporting errors, non-response, and processing errors. Although each is important in evaluating the accuracy of the data, measurement of each type is not always available from the survey itself. However, an exception is the calculation of sampling error which in the case of probability designs can be estimated from the sample.

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[7]Our estimate of 52.6 million households, obtained by multiplying the number of occupied dwellings reported for the sample by the reciprocal of the sampling fraction, is not directly comparable with the Census Bureau's estimate of 55.2 million households reported for March, 1963. ("Current Population Reports", Series P-20 No. 124, July 1963.) The CPS estimate includes Alaska and Hawaii while we exclude those states. Furthermore, the Center's household definition differs from that used for the CPS. Clearly some of the difference can be attributed to sampling error. Also it is possible that the Center's surveys are subject to a small under-coverage of households occurring because some dwellings were overlooked by interviewers.

Percentages: Sample statistics reflect the random variations arising from interviewing only a fraction of the population. The distribution of individuals selected for a sample generally differs by an unknown amount from that of the population from which the sample is drawn. The value which would be obtained if interviews were taken with the entire population, by the same survey procedures, will be referred to as the population value. If different samples were used under the same survey conditions, some of the estimates would be larger than the population value and some would be smaller. The sampling error is a measure of the deviation of a sample statistic from the corresponding population value, but it does not measure the actual error of a particular sample estimate. The sampling error leads to the construction of an interval or range, on either side of the sample estimate, which includes the population value in a specified proportion of cases in the long run.

As used here, the term sampling error means two standard errors; it is the range, on either side of the sample estimate, chosen to obtain the 95 per cent level of conficence. If a greater degree of confidence is required a range wider than two standard errors can be used. On the other hand, most of the time the actual error of sampling will be less than two standard errors; in about 68 per cent of cases, a range of one standard error on either side of the sample estimate includes the population value.

For example, the survey estimate, shown in Table 12, that 15 per cent of all heads of families interviewed moved in the five years before the interview is subject to a sampling error of about 1.6 percentage points. Thus the statement that the population value is within the range 13.4 to 16.6 per cent would be true for at least 95 of every 100 samples drawn like the one for this study. The chances are that in 5 of each 100 samples the population value would lie outside that range; however, the chances are that in 68 of each 100 samples it would lie within the range 14.2 to 15.8 per cent (that is, the estimate plus or minus one standard error).

The sampling error of the proportion of families having a certain characteristic depends on the size of the sample and also on the size of the proportion being estimated. Approximately, the sampling error is inversely proportional to the square root of the sample size. Thus, the sampling error of an estimate based on 400 families is about one-half as large as that of an estimate based on 100 families.

Standard errors also vary with the proportion being estimated and reach a maximum, for samples of a given size, when the proportion is 50 per cent. (However, the relative size of the error decreases

as the size of the percentage increases.) The relation of sampling error to sample size and the proportion being estimated is evident in the formula for the computation of sampling errors for simple random samples. The sampling error of such a sample is equal to $\sqrt{p(1-p)/(n-1)}$, where p is the proportion under consideration and n is the sample size. Although the survey used a complex rather than a simple random sample, the relationship of sampling error to the sample size and the proportion being estimated is somewhat similar to that of the preceding formula.

There are other important factors that influence the size of the sampling error of any characteristic based on interviews from the entire sample or from some specific subgroup. Stratification at several stages of sampling, and clustering of the sample in a limited number of counties, cities, blocks and rural areas were discussed in an earlier section of this report. The effect of such factors varies for every type of estimate and for every subgroup of the population. The fact that sampling errors in this study are frequently higher than simple random sampling errors arises because clusters of dwellings were sampled, a procedure which may increase sampling error if the characteristic being sampled also occurs in clusters.

The sampling errors themselves are products of the sampling processes and are subject to the effect of random fluctuations, as well as the effect of the sample design. Estimates of sampling errors based on data from this study are presented in Table A-1.[8] The figures are *average* values. In our computations some survey statistics had higher sampling errors and some lower. Statistics subject to higher than average sampling errors are those for some subgroups—for example, geographical regions, metropolitan and rural areas, movers and Negro families. However, for many practical decisions the approximations presented in the table will be satisfactory. In comparison with simple random sampling, the sampling errors for our design increase by a factor which varies from about 1.1, for percentages based on larger numbers of interviews. If more precision is required, the sampling error should be calculated for the specific statistic under investigation.

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[8]For computational formulas see Kish, L. and Hess, I., "On Variances of Ratios and their Differences in Multi-state Samples." *Journal of the American Statistical* Association, June 1959, Vol. 54, 416-446.

For the method by which calculations are summarized and generalized for presentation in tables see Kish, L., and Hess, I., *The Survey Research Center's National Sample of Dwellings*, ISR No. 2315, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

TABLE A-1

APPROXIMATE SAMPLING ERRORS OF PERCENTAGES[a]

Estimated Percentages	Number of Interviews											
	4000	3000	2000	1500	1000	700	600	500	400	300	200	100
50	2.3	2.5	2.8	3.2	3.7	4.2	4.5	4.9	5.5	6.4	7.8	11
30 or 70	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.9	3.4	3.9	4.1	4.5	5.0	5.8	7.1	10
20 or 80	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.9	3.4	3.6	3.9	4.4	5.1	6.2	8.8
10 or 90	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.7	3.0	3.3	3.8	4.7	6.6
5 or 95	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.8	3.4	4.8

[a] The figures in this table represent two standard errors. Hence, for most items the chances are 95 in 100 that the value being estimated lies within a range equal to the estimated percentages plus or minus the sampling error.

Differences: Differences between survey estimates are often of even greater interest than the levels of the estimates. These differences reflect the random fluctuations of the sampling process as well as differences in population values. The sampling errors of differences indicate the range which would include the true difference between population values of two compared classes in a given proportion of trials. As with sampling errors of single percentages, greater or lesser degrees of confidence in a statement are associated with larger or smaller multiples of the standard error.

Table A-2 contains estimates of sampling errors of differences based on the computations carried out on the survey data.[9] The numbers are averages. Some of the computations yielded higher sampling errors and some were lower than those shown in the table.

To illustrate the use of Table A-2, consider the proportion of heads of families aged 18-24 and of heads aged 25-34 who moved in the five years before the interview (again looking at Table 12). The number of cases in the first group is around 200, the number of cases in the second group is around 700. Thirty-five per cent of the 18-24 year-olds have moved, as opposed to 28 per cent of the 25-34 year-olds—a difference of 7 per cent. If we look at Table A-2, for percentages around 35% and 65%, for numbers of cases 200 and 700, we see that the difference required for significance at the 5 per cent level is 8.7 percentage points. Thus the difference in mobility between the two groups is not significant (at two standard errors).

THE SAMPLE OF REDEVELOPMENT AREAS[10]

The universe of redevelopment areas contained in 1960 about 32.3 million population, 20.0 million in 5A areas and 12.3 million in 5B areas. Because these areas usually were defined as entire counties, it was convenient to employ a sample design similar to that in use for the national sample.

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[9]For computational formulas see Kish and Hess, *op. cit.*

[10]In 1961 redevelopment areas were defined by the Area Redevelopment Administration in accordance with Sections 5(a) and 5(b) of the Area Redevelopment Act, Public Law 87-27. The 5A areas had a current non-temporary unemployment rate of 6 per cent and had averaged at least 6 per cent over the preceding four years. The 5B areas generally were low income areas with low production farming, or very small areas of substantial and persistent unemployment. With few exceptions the defined areas were entire counties or groups of counties.

In the first stage of sampling, the counties or county groups were sorted into strata homogeneous with respect to type of redevelopment area, population concentration, economic and industrial characteristics. Of the 12 largest metropolitan areas in the national sample, only the Detroit and the Pittsburgh areas were members of the redevelopment universe. Each of these (with 3.8 and 2.4 million population) was a stratum as well as for the national sample. The remaining counties were distributed among 20 strata containing from 2 to 100 primary

TABLE A-2

APPROXIMATE SAMPLING ERRORS OF DIFFERENCES[a]

	For Percentages from 35% to 65%								
	2000	1500	1000	700	500	400	300	200	100
2000	4.0	4.3	4.6	5.1	5.7	6.1	6.8	8.0	11
1500		4.5	4.8	5.3	5.8	6.3	7.0	8.1	11
1000			5.2	5.6	6.1	6.5	7.2	8.3	11
700				6.0	6.5	6.9	7.5	8.7	11
500					7.0	7.4	8.0	9.2	12
400						7.8	8.4	9.5	12
300							9.0	10	13
200								11	14
100									16

	For Percentages around 20% and 80%								
2000	3.2	3.4	3.7	4.1	4.5	4.9	5.5	6.4	8.6
1500		3.6	3.9	4.2	4.7	5.0	5.6	6.5	8.7
1000			4.2	4.5	4.9	5.2	5.8	6.7	8.8
700				4.8	5.2	5.5	6.0	6.9	9.0
500					5.6	5.9	6.4	7.4	10
400						6.2	6.7	7.6	10
300							7.2	8.0	10
200								8.8	11
100									12

