

**MIGRATION OF POPULATION
IN FIVE OKLAHOMA
TOWNSHIPS**

By

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How Migration Has Affected Oklahoma's Farm Population . . .

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the findings* of this study:

From the standpoint of sex composition of the population, the process of migration leads to the masculinization of rural communities and the feminization of urban centers. Even more important, migration into the open country selects disproportionately large numbers of families with children under 15 years of age, while the movement in the opposite direction tends to drain off persons in the age groups between 15 and 44 years. While these tendencies probably are compatible with the economic needs of an industrializing society, they nevertheless affect rural social organization with respect to marital status, education, poverty, and dependency.

The patterns of migration in the townships surveyed reveal a highly mobile population. Movements from farm to farm greatly exceed in volume those involving a change of residence as between open country and city, town, or village.

Migration does not occur always as a response to economic opportunity. During the depression many people migrated because they were dislodged from the business of farming. Most of them became farm and unskilled laborers following their moves to new locations. Whether their earnings increased sufficiently in these occupations to offset the loss of farming status and whatever privileges are associated with it is conjectural.

The depopulation of Oklahoma during the "thirties," as is shown by extensive migration to California, was a response to changing conditions in population, land, technology, and social organization. While it is difficult to evaluate the effect of migration into receiving areas, it is believed that the sending areas were relieved of population unable to become self-supporting under existing institutional arrangements.

At least three important factors—farm mechanization, government crop control, and drouth—seemed to contribute directly to the reduction of open-country population and especially those engaged as tenants and croppers. The farm-owning population increased along with concentration in the control of land and enlargement of farms. An increase in social stratification accompanied these trends, as small farmers were reduced in status to laborers, W. P. A. workers, and unemployed persons.

* The data are summarized on pp. 55 to 58.

All comparisons made in this study reveal that the non-migrant population tended to be characterized by higher tenure or occupational status, greater wealth, larger farms, location on better land, longer occupancy, less dependence upon nonfarm sources of income (including relief), and higher status in the community than the migrant population. Migration not only signifies an imbalance between human and economic resources, but it also is the means by which adjustments between the two are consummated. If migration is to perform its function effectively, opportunities for improving socioeconomic status must be accessible to migrants either in their own communities or elsewhere.

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INTRODUCTION

This study compares the composition, patterns of migration, and socioeconomic status of *all* nonmigrant and migrant population living in the open country of five selected townships in Oklahoma at any time from 1930 through 1940. Previous research in migration within the United States has been limited largely to studies of *resident* population.¹ In this study data were obtained relating not only to persons living in the townships chosen for the study at the time of the survey but also to persons moving from these areas during the 11-year period. Information on persons who had moved was obtained through interviews with relatives, neighbors, landlords, and other citizens who knew them. For the first time, therefore, a body of data is available in Oklahoma for comparing nonmigrants with migrants moving *from*, *into*, and *within* a given area during a specified period.

This State is characterized by a relatively high degree of migration. Of the total native white population living in Oklahoma in 1930, 51.9 percent were born outside the state. Conversely, 28.6 percent of the corresponding population born in Oklahoma resided elsewhere. For the United States as a whole, an average of 23.4 percent of the native white people lived outside the state of birth.² It can be seen from these data that the population of the State in 1930 consisted largely of migrants from other states, and that Oklahoma had sent out more native-born persons than the average of all states.

* This study was made by the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The field personnel included Homer L. Hitt, Herbert Pryor, and Richard K. Ashby of the Bureau and Valter V. Monroe of the Experiment Station.

¹ Exceptions to this statement can be found in the rural-urban migration studies of Carle C. Zimmerman and his associates which were published intermittently in the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, and the *Journal of Farm Economics* from 1926 to 1930. See also, "The Migrants," Reprint from *Land Policy Review*, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1941, and Otis Durant Duncan, *The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population*, Stillwater: Oklahoma Agri. Exp. Sta. Cir. No. 88, May 1940.

² These data were taken from Otis Durant Duncan, *Population Trends in Oklahoma*, Stillwater: Oklahoma Agri. Exp. Sta. Bull. No. 224, March, 1935, pp. 8 and 10.

The heavy migration of "Okies" to California furnishes ample evidence of the magnitude of population mobility in this State. Of the 312,278 persons "in need of manual employment" entering California by motor vehicle between July 1, 1935 and June 30, 1939, Oklahoma contributed the greatest number of any state, 22.7 percent, twice the percentage of the second ranking state, Texas.³ Contrary to the situation with respect to other states, disproportionately large numbers of these migrants from Oklahoma to California had been engaged previously in agricultural occupations.

Within the State, the volume of farm-to-farm migration also has been especially large. In 1940, 37.7 percent of all tenants and 11.6 percent of all owners in Oklahoma had lived on their present farms less than two years. For the United States, the corresponding percentages were 33.2 and 7.7 respectively.⁴ Unfortunately, there are no comparable data for measuring the migration of farm laborers and others who depend partially upon agriculture for a living, but moving among these groups is thought generally to exceed that of farm operators.

Considerable social significance attaches to migration because of its selective character and because of the disorganizing effects of changes in population upon schools, churches, government, other community organizations, and agriculture itself. Migrants usually differ from nonmigrants with reference to age, sex, race, and other important characteristics which vitally affect the structure and functioning of communities. Marriage, birth, death, and morbidity rates are all responsive to differences in age, sex, race, and residence of the population. The lack of rural leadership may be traceable to the migration of disproportionate numbers of young people to urban areas. Similarly, the problem of dependency in rural communities is accentuated by the presence of a relatively high proportion of children and aged persons and a relative scarcity of persons in the productive ages. Directly or indirectly, reciprocal migration partially accounts for this situation. Migration is a means of bringing about an adjustment between population and resources; and, for this reason, its importance is easily recognized in regions with high fertility and limited resources.

³ "The Migrants," Reprint from *Land Policy Review*, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1941, Table 4.

⁴ See Federal Census report on Term of Occupancy of Farm Operators, preliminary release Series Agri. U. S.-2 No. 9, October 1941. For a comparable analysis of this situation in 1930, see Otis Durant Duncan, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

This research undertakes (1) to determine how migrants, classified by type, differ from nonmigrants with reference to age, sex, race, origin, education, marital condition, and socioeconomic status; (2) to indicate the volume, range, direction, and incentives of migration; and, (3) to ascertain whether migrants improve their status by moving.⁵ *For the purpose of this study, the term migration refers to any move involving a change of dwelling.*

GENERAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE SAMPLE

In planning the survey, certain requirements were assumed to be essential in the selection of areas. First, a complete enumeration of the population living in the open country of a township during a ten-year period was deemed desirable for a detailed study of the population movements of a given area. Second, the townships chosen should be fairly representative of the State in as many socioeconomic characteristics as possible, and especially with reference to type of farming, land tenure, migration, and plane of living. Table 1 shows the characteristics on which the check for representativeness was made. Third, to avoid technical difficulties in enumeration and to insure the greatest possible degree of comparability of population groups, townships which contained no villages or urban centers were to be selected for study.

SAMPLE AREA

In accordance with the foregoing requirements, townships for survey were chosen from Craig, Haskell, Major, Lincoln, and Beckham counties. All of these counties had been included in previous surveys by the participating agencies, and it was the judgment of the survey supervisors that their inclusion in the present study would insure representation of a wide variety of socioeconomic conditions prevailing in the State.⁶

One representative township from each of these counties was selected for study. The criteria used in selecting these townships were (1) the average number of acres per farm and

⁵ No review of literature on migration is given here, but throughout this study reference to related research will be made. The reader will find a list of these references at the end of the study.

⁶ The first three counties listed had been included in a survey of social correlatives of farm tenure status conducted by the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station in 1937. Lincoln county was one of a four-county and a nine-county sample in the State for the cooperative rural research of the FERA-WPA and Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. Beckham county had been surveyed cooperatively by the Farm Research Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. D. A., in 1937.