APPROXIMATE SAMPLING ERRORS OF DIFFERENCES[a] - Continued

	For Percentages around 10% and 90%								
	2000	1500	1000	700	500	400	300	200	100
2000	2.4	2.6	2.8	3.1	3.4	3.7	4.1	4.8	6.5
1500		2.7	2.9	3.2	3.5	3.8	4.2	4.9	6.5
1000			3.1	3.4	3.7	3.9	4.3	5.0	6.6
700				3.6	3.9	4.1	4.5	5.2	6.7
500					4.2	4.4	4.8	5.5	7.2
400						4.7	5.0	5.7	7.4
300							5.4	6.0	7.6
200								6.6	8.1
100									9.3

	For Percentages around 5% and 95%								
2000	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.7	3.0	3.5	4.7
1500		2.0	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.7	3.0	3.5	4.7
1000			2.3	2.4	2.7	2.8	3.1	3.6	4.8
700				2.6	2.8	3.0	3.3	3.7	4.9
500					3.0	3.2	3.5	4.0	5.2
400						3.4	3.7	4.2	5.4
300							3.9	4.4	5.6
200								4.8	5.9
100									6.8

[a] The values shown are the differences required for significance (two standard errors) in comparisons of percentages derived from two different subgroups of the population.

sampling units and averaging 1.3 million population. The general design required that from each stratum one primary sampling unit should be selected with probability proportional to population. However, in nine of the strata one of the primary units currently in the national sample could be utilized, with proper adjustment in sample sizes to accommodate the redevelopment design. In two strata there were two and in one stratum three primary sampling units also in the current national sample. In these cases by utilizing each primary area where there was an established sample and trained field staff, the redevelopment study benefited from a greater spread of sample interviews, hence somewhat lower sampling variability, than would have been possible using only one sample area to represent each of the

three strata. In eight primary sampling units, selected to represent the remaining eight of the 20 strata, it was necessary to construct a sample of places and segments.

This study had additional gains in efficiency because the interviewing period overlapped those of two national family studies (in the summer and fall of 1962) covering the same subject area. Consequently, some interviews could be used in both the national and the redevelopment samples. However, different weighting of interviews was required. While the national samples (described earlier) were self-weighting, the redevelopment sample was not. Furthermore, some national sample interviews taken in the fall survey, 1963, were also in redevelopment areas and after proper weighting were pooled with the 1962 interviews.

The research objectives might have been satisfied by a self-weighting sample of about 1050 dwellings, selected at the rate of 1/10,080. By combining research efforts, the redevelopment study gained an additional 400 sample dwellings but disproportionate weights were then required. From the 1400 dwellings about 1000 interviews were obtained from primary and secondary families. When weighted, these interviews were equivalent to about 750 at a constant rate of 1/10,080; but the precision of estimates (for the design used) is higher than that which would be expected with the self-weighting plan.

Estimates from the redevelopment sample are subject to errors of response, non-response, and processing, as well as to the random fluctuations of sampling. Because the sample used only 22 primary areas, the sampling error is higher than it would be for the same number of interviews distributed over the 66 or 74 sample areas as is the case with the national sample. Since the calculations of sampling errors have not been made for this design, we suggest that the reader apply a factor of 1.3 to the figures in Tables A-1 and A-2 to obtain a rough estimate of sampling variability of statistics for the redevelopment areas.

Appendix B.
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

There were some variations from one wave of interviews to the next in the questions asked. The basic questions, however, remained the same and were as they appear in the questionnaire used in August-September 1962 which follows.

Survey Research Center
The University of Michigan

Project 713
August-September 1962

Budget Bureau Ø41 - R - 2138
Approval Exp. July 31, 1965

Int. No.
Do not write in above spaces

GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY SURVEY

Interviewer's Name:_____ Date:_____

Your Interview Number:_____ Length of Interview:_____ (min.)

Town or City:_____ State:_____

INTERVIEWER:

List below all adults living in the Dwelling Unit. (List all persons age 18 and over, and everyone who is married, regardless of age.)

LISTING BOX

(Col. 1) Adults by Relationship or Connection to Head	(Col. 2) Sex	(Col. 3) Age	(Col. 4) Family Unit No.	(Col. 5) Indicate Respondent by (✓)
1 HEAD of Dwelling Unit			1	
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				

INTERVIEWER:

(a) Interview the person indicated on the cover sheet by a red ✓; it will be either Head of the Family Unit OR the wife of the Head. Make no substitutions.

(b) A Family Unit consists of all persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption. All persons not so related belong in unrelated secondary Family Units.

(c) For unrelated secondary Family Units, copy the complete Dwelling Unit composition in the listing box above onto the first page of another questionnaire, and use a GREEN cover sheet to select the respondent.

INTERVIEWER

PAGES 2-14 ARE

OMITTED IN THIS

QUESTIONNAIRE

ENTER STARTING TIME: _____

B1. Lets start with the present -- is (HEAD) working now, unemployed or laid-off, retired, or what?

- ☐ HEAD IS RETIRED (SKIP TO PAGE 22, Q. B31)
- ☐ HEAD IS STUDENT (SKIP TO PAGE 22, Q. B31)
- ☐ HEAD IS HOUSEWIFE, KEEPING HOUSE (SKIP TO PAGE 22, Q. B31)
- ☐ HEAD IS WORKING NOW (GO TO Q. B1a)
- ☐ HEAD IS UNEMPLOYED OR LAID-OFF (GO TO Q. B2)

B1a. What is (HEAD'S) occupation? _____

B1b. What kind of business is that in? _____

(GO TO Q. B3)

B2. What kind of work does (HEAD) usually do? _____

B2a. What kind of business is that in? _____

B2b. How long has it been since (HEAD) worked? _____

B2c. What do you think the chances are that (HEAD) will go back to the same job he had before?

_____

_____

B2d. Why do you say so? _____

_____

(THE NEXT FEW QUESTIONS REFER TO WORK (HEAD) USUALLY DOES - (GO TO Q. B3)

(ASK IF HEAD IS EITHER WORKING OR UNEMPLOYED)

B3. Is (HEAD) covered by any old age pension plan other than social security?

☐ YES ☐ NO (SKIP TO PAGE 16, Q. B4)

B3a. Is it a company-run plan or a union pension plan or some other kind of plan?

☐ COMPANY-RUN PLAN ☐ UNION PLAN

_____

B3b. With some pension plans a person loses his right to a pension if he changes employers but with others he doesn't lose it. How is it with (HEAD'S) pension plan?

_____

B4. Is (HEAD) covered by government unemployment compensation so he would receive regular payments for a certain length of time?

☐ YES ☐ NO (GO TO Q. B5)

B4a. If (HEAD) were to move to another state, would (HEAD) lose his right to these payments or would he still be able to get the money?

☐ WOULD LOSE HIS RIGHT ☐ WOULD STILL GET THE MONEY

☐ DON'T KNOW

B5. Is (HEAD) covered by any other unemployment compensation plan so that if he were out of work he would receive regular payments for a certain length of time? (What kind?)

_____

(IF YES)

B5a. If (HEAD) were unemployed and moved to another state, would (HEAD) lose his right to these payments or would he still be able to get the money?

☐ WOULD LOSE HIS RIGHT ☐ WOULD STILL GET THE MONEY

☐ DON'T KNOW

B6. Most of the time, does (HEAD) work for himself or for someone else?

☐ SELF-EMPLOYED (GO TO Q. B7) ☐ SOMEONE ELSE (SKIP TO PAGE 17, Q. B9)

B7. Does (HEAD) regularly employ people other than (himself)?

☐ YES ☐ NO

B8. Has (HEAD) had the same occupation since 1950?

☐ YES (SKIP TO PAGE 18, Q. B15) ☐ NO

B8a. What other types of work has (HEAD) done?

_____

_____

B8b. Which type of work does (HEAD) prefer?

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 18, Q. B15)

(IF WORKS FOR SOMEONE ELSE - from Q. B6)

B9. Counting only full-time jobs, about how many different employers has (HEAD) worked for since 1950?

☐ ONLY 1 - (GO TO Q. B12) [2] [3] [4] [5-9] [10-14] [15 +]

B10. Has (HEAD) been doing the same type of work in all of his jobs or has (HEAD) done different types of work?

☐ DIFFERENT TYPES ☐ SAME TYPE OF WORK IN ALL JOBS - (GO TO Q. B12)

B11. What different types of work has (HEAD) done? (occupation and type of business)

_____

_____

_____

B11a. Anything else? _____

_____

B11b. Which of these types of work does (HEAD) prefer?