(2) the average value of land and buildings per farm. Also, the survey supervisors consulted the Agricultural Extension Agent in each county to obtain his opinion of the representativeness of the township chosen in his county. The sample areas studied intensively are shown in Figure 1.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE AREAS

Craig County, located in the northeastern part of the State, is considered a general farming area. Dairy and beef cattle are found on most farms, along with a cropping economy including corn or wheat and supplementary feed crops. The topography of the land can be best described as a rolling prairie. Pasture and timber are sufficient for the feeding and protection of cattle.

Scattered over the county are numerous small, individually-operated coal mines which furnish a meager income to approximately 100 families. During the past four or five years the county economy has been affected somewhat by movements of population in response to employment opportunities in the Grand River Dam area. Vinita, the county seat, had a population of 5,685 in 1940. It lies about two miles south of the township surveyed.

The county probably approximates as closely as any to what might be called the "average county" of the State with respect to its socioeconomic features. Tenancy is less widespread there than in the State as a whole, but the size and value of farms, the prevalence of low incomes, and various plane of living items correspond rather closely with figures for the State (Table 1).

Haskell County was selected as representative of a poor cotton county. On practically all the indexes shown in Table 1, the county ranks below the other sample counties and the State as a whole. Extensive landlessness, small farms, poor soils, large families, and generally low plane of living characterize the county. Comparatively high rates of malaria and relief also prevail.

The topography of the area is rough, although good farm land is to be found in the bottoms. Timber covers large portions of the area, and during depressions timber-cutting supplements the low incomes of many families. Some coal is mined at McCurtain in the southern part of the county; but for the most part, small patches of cotton and corn, together with a few cows, hogs, and chickens, make up the subsistence economy upon which the open-country people depend for a living.

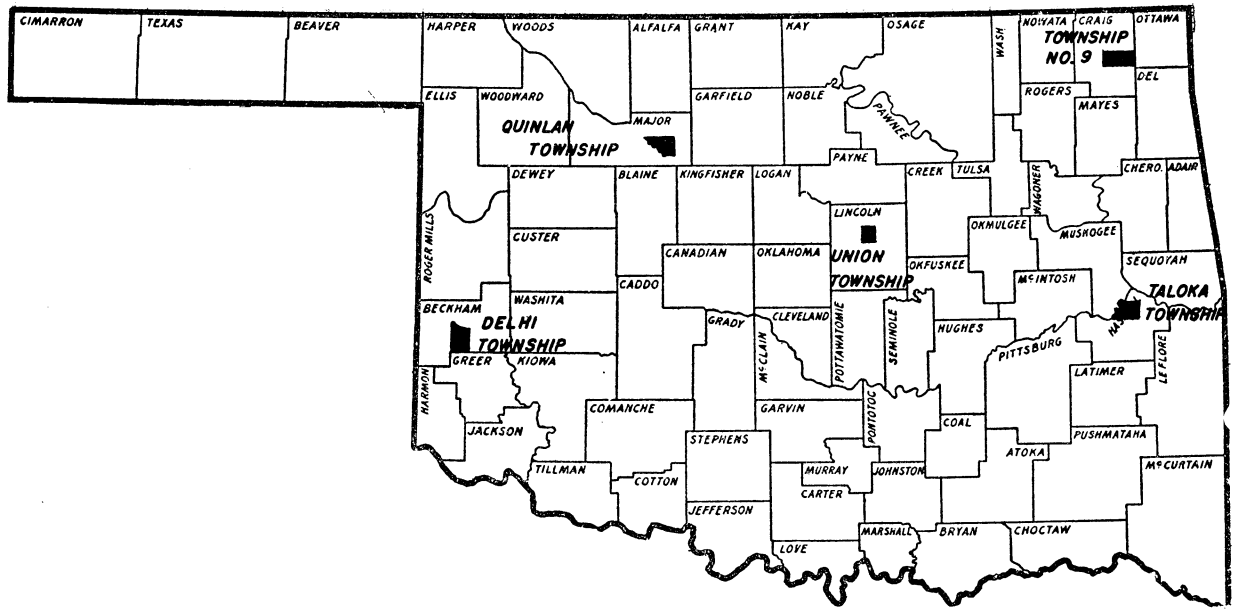


Figure 1.—Location of Townships Surveyed in Oklahoma.

Migration in Five Oklahoma Townships

Lincoln County, in the central cross-timber area of Oklahoma, is characterized by over-population, small farms, and eroded, worn-out soils. Its oil fields have helped to delay the trend toward lower levels of living in the county. Relief succored large numbers of families during the depression, and unless there is permanent and heavy depopulation, government subsidies again will be sorely needed should another depression develop.

Agriculturally, Lincoln County differs little from Haskell County. Cotton is the major cash crop, although most farmers depend upon money from the sale of cream and eggs to buy groceries. The county ranks first in pecan production in Oklahoma. Efforts to rebuild the soils under the SCS programs also have contributed to crop and income diversification.

Major County lies in the northwestern winter-wheat section of the State. It was the first of the five sample counties opened to white settlement, its original population coming from Kansas, Missouri, and other northern states. Commercialized farming predominates, with wheat and livestock as the principal sources of cash income. Over one-half of the farms have tractors as compared with less than one-fourth of the farms for the State as a whole. Other data in Table 1 indicate its relatively high socioeconomic position among the several counties.

Different parts of Major County vary widely in physical composition. Scrub oak covers a considerable portion of the area, especially in the "blow sand" along the Cimarron River and its tributary creeks. In the northeastern part of the county is to be found some of the best wheat land in the State. In the western part, the high plains are cut by deep canyons. The survey township, which is bordered on the south by the Cimarron River, typifies fairly well the county as a whole. The center of the township is located about twenty miles west of Enid, the nearest urban center.

Beckham County was selected to represent the southwestern cotton area. This county, like many others in the Southern Great Plains, has been subjected to heavy population turnover in recent years as a result of the impacts of drouth, low prices, farm mechanization, and changes in the economic organization of farms.

Beckham County is adaptable either to cotton or wheat, and highly commercialized farmers switch from one crop to another depending upon their relative profitableness. Ranching is not uncommon, especially in the broken plains in the

southern part of the county. The survey township is six miles south of Sayre, the county seat, which had a population of 3,037 in 1940.

It should be mentioned that three of the five sample counties—Craig, Lincoln, and Beckham—are located on the United States Highway No. 66, the route to California publicized in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. This choice of counties probably results in a higher proportion of emigrants to California than would have been the case if other counties had been included in this sample. Investigation has revealed that Highway No. 66 lies near the middle of the zone of Oklahoma migration to California.⁷

From the data in Table 1, the following generalizations can be made concerning the choice of sample counties. First, there is considerable diversity in socioeconomic characteristics among the several counties, thus insuring the inclusion of population from widely varying economic levels. Second, collectively the counties sampled are fairly representative of the rural-farm, and presumably of the open-country, situation in Oklahoma.

The population of the townships surveyed contains a larger proportion of whites than the State as a whole, according to data from the Census of 1940 (Table 2). Negroes, Indians, and other minor racial groups are not found in the two western Oklahoma townships. Union Township in Lincoln County contains the only Negroes in the sample. Indians account for all population classed as "other races" in Township No. 9 and Taloka Township of Craig and Haskell Counties, respectively.

Although the ages of the rural-farm population of the State and of the total population in the townships surveyed do not vary noticeably, the differences among individual townships show considerable variation.⁸ Taloka Township (Haskell), which ranks low on most of the socioeconomic indexes, has a younger population on the average than does Delhi Township (Beckham) in the highly commercialized and mechanized western cotton areas. Township No. 9 (Craig) in the eastern prairies possesses a slightly older population than does Union Township (Lincoln) in the cross-timbers area.

The characteristic masculinity of the farming population is reflected in the excess numbers of males in the State, counties, and townships under observation (Table 2). Taloka

⁷ See maps prepared by U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, with cooperation of the California State Department of Education, on residence in 1930 of agricultural and of non-agricultural families migrating to California, 1930-1939.