_____

B12. For someone in the line of work (HEAD) is now doing, how does the rate of pay here in ...(COMMUNITY NAME)... compare with other places?

_____

_____

B13. For someone in the line of work (HEAD) is now doing, how much work is there around here compared to other places?

_____

_____

B14. Some people are out of work for a time every year, others are unemployed every few years, and still others are almost never unemployed. What has been (HEAD'S) experience?

_____

_____

B15. (INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE)

- ☐ HEAD NOW UNEMPLOYED - GO TO Q. B16
- ☐ HEAD NOW WORKING, OR NOT CLEAR WHETHER WORKING - GO TO B15a.

B15a. Was (HEAD) unemployed or laid off at any time in the last twelve months?

- ☐ NO (NO UNEMPLOYMENT IN LAST TWELVE MONTHS) - SKIP TO PAGE 20 , Q. B24
- ☐ YES (SOME UNEMPLOYMENT IN LAST TWELVE MONTHS) - GO TO Q. B16

(IF UNEMPLOYED NOW OR ANY TIME IN LAST TWELVE MONTHS)

B16. Counting all spells of unemployment, how many weeks has (HEAD) been unemployed during the last twelve months?

_____ (WEEKS)

B17. Unemployment may be due to illness, or strikes, or normal layoffs during certain seasons of the year, or it may happen because there is just not enough work available. What is the reason for (HEAD'S) unemployment during the past twelve months?

_____

_____

B18. During the past twelve months did (HEAD) receive any unemployment benefits from:

B18a. the state unemployment compensation office?	☐ YES	☐ NO
B18b. the company where (HEAD) had worked?	☐ YES	☐ NO
B18c. a union, including any strike benefits?	☐ YES	☐ NO

(SKIP TO PAGE 19, Q. B20)

(IF "YES" TO ANY PART OF B18)

B19. During the past twelve months did (HEAD) receive unemployment compensation all the time (HEAD) was unemployed, only some of the time, or not at all?

- ☐ UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS RECEIVED ALL THE TIME - (SKIP TO PAGE 19, Q. B20)
- ☐ ONLY SOME OF THE TIME

B19a. How many weeks did (HEAD) get benefits?

_____ (WEEKS)

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(UNEMPLOYED IN PAST 12 MONTHS - Continued)

B20. If (HEAD) hadn't been laid off or unemployed about how much would (HEAD) have made in the last twelve months?

_____

B21. About how much did (HEAD) make as things were, counting unemployment compensation as part of (his) earnings?

_____

B22. What kinds of things did you do to make ends meet with the smaller income? (Tell me about it.)

_____

_____

B22a. Did you borrow any money to make ends meet? ☐ YES ☐ NO

B22b. Did you use up any past savings? - - - - - ☐ YES ☐ NO

B22c. Did you get any help from relatives? - - - ☐ YES ☐ NO

B22d. Have you been (are you) on relief? - - - - ☐ YES ☐ NO

B22e. Have you moved so as to live cheaper? - - ☐ YES ☐ NO

B22f. Are you behind on any of your payments? - ☐ YES ☐ NO

B22g. Did someone else in the family go to work to help out? - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ☐ YES ☐ NO

B22h. Anything else? (What?) _____

_____

B23. If (HEAD) were offered a job that meant steady work but it was more than 100 miles from here, do you think (HEAD) would take it?

_____

_____

B23a. Why do you say so? _____

_____

B23b. Suppose (HEAD) also found a job here but it paid a little less than the job 100 miles away, which job would (HEAD) prefer?

_____

B24. Now I would like to ask you something about your own experience with employment agencies. Have you (RESPONDENT) ever visited a state employment agency?

☐ NO (GO TO Q. B26)

☐ YES

(IF YES)

B25. When was the last time? ☐ BEFORE 1950 - (SKIP TO PAGE 21, Q. B27)

☐ 1950-54 ☐ 1955-1959

☐ 1960 ☐ 1961 ☐ 1962

B25a. How did you happen to go there? _____

_____

B25b. How much help were they in finding a job for you?

_____

_____

B25c. Is there anything you like or don't like about going to a state employment agency? (What is it?)

_____

_____

B25d. Anything else? _____

(SKIP TO PAGE 21, Q. B27)

(IF NO TO Q. B24)

B26. Do you know whether there is any state employment agency around here where you (RESPONDENT) could go if you were interested in looking for a job?

_____

(IF YES)

B26a. How would you feel about going there for help in looking for a job?

_____

B27. Do you think you (RESPONDENT) would be more likely to find a job you would be interested in through a state employment agency or in some other way?

_____

(IF OTHER WAY)

B27a. In what way? _____

B28. Have you (RESPONDENT) ever visited a private employment agency?

☐ NO (GO TO Q. B29)

☐ YES

B28a. When was the last time? _____

☐ BEFORE 1950 - (GO TO Q. B29)

B28b. If they had a choice do you think most people would prefer to go to a state employment agency or a private agency?

_____

B28c. What do you have in mind? _____

B29. Since 1950 has (HEAD) ever gone away temporarily to work somewhere else?

_____

(IF YES)

B29a. Tell me about it. _____

_____

B30. Since 1950 did (HEAD) at any time travel back and forth to a job at a place more than 50 miles from home?

_____

(IF YES)

B30a. Tell me about it. _____

_____

B30b. Why didn't (HEAD) move closer to (his) job? _____

(ASK EVERYBODY)

B31. Where was (HEAD) born?

_____ (GO TO Q. B32 OR Q. B33)
(TOWN) (COUNTY) (STATE)

(IF BORN OUTSIDE THIS AREA*)

B32. How far is that from here?

- UNDER 25 MILES
- 25 - 49
- 50 - 99
- 100 - 199
- 200 - 299
- 300 - 399
- 400 - 499
- 500 - 999
- 1000 +

(CONTINUE WITH Q. B34)

(IF BORN IN THIS AREA*)

B33. Has (HEAD) ever lived anywhere else except when (HEAD) might have been in military service or away at school?

- ☐ YES - GO TO Q. B34
- ☐ NO - SKIP TO PAGE 30, Q. B69

(* INTERVIEWER: AREA MEANS COUNTY OR LABOR MARKET AREA AS SHOWN ON MAP)

B34. Where did (HEAD) live during most of his childhood?

_____
(TOWN) (COUNTY) (STATE)

_____
(TOWN) (COUNTY) (STATE)

_____
(TOWN) (COUNTY) (STATE)

B35. Where was (HEAD) living when he graduated from high school or left school?

_____

(SHOW R MAP)
B36. Here is a map of this area. Is there any time since January 1950 when (HEAD) lived outside the area outlined on this map?

- ☐ NO - SKIP TO PAGE 30, Q. B69
- ☐ YES - SKIP TO PAGE 24, Q. B37

	First county
B37. We'd like to find out about all the different places (HEAD) has lived outside of this area since January 1950. Where was (HEAD) living during the first part of 1950? What county was it?	_____ (TOWN, _____ COUNTY _____ STATE)
B38. What year did (HEAD) leave there?	DID NOT LEAVE - (GO TO Q. B40a) YEAR LEFT: _____
B39. How did (HEAD) happen to leave ..... (MENTION NAME OF PLACE)?	
B39a. Any other reason?	

B40. Where did (HEAD) go next?

(CHECK ONE)

- ☐ MENTIONS AREA WHERE NOW LIVING (ASK Q. B40a) →
- ☐ MENTIONS ANOTHER AREA (ENTER NAME OF AREA AT TOP OF NEXT COLUMN - AND ASK QUESTIONS B37-40a ABOUT NEXT AREA.)

B40a. Has (HEAD) moved away and returned? (Tell me about it.)

☐ NO - (SKIP TO PAGE 26, Q. B41)

COMMENTS:

Second county	Third county	Fourth county
_____ (TOWN, _____ COUNTY _____ STATE)	_____ (TOWN, _____ COUNTY _____ STATE)	_____ (TOWN, _____ COUNTY _____ STATE)
DID NOT LEAVE - (GO TO Q. B40a) YEAR LEFT:_____	DID NOT LEAVE - (GO TO Q. B40a) YEAR LEFT:_____	DID NOT LEAVE - (GO TO Q. B40a) YEAR LEFT:_____
☐ NO - (SKIP TO PAGE 26, Q. B41)	☐ NO - (SKIP TO PAGE 26, Q. B41)	☐ NO - (SKIP TO PAGE 26, Q. B41)

B41. (INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE)

☐ (HEAD) MOVED TO THIS AREA WITHIN FIVE YEARS - (GO TO Q. B42)

☐ (HEAD) HAS BEEN IN THIS AREA MORE THAN FIVE YEARS - (SKIP TO PAGE 30, Q. B69)

B42. Who was in your family when you moved to this area? _____

_____

B43. Of the family living together before you moved, was there anybody who didn't make the move with you? (Who?)

☐ EVERYONE MOVED

☐ THE FOLLOWING DIDN'T MOVE: _____

B44. What first brought up the idea of moving here? _____

_____

B45. How long had you been seriously thinking of moving before you moved here?

_____

_____

B46. When you moved here, did you consider moving to other areas?

☐ NO - (GO TO Q. B48)

☐ YES

B47. What made you decide to come here rather than to some other place?

_____

_____

B48. Why did you move just at the time you did? _____

_____

B49. (INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE)

☐ (HEAD) CAME HERE TO WORK - (SKIP TO PAGE 27, Q. B50)

☐ (HEAD) DID NOT EXPECT TO WORK HERE - (SKIP TO PAGE 29, Q. B60)

B50. Did (HEAD) go to work for a new employer after the move, or continue to work for the same employer, or did he work for himself, or what?

NEW EMPLOYER AFTER THE MOVE	SAME EMPLOYER AFTER THE MOVE (TRANSFERS AND RE-ASSIGNMENTS)	SELF-EMPLOYED AFTER THE MOVE	UNEMPLOYED SINCE THE MOVE
(GO TO Q. B53)	(GO TO Q. B51)	(SKIP TO PAGE 28, Q. B55)	(SKIP TO PAGE 28, Q. B55)

(IF SAME EMPLOYER: HEAD WAS TRANSFERRED)

B51. Was (HEAD) transferred here because he wanted to come here or was it because his employer wanted him here?

_____

_____

B52. Did (HEAD'S) employer pay the moving expenses?

☐ NO (GO TO Q. B52c)

☐ YES

B52a. About how much did it cost (HEAD'S) employer? _____

B52b. What did that money cover? _____

B52c. Did (HEAD) have any (other) expenses in connection with the move?

_____

B52d. How much was that and what did it cover?

_____

(SKIP TO PAGE 30, Q. B67)

B53. Did (HEAD) have the new job all arranged before (he) moved?

☐ YES - (GO TO Q. B54)

☐ NO

B53a. What did (HEAD) know about the job situation here before he moved?

_____

B54. How did (HEAD) get (his) job arranged? _____

_____

_____

B55. I have a list of different ways people sometimes find out about the job situation in another town. Did (HEAD) get any information about jobs here in any of these ways?

(ASK B56 AND B56a FOR EACH YES ANSWER TO THE FOLLOWING LIST) →		(IF YES) B56. What did you learn?	B56a. Was the information helpful?
a. newspaper ads?	☐ NO ☐ YES→		
b. a state employment agency?	☐ NO ☐ YES→		
c. a private employment agency?	☐ NO ☐ YES→		
d. personal representatives of an employer?	☐ NO ☐ YES→		
e. a union?	☐ NO ☐ YES→		
f. a special trip to look the situation over?	☐ NO ☐ YES→		
g. friends or relatives?	☐ NO ☐ YES→		
h. any other way? (what?) _____	☐ NO ☐ YES→		

B57. How did the move affect:

B57a. any seniority rights (HEAD) may have had? _____

B57b. any pension or retirement plans (HEAD) had? _____

B57c. (HEAD'S) earnings? ☐ RAISED ☐ LOWERED ☐ NO CHANGE

B58. Was (HEAD) unemployed right before or right after (HEAD) moved here?

☐ NO UNEMPLOYMENT ☐ UNEMPLOYED BEFORE HE MOVED

☐ UNEMPLOYED AFTER HE MOVED ☐ UNEMPLOYED BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER MOVING

B59. In general, how does (HEAD) like (his) work here compared to the work (he) did before?

_____

_____

B60. Did you people have any friends or relatives living here before you moved here?

_____

(IF YES) B60a. Did they help you in any way when you moved here? NO

_____

B61. Did any other friends or relatives have anything to do with your move?

_____

(IF YES) B61a. In what ways? _____

B62. How did you arrange for moving your belongings here? _____

_____

B63. About how much did it cost you to move them? _____

B64. Did your family all move here at one time, or did someone move first and others follow later?

_____

B65. Did you people move here in your own car or by plane, train, or bus? _____

(IF BY CAR) B65a. About how long did the drive take? _____

B66. About how much did it cost to get everyone here? _____

B67. Before you moved here were you paying rent or did you own your home or what?

☐ OWNED OR WAS BUYING ☐ PAID RENT ☐ OTHER

(GO TO Q. B68)

B67a. Did you try to sell your house? _____

(IF YES)

B67b. Did you sell it? ☐ YES ☐ NO - (GO TO Q. B68)

B67c. Did you make money or take a loss on it? _____

B68. All things considered, how do you now feel about the move - was it a good idea or a poor idea to move here?

_____

B68a. What do you have in mind? _____

_____ (SKIP TO PAGE 31, Q. B75)

(IF HEAD HAS LIVED CONTINUOUSLY IN THIS AREA MORE THAN FIVE YEARS)

B69. Have you ever thought seriously about moving away from ..... (MENTION NAME OF THIS AREA)?

☐ NO - (SKIP TO PAGE 31, Q. B75)

☐ YES

B70. When was that? _____

B71. Why did you think of moving? _____

_____

B72. Where did you think of going to live? _____

_____

B73. Did (HEAD) look for work there? _____

(IF LOOKED FOR WORK)

B73a. How did (HEAD) find out about the job situation there?

_____

_____

(IF DID NOT LOOK FOR WORK)

B73b. Do you know how a person who wanted to work could go about finding a job there?

_____

_____

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(IF LIVED CONTINUOUSLY IN THIS AREA - Continued)

B74. Why did you decide to stay here? _____

B75. If you could do as you please, would you like to stay in ..... (MENTION NAME OF THIS AREA), or would you like to move?

B75a. What are the advantages of staying here? _____

B75b. What are the disadvantages of staying here? _____

(IF WOULD LIKE TO MOVE - IN Q. B75)

B75c. Where would you like to go? _____

B76. Do you think there is any chance you will move away from (TOWN OR PLACE) in the next year?

☐ SOME CHANCE ☐ NO CHANCE - (SKIP TO PAGE 32, Q. B80)

(IF SOME CHANCE)

B77. Would you say you definitely will move, you probably will, or are you uncertain?

☐ DEFINITELY ☐ PROBABLY

☐ UNCERTAIN OR DEPENDS (GO TO Q. B78)

B77a. On what does it depend? _____

B78. Why are you thinking of moving? _____

B78a. Is there anything else that makes you think of moving?

B79. Where do you think you might go to live? _____

B79a. Why do you think you might go there? _____

(HAND CARD 1 TO RESPONDENTS)

B80. Now here is a list of clubs and organizations that many people belong to. Please look at this list, and tell me which of these kinds of organizations (HEAD) is active in, if any. I mean any in which (he) participates sometimes here in this area. (CHECK IN COL. I, BELOW) Are there any others you're in that are not on this list?

I HUSBAND ACTIVE	II WIFE ACTIVE	
☐	☐	Labor Unions
☐	☐	Church-Connected Groups
☐	☐	Fraternal Organizations or Lodges
☐	☐	Veteran's Organizations
☐	☐	Business or Civic Groups, Service Clubs
☐	☐	Parent-Teachers Associations
☐	☐	Youth Groups (Scout Leaders, etc.)
☐	☐	Neighborhood Clubs or Community Centers
☐	☐	Organizations of People of the Same Nationality
☐	☐	Sports Teams, Country Clubs
☐	☐	Professional Groups
☐	☐	Political Clubs or Organizations
☐	☐	Neighborhood Improvement Associations
☐	☐	Card Clubs; Women's or Men's Social Clubs
☐	☐	Charitable and Welfare Organizations
☐	☐	Other (SPECIFY) _____
NONE	NONE	

(IF R NOW MARRIED)

B81. What kinds of organizations on this card is your (WIFE) active in? (CHECK IN COL. II, ABOVE)

B82. We're interested in how much people have travelled. In the last five years how often have you yourself taken trips to places 100 miles or more away?

☐ NEVER ☐ ONCE OR TWICE ☐ 3-5 TIMES ☐ 6-9 TIMES

☐ 10 OR MORE TIMES

B83. Some people really like the idea of taking trips while others prefer to stay around home. How do you feel about it?

_____

B84. Thinking of your (and your SPOUSE'S) half dozen or so closest relatives, do they all live here in .....(MENTION NAME OF THIS AREA), most live here, only a few live here, or none live here?

☐ ALL LIVE HERE - (GO TO Q. B85)

☐ MOST LIVE HERE ☐ ONLY A FEW LIVE HERE ☐ NONE LIVE HERE

(IF ANY AWAY)

B84a. What states do they live in? _____

B85. Thinking of your (and your SPOUSE'S) close friends, do they all live here in .....(MENTION NAME OF THIS AREA), most live here, only a few live here, or none live here?