⁸ See footnote to Table 2.

Table 1.—Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Farm Population of Oklahoma and of the Sample Counties, 1940.

Characteristics	State of Oklahoma	SAMPLE COUNTIES					
		Beckham	Craig	Haskell	Lincoln	Major	
Percent of:							
Tenant-operated farms	54.4	53.7	54.3	45.7	68.0	57.1	42.8
Farm laborers among employed workers	11.4	10.5	15.2	9.1	15.3	8.0	6.7
Owner-operated farms mortgaged	44.3	46.8	61.8	45.1	30.8	35.3	58.1
Farms with less than \$600 incomes	52.8	49.6	31.8	57.4	63.1	59.1	32.5
Farms with automobiles	57.3	63.7	77.3	66.3	21.5	64.0	82.1
Farms with tractors	22.9	21.4	23.3	22.4	2.8	12.1	51.0
Farm dwellings with electricity	15.7	12.9	19.6	10.5	1.5	10.1	22.8
Farms with telephones	18.1	22.1	20.2	13.5	6.5	22.9	45.0
Total population on farms	39.7	56.9	48.0	45.8	63.6	61.7	71.7
Negroes in farm population	6.4	4.1	5.0	2.2	1.5	9.9	0.3
Averages:							
Year moved to present farm	1931	1930	1930	1930	1934	1930	1927
Number of acres per farm	193.7	187.7	221.4	196.1	131.8	146.7	263.7
Value of land and buildings per farm	\$4625	\$3877	\$4338	\$4283	\$1369	\$2876	\$6877
Sex ratio*	111.5	111.6	111.4	116.5	109.0	111.8	109.7
Fertility ratio**	515.6	521.6	447.3	527.6	605.5	514.1	518.8
Median grade completed in school	7.7	--	7.9	7.9	6.8	7.6	8.1

SOURCE: *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Oklahoma, Agriculture, First and Second Series, and Population, Second Series.

* Sex ratio = $\frac{\text{Males} \times 100}{\text{Females}}$.

** Fertility ratio = $\frac{\text{Children aged 0-4} \times 1000}{\text{Women 15-44 years inclusive}}$.

Township is an exception to this rule. Why it has a deficit of males cannot be explained readily. Among the five townships enumerated, the fertility ratio, i. e., the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 15 to 44 years of age, inclusive, was highest for Haskell County and lowest in Beckham County (Table 2).

Despite the fact that Oklahoma has relatively high fertility rates, the rural-farm population of the State and the total population of all sample townships generally were smaller in 1940 than at any census period since 1910 (Table 3). Heavy migrations to and from the townships at different periods account for the wide fluctuations in numbers in each township. Heavily populated Union Township in Lincoln County experienced losses in each of the last three decennial censuses.

Table 2.—Race, Age, and Other Characteristics of the Rural-Farm Population in Oklahoma and of the Total Population in the Survey Townships, 1940.

Item	Rural-farm population of Oklahoma	ALL POPULATION IN SURVEY TOWNSHIPS*					
		Total	Quinlan	Delhi	No. 9	Union	Taloka
No. of persons	926,741	3,960	415	807	951	757	1030
Race							
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	89.3	96.6	100.0	100.0	93.4	96.2	96.2
Negro	6.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0
Other	4.3	2.6	0.0	0.0	6.6	0.0	3.8
Age group, years							
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5	10.8	11.2	9.9	9.5	9.4	10.4	13.8
5-14	23.4	22.8	25.3	20.7	21.8	22.3	25.2
15-24	19.5	20.0	18.1	21.0	18.2	22.7	20.0
25-34	13.3	13.6	12.3	16.1	14.6	10.4	13.8
35-44	11.2	11.3	14.2	10.5	12.5	11.4	10.7
45-54	9.5	9.5	10.1	10.0	9.7	11.2	7.5
55-64	6.9	6.6	3.6	7.4	8.2	6.2	6.0
65 and over	5.4	5.0	6.5	4.8	5.6	5.3	4.0
Sex ratio	111.5	108.6	115.0	107.1	110.4	118.8	99.2
Fertility ratio	515.6	412.8	482.4	405.3	525.3	487.6	649.8

SOURCE: *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Population, Second Series, Table 7 and County Table 28.