☐ ALL LIVE HERE - (GO TO Q. B86)

☐ MOST LIVE HERE ☐ ONLY A FEW LIVE HERE ☐ NONE LIVE HERE

(IF ANY AWAY)

B85a. What states do they live in? _____

B86. INTERVIEWER: CHECK ONE; ☐ HEAD IS MARRIED - GO TO Q. B87

☐ HEAD IS NOT MARRIED - SKIP TO PAGE 34, Q. B94

B87. Where was (WIFE) born? _____
(TOWN) (COUNTY) (STATE)

(IF BORN OUTSIDE OF THIS AREA) B88. How far is that from here?

UNDER 25 MILES | 25-49 | 50-99 | 100-199 | 200-299
300-399 | 400-499 | 500-999 | 1000 AND OVER

B89. Where did (WIFE) live during most of (her) childhood?

_____
(TOWN) (COUNTY) (STATE)

_____
(TOWN) (COUNTY) (STATE)

_____
(TOWN) (COUNTY) (STATE)

B90. Where was (WIFE) living when (WIFE) graduated from high school or left school?

_____

B91. Has (WIFE) ever worked? ☐ YES ☐ NO - GO TO Q. B94

B92. Since 1950 approximately how many years did (WIFE) work? _____

B93. Is (WIFE) working at the present time?

☐ NO - GO TO Q. B94

☐ YES

B93a. What type of work does (WIFE) do? _____

B93b. What kind of business is that in? _____

B93c. Does (WIFE) work for herself or someone else?

☐ SELF ☐ SOMEONE ELSE

B93d. Does (WIFE) work full-time or part-time?

☐ FULL-TIME ☐ PART-TIME

B94. ☐ R IS UNDER 35 - SKIP TO PAGE 35, Q. B95

☐ R IS 35 OR OVER - GO TO Q. B94a.

B94a. Do you (people) have any living children between the ages of 18 and 29?

☐ NO - SKIP TO PAGE 35, Q. B95

☐ YES

B94b. How many sons and daughters do you have between 18 and 29 years old?

_____

(ASK ABOUT EACH ADULT CHILD AGE 18-29)	I	II	III
	SON / DAUGHTER	SON / DAUGHTER	SON / DAUGHTER
B94c. How many grades of school did (he) complete?	1 2 3 / 4 5 6 / 7 8 9 / 10 11 12	1 2 3 / 4 5 6 / 7 8 9 / 10 11 12	1 2 3 / 4 5 6 / 7 8 9 / 10 11 12

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

(EDUCATION OF ADULT CHILD - Continued)

	(I)	(II)	(III)
B94d. What other schooling has (he) had?	_____	_____	_____
B94e. Does (he) have a college degree?	☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO
B94f. Where is (he) living now?	_____STATE _____TOWN _____COUNTY	_____STATE _____TOWN _____COUNTY	_____STATE _____TOWN _____COUNTY

(Now I would like some of your opinions.)

B95. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been more times when you haven't been very sure about it?

☐ PRETTY SURE ☐ HAVEN'T BEEN VERY SURE

B96 Are you the kind of person that plans his (her) life ahead all the time, or do you live more from day to day?

☐ PLANS AHEAD ☐ LIVES FROM DAY TO DAY

B97. When you make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?

☐ THINGS WORK OUT AS EXPECTED ☐ HAVE TO CHANGE PLANS

B98. Some people feel that other people push them around a good bit. Others feel that they run their lives pretty much the way they want to. How is it with you?

☐ GET PUSHED AROUND ☐ RUN OWN LIFE

B99. Would you say you nearly always finish things once you start them, or do you sometimes have to give up before they are finished?

☐ ALWAYS FINISH ☐ SOMETIMES GIVE UP

B100. For the most part, do you feel healthy enough to carry out the things you would like to do?

☐ YES ☐ NO

(HAND CARD 2 TO RESPONDENT)

B101. Would you please look at this card and tell me which thing on this list about a job (occupation) you would most prefer (would want most for your husband); which comes next, which third and so forth?

An occupation in which:	Rank from 1 (most preferred) to 6 (least preferred)
A. Income is steady.....	_____
B. Income is high.....	_____
C. There's no danger of being fired or unemployed	_____
D. Working hours are short, lots of free time..	_____
E. Chances for advancement are good.....	_____
F. The work is important, gives a feeling of accomplishment.....	_____

(ASK EVERYONE)

B102. Do you people have any bank accounts, government bonds or reserve funds in any other form?

☐ NO RESERVES AT ALL - (GO TO Q. B103)

☐ YES

B102a. Altogether, do you people have less than $100 in bank accounts, savings, or other reserve funds, between $100 and $500, $500 and $999, or over $1000?

☐ LESS THAN $100 ☐ $500 - 999

☐ $100 - 499 ☐ $1000 OR OVER

B103. Do you own this home or pay rent or what?

☐ OWNS OR IS BUYING ☐ PAYS RENT ☐ NEITHER OWNS NOR RENTS

(HAND CARD 3 TO RESPONDENT)

B104. Would you tell me how much income you and your family will be making during this calendar year, 1962? I mean, before taxes.

A. ☐ UNDER $1000
B. ☐ $1000 - 1999
C. ☐ $2000 - 2999
D. ☐ $3000 - 3999
E. ☐ $4000 - 4999
F. ☐ $5000 - 5999
G. ☐ $6000 - 7499
H. ☐ $7500 - 9999
I. ☐ $10,000 - 14,999
J. ☐ $15,000 - 19,999
K. ☐ $20,000 AND OVER

B104a. Does that include the income of everyone in the family?

☐ YES ☐ NO (CHECK CORRECT BOX ABOVE TO INCLUDE TOTAL FAMILY INCOME)

B105. Do you or does anyone else in the family own an automobile?

☐ NO (GO TO INSTRUCTION AT BOTTOM OF PAGE)

☐ YES

B105a. Does your family own more than one car?

☐ ONLY ONE ☐ TWO ☐ THREE OR MORE

	MAIN FAMILY CAR	SECOND CAR
B105b. Did you buy it new or used?	☐ NEW ☐ USED	☐ NEW ☐ USED
B105c. What year model is it?	_____	_____
(IF 1959 OR EARLIER) B105d. Does it need any major repairs?	_____	_____
B105e. Is it a sedan, station wagon, convertible, or what?	_____	_____

(REPEAT Q. B105b-e FOR EACH CAR)

INTERVIEWER: ☐ FAMILY INCOME UNDER $4000 OR DON'T KNOW, SKIP TO PAGE 38, Q. B106.

☐ FAMILY INCOME $4000 OR OVER, SKIP TO PAGE 44, Q. Y18.

(ASK IF FAMILY INCOME UNDER $4000)

B106. Did you at any time in the last twelve months receive from the government any surplus commodities or government food stamps?

☐ YES ☐ NO

B107. During the last twelve months did you get any help with family living expenses from family, friends, a church, or a private agency?

☐ YES ☐ NO

B108. During the last twelve months did you get any welfare, aid, or assistance from the state or local government other than unemployment compensation?

☐ YES ☐ NO - (GO TO Q. B109)

(IF YES)

B108a. About how much did you receive in the last twelve months?

UNDER $500	$500 -999	$1000 -1499	$1500 -1999	$2000 -2499	$2500 OR OVER

B108b. If you added up the months you have received some kind of welfare or assistance from the state or local government since you were 18 years old, would it come to: less than one year, one year, two years, about 3-4 years, or five or more years?

☐ LESS THAN ONE YEAR ☐ ONE YEAR ☐ TWO YEARS

☐ 3-4 YEARS ☐ FIVE OR MORE YEARS

(SKIP TO PAGE 44, Q. Y18)

(IF NO)

B109. Since you (RESPONDENT) were 18, have you ever received any welfare, aid, or assistance from the state or local government?

☐ NO - (SKIP TO PAGE 44, Q. Y18)

☐ YES

B109a. If you added up the months you have received some kind of welfare or assistance from the state or local government since you were 18 years old, would come to: less than one year, one year, two years, about 3-4 years, or five or more years?

☐ LESS THAN ONE YEAR ☐ ONE YEAR

☐ TWO YEARS ☐ 3-4 YEARS ☐ FIVE OR MORE YEARS

INTERVIEWER

PAGES 39-43 (Q'S Y1-Y17)

ARE OMITTED IN THIS

QUESTIONNAIRE

PERSONAL DATA

ENTER TIME:_____

Y18. Have you (or your SPOUSE) ever lived on a farm for at least a year?

☐ NO - (GO TO Q. Y19)

☐ YES

Y18a. Who was that?	☐ UNMARRIED RESPONDENT	☐ HUSBAND	☐ WIFE
Y18b. When was that?	19____ to 19____	19____ to 19____	19____ to 19____

Y19. In addition to (HEAD'S) main job did (HEAD) have a second job or do additional work to earn extra money at any time during the past twelve months?

☐ YES, SECOND JOB ☐ YES, ADDITIONAL WORK ☐ NO, NEITHER

COMMENTS:_____

_____

(IF YES)

Y19a. What did (HEAD) do? _____

Y19b. About how much did (HEAD) make in this way? $_____

INTERVIEWER

QUESTION Y20 IS OMITTED

FROM THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

	HEAD	WIFE OF HEAD
Y21. How many grades of school did (you) finish?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 9 10 11 12
(IF MORE THAN 8) Y21a. Have (you) had any other schooling?	☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO
(IF YES) Y21b. What other schooling have (you) had?	_____ (COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS, ETC.)	_____ (COLLEGE, SECRETARIAL, BUSINESS, ETC.)
(IF ATTENDED COLLEGE) Y21c. Do (you) have a college degree?	☐ YES ☐ NO	☐ YES ☐ NO
Y21d. Did (HEAD) go to college within 50 miles of his home or did he go more than 50 miles away?	☐ WITHIN 50 MILES ☐ MORE THAN 50 MILES	
Y22. How old are (you)?	_____	_____

Y23. What is your marital status?

☐ MARRIED ☐ WIDOWED ☐ DIVORCED ☐ SEPARATED ☐ SINGLE

Y24. How many children under 18 are there in your family?_____

(IF ANY) Y24a. What is the age of your youngest child?_____

Y24b. How many of the children go to school here in (NAME OF COMMUNITY)? _____

Y25. Is (HEAD) covered by Social Security? ☐ YES ☐ NO

COMMENTS:_____

Y26. Is (HEAD) a veteran? ☐ YES ☐ NO

COMMENTS:_____

INTERVIEWER: ☐ THIS IS A REINTERVIEW OF A PROJECT 707 ADDRESS, TERMINATE INTERVIEW.

☐ THIS IS A NEW R AT A NEW ADDRESS, GO ON WITH QUESTION Y27.

Y27. At the conclusion of this survey we would like to send you some of our findings and results. Would you please give us your mailing address?

(ENTER ON FOLLOW-UP SHEET)

Y28. As you can tell from the questions in this survey, we are interested in who moves and who does not move. We may want to contact you briefly in a year or so, probably over the telephone, to find out whether or not you have moved.

Y28a. First of all, would you give me your name?

(ENTER ON FOLLOW-UP SHEET)

Y28b. Do you have a phone? ☐ YES ☐ NO - (GO TO Q. Y29)

Y28c. Will you give me the number? (ENTER ON FOLLOW-UP SHEET)

Y29. Would you please give us the name, address, and phone number of two close friends or relatives who will always know where you are living even if you should move away?

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	ADDRESS	PHONE #

(ENTER ON FOLLOW-UP SHEET)

(BE SURE TO COMPLETE FOLLOW-UP SHEET)

ENTER TIME:_____

(BY OBSERVATION)

Y30. Race. ☐ WHITE ☐ NEGRO OTHER:_____

Y31. Sex of Respondent: ☐ MALE ☐ FEMALE

Y32. Type of structure in which Respondent lives:

☐ DETACHED SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE

☐ APARTMENT IN A PARTLY COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE

☐ APARTMENT HOUSE (5 or more units)

☐ DETACHED 2-4 FAMILY HOUSE, OR ROW HOUSE

OTHER - SPECIFY:_____

Y33. Neighborhood: Look at 3 structures on each side of DU but not more than 100 yards or so in both directions and check as many boxes as apply, below:

☐ VACANT LAND ONLY

☐ DETACHED SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE

☐ DETACHED 2-4 FAMILY HOUSE, OR ROW HOUSE

☐ APARTMENT HOUSE (5 or more units)

☐ MIXED COMMERCIAL AND RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE

☐ WHOLLY COMMERCIAL OR INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

OTHER - SPECIFY:_____

Y34. Enter name of city or town whose Post Office serves this address:

_____(city or town)

Thumbnail Sketch

Appendix C.
TABLES

Table C-1

LIFETIME MOBILITY OF FAMILY HEADS BY AGE

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Age					
Lifetime Mobility	All	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 or Over
Moved to present area within last 5 years	16	43	33	14	11	9	5
Moved to present area since 1950, but not in last 5 years	14	13	23	20	10	9	6
Lived in present area since 1950, but born elsewhere	38	17	15	31	44	52	60
Lived in present area since 1950, born there, but once lived elsewhere	5	4	3	5	6	6	7
Have always lived in present area	26	23	26	30	29	24	22
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	3991	235	748	803	802	604	740

Table C-2

LIFETIME MOBILITY OF FAMILY HEADS BY INCOME

(Percentage distribution of heads of families)

		Income				
Lifetime Mobility	All	Under $3000	$3000 -4999	$5000 -7499	$7500 -9999	$10,000 or Over
Moved to present area within last 5 years	16	11	20	18	18	17
Moved to present area since 1950, but not in last 5 years	14	10	14	15	17	16
Lived in present area since 1950, but born elsewhere	38	47	34	34	34	40
Lived in present area since 1950, born there, but once lived elsewhere	5	7	3	5	6	4
Have always lived in present area	26	25	29	28	25	23
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of heads of families	3991	867	692	1033	512	660

Table C-3

WHETHER HEAD MOVED IN LAST YEAR BY CAR OWNERSHIP

(Percentage distribution of families who were reinterviewed)

		Car Ownership		
Whether Moved	All	Does Not Own	Owns One	Owns Two or More
Did move	5	6	5	5
Did not move	95	94	95	95
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of families	1233	252	689	290

Table C-4

WHETHER HEAD MOVED IN LAST YEAR BY HOME OWNERSHIP
AT TIME OF FIRST INTERVIEW

(Percentage distribution of families who were reinterviewed)

		Home Ownership		
Whether Moved	All	Owned or Was Buying	Rented	Neither Owned Nor Rented
Did move	5	3	9	7
Did not move	95	97	91	93
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of families	1233	812	378	41

Table C-5

EXPECTATIONS OF MOVING AND ACTUAL MOBILITY BY STAGE IN THE FAMILY LIFE CYCLE

		Family Life Cycle Stages						
				Married, Children, Youngest -				
Whether Expected to Move	All	Young, Single	Young, Married, No Children	4 1/2 or Younger	4 1/2- 14 1/2	14 1/2 or Over	Older, Married, No Children	Older, Single
Definitely will move	3	14	6	4	2	1	1	4
Probably would move	2	3	5	2	2	1	1	3
Uncertain whether would move	6	16	8	9	6	3	4	6
No chance of moving	89	67	81	85	90	95	94	87
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of families	3991	177	204	849	763	180	990	632
Whether Moved in Next Year								
Did move	5	18	15	8	3	4	1	2
Did not move	95	82	85	92	97	96	99	98
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of families	1233	39	68	287	229	52	289	201

Appendix D.
MULTIVARIATE CALCULATIONS

This Appendix presents the results of selected multiple regressions. The equations shown here form the basis for many of the tables in the body of the report showing adjusted deviations in the multiple classification format. The techniques used are discussed in the latter part of Chapter II.

Numbering of equations: The equations which follow appear in order by dependent variable. The dependent variables shown are the following:

1. Whether moved in the year subsequent to first interview
2. Whether moved during the 5 years prior to interview
3. Whether expected to move in the year subsequent to first interview
4. Whether would prefer to move away

11. Scaled family income
12. Number of trips 100 miles or more away in the last 5 years

The second part of the number for each regression equation indicates whether the regression was run separately for sub-groups of the sample. Some of the equations were run separately for those under 35 and those 35 years old and above. These two groups are designated 013A and 013B, respectively.

The third part of the number for each equation indicates the number of independent variables. Thus, equation 1-000-18 has 18 independent variables.

Numbering of independent variables: The independent variables also have been numbered and carry the same number in each equation in which they appear. For example, variable 010, is a dummy variable indicating whether or not the head of the family is aged 18-24. The reader will find it possible in comparing equations to check which equations include variable 010. The independent variables are for the most part dummy variables which can take either the value zero or one. Which variables are not dummy variables may be inferred from the titles of the variables. Specifically, the independent variables which are not dummy variables and the scales used to measure them are as follows:

007. *Number of trips 100 miles or more away in the last 5 years*

0. None
1. One or two
2. 3-5; number not ascertained
3. 6-9
4. 10 or more

070. *Scaled family income (based on mid-points of intervals multiplied by 2.)*

02. Under $2000
05. $2000-2999
07. $3000-3999
09. $4000-4999

11. $5000-5999
13. $6000-7499; not ascertained
17. $7500-9999

30. $10,000 or over

090. *Number of years on public assistance since 18 (asked only of those with income under $4000)*

0. None; income over $4000
1. One
2. Two
3. Three; not ascertained
4. Four
5. Five

151. *Number of effective responses*

(actual number from 0. to 5.)

Sampling error of regression coefficients: As noted in Chapter II, the sampling errors of regression coefficients shown below are those which would have applied if the data had been collected from a simple random sample of the same total number of observations. Calculations made by Leslie Kish and Martin Frankel indicate that the actual standard errors are about 36 per cent larger. The reader should keep this fact in mind in interpreting the standard errors and associated T-ratios shown below.

Regression Number 1-000-18

Dependent variable: Moved during the year subsequent to first interview

Scale: 1. Falls in this group
0. Otherwise

Population included: Reinterviews with families with head of family in the labor force

Special characteristics:

Multiple correlation coefficient	.24	Residual degrees of freedom	933
Fraction of explained variance	.06	Constant term	.05

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Age of Head			
010. Head is 18-24	.11	(.04)	2.91
011. Head is 25-34	.04	(.02)	2.21
012. Head is 35-44	.03	(.02)	1.48
Education of Head			
021. Some high school; completed high school; high school plus non-academic training	.02	(.02)	1.24
023. Some college; college degree	.08	(.03)	2.84
Occupation of Head			
050. Professional; technical	.01	(.03)	.54
053. Self-employed	-.02	(.02)	.72
Unemployment Experience of Head			
061. Unemployed in last 12 months	.006	(.02)	.28
Income and Financial Reserves			
073. Has no reserves	-.03	(.02)	1.12
075. Reserves of $500 or more	.002	(.02)	.08

Regression Number 1-000-18

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Home Ownership			
080. Owns or is buying a home	-.03	(.02)	1.75
Auto Ownership			
081. Owns 1 or more cars	-.008	(.03)	.31
Other Economic Characteristics			
100. Wife is working now	-.02	(.02)	1.34
Community Ties			
134. Has children in school in the local community	-.008	(.02)	.43

Regression Number 1-000-24

Dependent variable: Moved during the year subsequent to first interview

Scale: 1. Falls in this group
0. Otherwise

Population included: Family heads in labor force at first interview whose address was known at reinterview and who were respondents

Special characteristics: This regression involves only those family heads who were also the respondent

Multiple correlation coefficient	.43	Residual degrees of freedom	398
Fraction of explained variance	.19	Constant term	.02

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Mobility and Travel			
006. Prefers to move away	.09	(.03)	3.44
007. Number of trips in last 5 years	.004	(.01)	.55
Age of Head			
010. Head is 18-24	.10	(.05)	2.19
011. Head is 25-34	.07	(.02)	2.90
Education of Head			
024. College graduate	-.01	(.03)	.22
Race			
030. Respondent is Negro	-.03	(.04)	.63
Unemployment Experience of Head			
062. Unemployed in last 12 months and thinks there is more work elsewhere	-.06	(.06)	.99
Opinion Regarding Rate of Pay			
063. Believes rate of pay is higher elsewhere	.001	(.03)	.02

Regression Number 1-000-24

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error	T-Ratio
Welfare and Assistance		
090. Number of years on public assistance since 18 (income under $4000)	.0002 (.03)	.01
Family Ties		
110. All relatives live in other areas	.12 (.03)	3.72
Community Ties		
125. All friends live in other areas	.21 (.06)	3.74
129. Head belongs to no organizations	-.004 (.03)	.15
131. Head belongs to 4 or more organizations	-.04 (.04)	1.01
132. Wife belongs to no organizations	.01 (.03)	.50
133. Wife belongs to 4 or more organizations	.04 (.04)	1.07
Collective Security Arrangements		
141. Has pension plan and would lose or might lose at least part of rights if moved to another state	-.03 (.03)	.98
143. Would lose government unemployment compensation if moved to another state	-.005 (.05)	.10
147. Would lose other unemployment compensation if moved to another state	.02 (.05)	.32
Psychological Factors		
150. Respondent generally does not feel healthy	.003 (.03)	.08
151. Number of effective responses	-.01 (.01)	.86
152. Respondent is "achievement oriented"	-.0003 (.03)	.01
153. Respondent is "security oriented"	-.02 (.02)	.67
Type of Redevelopment Area		
203. 5A Redevelopment area (high unemployment)	-.01 (.04)	.33
204. 5B Redevelopment area (low income)	.02 (.04)	.56

Regression Number 2-013A-08

Dependent variable: Moved during the 5 years prior to interview

Scale: 1. Falls in the group
0. Otherwise

Population included: Family heads under 35 years of age

Special characteristics:

Multiple correlation coefficient	.35	Residual degrees of freedom	938
Fraction of explained variance	.12	Constant term	.49

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Education of Head			
021. Some high school; completed high school; high school plus non-academic training	-.03	(.05)	.55
023. Some college; college degree	.02	(.05)	.43
Race			
030. Respondent is Negro	-.12	(.05)	2.45
Occupation of Head			
050. Professional; technical	.24	(.05)	5.08
051. Other white collar	.18	(.05)	3.88
052. Blue collar	.05	(.04)	1.23
Characteristics of County of Residence in 1957 (or, for repeated movers, county of residence prior to last move)			
210. County is in a standard metropolitan area	-.36	(.05)	7.66
211. County is rural farm	-.23	(.05)	4.40

Regression Number 2-013B-08

Dependent variable: Moved during the 5 years prior to interview

Scale: 1. Falls in this group
0. Otherwise

Population included: Family heads 35 years of age or over

Special characteristics:

Multiple correlation coefficient	.19	Residual degrees of freedom	2960
Fraction of explained variance	.04	Constant term	.15

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Education of Head			
021. Some high school; completed high school; high school plus non-academic training	.009	(.012)	.75
023. Some college; college degree	.063	(.016)	3.83
Race			
030. Respondent is Negro	-.038	(.018)	2.04
Occupation of Head			
050. Professional; technical	.10	(.02)	4.66
051. Other white collar	.04	(.02)	2.33
052. Blue collar	.04	(.01)	3.41
Characteristics of County of Residence in 1957 (or, for repeated movers, county of residence prior to last move)			
210. County is in a standard metropolitan area	-.12	(.02)	6.24
211. County is rural farm	-.10	(.02)	4.78

Regression Number 3-013A-33

Dependent variable: Did expect to move in the next year

Scale: 1. Falls in this group
0. Otherwise

Population included: Family heads under 35 years of age

Special characteristics:

Multiple correlation coefficient	.40	Residual degrees of freedom	945
Fraction of explained variance	.16	Constant term	.26

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Education of Head			
021. Some high school; completed high school; high school plus non-academic training	.07	(.04)	1.56
023. Some college; college degree	.10	(.05)	1.86
Race			
030. Respondent is Negro	-.16	(.05)	3.30
Marital Status of Head			
041. Widowed, divorced, separated	-.07	(.05)	1.31
042. Single	.05	(.05)	1.17
Occupation of Head			
050. Professional; technical	-.07	(.06)	1.17
051. Other white collar	-.06	(.06)	1.05
052. Blue collar	-.15	(.05)	2.74
053. Self-employed	-.15	(.07)	2.20
054. Not self-employed	-.03	(.07)	.38
Unemployment Experience of Head			
060. Unemployment is usual	.10	(.05)	1.99

Regression Number 3-013A-33

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Income and Financial Reserves			
071. Family income is less than $3000	.03	(.05)	.59
072. Family income is $10,000 and over	-.03	(.04)	.75
073. Has no reserves	-.003	(.03)	.10
075. Has reserves of $1000 or more	-.05	(.03)	1.38
Home Ownership			
080. Owns or is buying a home	-.08	(.03)	2.72
Welfare and Assistance			
091. Received aid from any source in the last 12 months	.03	(.06)	.53
092. Received no aid from any source in the last 12 months	.01	(.05)	.12
Other Economic Characteristics			
100. Wife is working now	.01	(.04)	.29
Family Ties			
110. All relatives live in other areas	.12	(.04)	2.99
111. Most relatives live in other areas	.06	(.03)	1.68
Community Ties			
125. All friends live in other areas	.13	(.05)	2.34
126. Most friends live in other areas	.04	(.04)	1.28
Collective Security Arrangements			
140. Has pension plan and would lose, might lose, or might not lose at least part of rights if moved to another state	.002	(.03)	.05
142. Has pension plan and would not lose rights if moved to another state	.04	(.05)	.97
144. Might lose government unemployment compensation if moved to another state	-.04	(.06)	.68

Regression Number 3-013A-33

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Collective Security Arrangements - continued			
145. Would not lose government unemployment compensation if moved to another state	-.02	(.03)	.45
146. Don't know if would lose government unemployment compensation if moved to another state	-.04	(.04)	1.18
Region			
200. Northeast	-.09	(.04)	2.04
201. North central	-.09	(.04)	2.47
202. South	-.001	(.04)	.03
Characteristics of County of Residence at Time of Interview			
220. County is in a standard metropolitan statistical area	.06	(.05)	1.14
221. County is rural farm	.06	(.05)	1.05

Regression Number 3-013B-33

Dependent variable: Did expect to move in the next year

Scale: 1. Falls in this group
0. Otherwise

Population included: Family heads 35 years of age or over

Special characteristics:

Multiple correlation coefficient	.25	Residual degrees of freedom	2957
Fraction of explained variance	.06	Constant term	.10

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Education of Head			
021. Some high school; completed high school; high school plus non-academic training	.002	(.01)	.15
023. Some college; college degree	.02	(.02)	1.20
Race			
030. Respondent is Negro	-.04	(.02)	2.15
Marital Status of Head			
041. Widowed, divorced, separated	.001	(.01)	.11
042. Single	.003	(.02)	.12
Occupation of Head			
050. Professional; technical	.01	(.02)	.40
051. Other white collar	-.01	(.02)	.56
052. Blue collar	-.01	(.02)	.44
053. Self-employed	-.001	(.02)	.07
054. Not self-employed	.02	(.02)	.66

Regression Number 3-013B-33

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Unemployment Experience of Head			
060. Unemployment is usual	.03	(.02)	1.21
Income and Financial Reserves			
071. Family income is less than $3000	.01	(.02)	.82
072. Family income is $10,000 and over	.002	(.01)	.14
073. Has no reserves	-.01	(.01)	.56
075. Has reserves of $1000 or more	.003	(.01)	.24
Home Ownership			
080. Owns or is buying a home	-.03	(.01)	2.83
Welfare and Assistance			
091. Received aid from any source in last 12 months	-.02	(.02)	.69
092. Received no aid from any source in last 12 months	-.01	(.02)	.73
Other Economic Characteristics			
100. Wife is working now	-.02	(.01)	1.86
Family Ties			
110. All relatives live in other areas	.04	(.01)	2.48
111. Most relatives live in other areas	.02	(.01)	1.77
Community Ties			
125. All friends live in other areas	.16	(.03)	5.97
126. Most friends live in other areas	.10	(.01)	7.14

Regression Number 3-013B-33

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Collective Security Arrangements			
140. Has pension plan and would lose, might lose, or might not lose at least part of rights if moved to another state	.03	(.01)	2.20
142. Has pension plan and would not lose rights if moved to another state	.01	(.02)	.66
144. Might lose government unemployment compensation if moved to another state	-.01	(.02)	.50
145. Would not lose government unemployment compensation if moved to another state	-.01	(.01)	.41
146. Don't know if would lose government unemployment compensation if moved to another state	.0005	(.02)	.03
Region			
200. Northeast	-.03	(.02)	2.11
201. North central	-.03	(.01)	1.85
202. South	-.02	(.01)	1.79
Characteristics of County of Residence at Time of Interview			
220. County is in a standard metropolitan statistical area	-.02	(.02)	1.01
221. County is rural farm	-.02	(.02)	1.37

Regression Number 4-000-32

Dependent variable: Prefers to move away

Scale: 1. Falls in this group
0. Otherwise

Population included: Family heads in the labor force at first interview whose address was known at reinterview

Special characteristics:

Multiple correlation coefficient	.26	Residual degrees of freedom	918
Fraction of explained variance	.07	Constant term	.21

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Mobility and Travel			
002. Moved during the 5 years prior to interview	.04	(.04)	.97
007. Number of trips in last 5 years	.02	(.01)	1.50
Age of Head			
010. Head is 18-24	.16	(.07)	2.42
011. Head is 25-34	.09	(.04)	2.49
012. Head is 35-44	.06	(.04)	1.58
Education of Head			
022. Completed high school but not college	-.02	(.03)	.56
024. College graduate	-.005	(.05)	.10
Race			
030. Respondent is Negro	-.11	(.05)	2.00
Marital Status of Head			
040. Divorced or separated	.01	(.06)	.21
042. Single	-.03	(.07)	.42

Regression Number 4-000-32

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Occupation of Head			
050. Professional; technical	.05	(.05)	1.17
053. Self-employed	-.03	(.04)	.76
Unemployment Experience of Head			
061. Unemployed in the last 12 months	-.03	(.04)	.83
062. Unemployed in the last 12 months and thinks there is more work elsewhere	.07	(.08)	.87
Opinion Regarding Rate of Pay			
063. Believes rate of pay is higher elsewhere	-.04	(.03)	1.10
Income and Financial Reserves			
070. Scaled family income	-.001	(.002)	.59
073. Has no reserves	.02	(.04)	.67
Welfare and Assistance			
090. Number of years on public assistance since 18 (income under $4000)	-.01	(.03)	.23
Other Economic Characteristics			
100. Wife is working now	.02	(.03)	.66
Family Ties			
112. Location of relatives	.001	(.02)	.07
Community Ties			
120. Head now living at birthplace	-.01	(.03)	.31
121. Wife now living at birthplace	-.01	(.03)	.25
127. Location of friends	.05	(.02)	2.68
129. Head belongs to no organizations	.05	(.03)	1.54
131. Head belongs to 4 or more organizations	.05	(.04)	1.14
132. Wife belongs to no organizations	.01	(.03)	.22
133. Wife belongs to 4 or more organizations	-.04	(.06)	.82
134. Has children in school in local community	-.03	(.03)	.95

Regression Number 4-000-32

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Psychological Factors			
150. Respondent generally does not feel healthy	.05	(.04)	1.19
151. Number of effective responses	-.03	(.01)	2.76
152. Respondent is "achievement oriented"	-.005	(.04)	.14
153. Respondent is "security oriented"	-.02	(.03)	.58

Regression Number 11-000-15

Dependent variable: Scaled family income

Scale:
00. Under $2000
03. $1000-1999
05. $2000-2999
07. $3000-3999
09. $4000-4999

11. $5000-5999
13. $6000-7499
17. $7500-9999
30. $10,000 or over

Population included: Family heads in labor force at first interview whose address was known at reinterview

Special characteristics:

Multiple correlation coefficient	.55	Residual degrees of freedom	935
Fraction of explained variance	.31	Constant term	8.90

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Mobility			
003. Head moved here since 1950 and was born elsewhere	-.89	(.63)	1.41
Age of Head			
010. Head is 18-24	-4.68	(1.18)	3.96
011. Head is 25-34	-.92	(.62)	1.48
012. Head is 35-44	.59	(.59)	1.00
Education of Head			
022. Completed high school but not college	2.88	(.53)	5.41
024. College graduate	6.65	(.91)	7.30
Race			
030. Respondent is Negro	-5.04	(.91)	5.53
Occupation of Head			
050. Professional; technical	2.60	(.83)	3.13

Regression Number 11-000-15

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Occupation of Head - continued			
053. Self-employed	3.59	(.74)	4.86
Other Economic Characteristics			
100. Wife is working now	4.87	(.53)	9.15
Community Ties			
120. Head now living at birthplace	-.71	(.56)	1.27
Psychological Factors			
150. Respondent generally does not feel healthy	-1.82	(.77)	2.36
151. Number of effective responses	.83	(.20)	4.26
152. Respondent is "achievement oriented"	.38	(.62)	.60
153. Respondent is "security oriented"	-.24	(.58)	.42

Regression Number 12-000-17

Dependent variable: Number of trips 100 miles or more away in the last 5 years

Scale:
0. None
1. One or two
2. Three-five
3. Six-nine
4. Ten or more

Population included: Family heads in labor force at first interview whose address was known at reinterview

Special characteristics:

Multiple correlation coefficient	.45	Residual degrees of freedom	933
Fraction of explained variance	.20	Constant term	1.23

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Mobility			
002. Moved during the 5 years prior to interview	.22	(.14)	1.50
003. Head moved here since 1950 and was born elsewhere	.08	(.14)	.57
Age of Head			
010. Head is 18-24	.08	(.22)	.37
011. Head is 25-34	.02	(.11)	.21
012. Head is 35-44	.12	(.11)	1.10
Education of Head			
022. Completed high school but not college	.11	(.10)	1.18
024. College graduate	.48	(.15)	3.27
Race			
030. Respondent is Negro	-.32	(.17)	1.86
Income and Financial Reserves			
070. Scaled family income	.03	(.006)	5.31
Auto Ownership			
081. Owns 1 or more cars	.36	(.14)	2.62

Regression Number 12-000-17

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient With Standard Error		T-Ratio
Welfare and Assistance			
090. Number of years on public assistance since 18 (income under $4000)	-.11	(.09)	1.13
Community Ties			
120. Head now living at birthplace	-.26	(.10)	2.45
121. Wife now living at birthplace	-.27	(.10)	2.62
Psychological Factors			
150. Respondent generally does not feel healthy	.11	(.14)	.77
151. Number of effective responses	.12	(.04)	3.50
152. Respondent is "achievement oriented"	.16	(.11)	1.41
153. Respondent is "security oriented"	-.14	(.10)	1.37

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