* In the Census the township data pertaining to sex, age, and race are shown for the "total population" which includes persons living on farms and other persons residing in each area. Eighty-eight percent of the total population enumerated by the Census in the five survey townships was classed as "rural-farm." The corresponding percentage for each township was: Quinlan, 97.1; Delhi, 67.5; No. 9, 99.9; Union, 100.0; and Taloka, 82.2. While the data shown here for the total population of townships are not exactly comparable to those of the rural-farm population, they are the best available.

The population of Taloka Township (Haskell) grew rapidly from 1910 to 1920 as a result of heavy immigration, mainly from western Arkansas; but from 1920 to 1930 it exported population, principally to the towns and cities benefiting from oil and other industrial development. It served as an area of population absorption during the decade ending in 1940, but not to the extent of some other areas in southeastern Oklahoma.⁹ Similarly, the sample township in Craig County gained in numbers from 1930 to 1940, apparently for the same reason. In western Oklahoma, the vagaries of the weather

⁹ Robert T. McMillan, "Some Observations on Oklahoma Population Movements, 1930-1936," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, Sept. 1936, pp. 338-340.

affect population numbers, the drouth of 1934 and 1936 being partially responsible for more than a 25 percent decrease of the population in Delhi Township during the decade ending in 1940. The lack of rainfall during part of the period from 1910 to 1920 reduced the farming population in Quinlan Township; but the protracted drouth of the "thirties" did not lead to extensive emigration, primarily because of the stable character of the agriculture in Major County.

To summarize, it appears that the townships chosen for study include a fairly representative cross-section of the farming areas of Oklahoma. This conclusion is drawn from the data presented here and from a general concensus among persons familiar with the physical, social, and economic factors operating in the State.

ENUMERATION

In obtaining a complete enumeration of persons living during some part or all of an eleven-year period in the townships surveyed, one of the major problems was to procure information about migrants leaving the area.¹⁰ Fortunately, all interviewers had previous experience in taking schedules, and some of them had worked on a similar type of survey in the Northern Great Plains. They attempted to obtain from residents of a given farm or dwelling the names of previous occupants. If possible, schedules were filled for nonresident persons and households from information secured from the present occupants. To expedite schedule taking, one or two long-time residents in each neighborhood were employed to serve as special informants. Usually these paid assistants, with the aid of other members in their families, could supply the desired data for earlier residents on four or five adjoining sections of land. By checking daily for duplications, and by diligent efforts to get a record on every person or household living in the township at any time during the period, the interviewers believe that a nearly complete enumeration was obtained. Comparisons between the census figures and survey estimates for 1930 and 1940 indicate the successful application of this technique (See Table 4).

The survey furnished information on 3823 persons as compared with 3960 persons reported in the five townships by the Census of 1940. This means that the survey enumerated 96.5 percent of the population as shown by the 1940 Census.¹¹ This

¹⁰ The schedule used is reproduced in Figs. 2-a and 2-b.

¹¹ Possibly other persons moving into and from the townships between census periods were omitted by the special enumeration, but their number is unknown.

Table 3.—Changes in the Rural-Farm Population of Oklahoma and in the Total Population of the Survey Townships, 1910-1940.

Area	CENSAL PERIOD				PERCENTAGE CHANGE		
	1910	1920	1930	1940	1910 to 1920	1920 to 1930	1930 to 1940
	Rural-farm population of State	*	1,015,899	1,021,174	926,741	*	0.5
Total population of survey twps.	*	*	4,237	3,960	*	*	-6.5
Quinlan	445	388	395	415	-12.9	1.8	5.1
Delhi	973	998	1,077	807	2.6	7.9	-25.1
No. 9	*	*	917	951	*	*	3.7
Union	1,053	1,051	838	757	-0.2	-20.3	-9.7
Taloka	862	1,414	1,010	1,030	64.0	-28.6	2.0

SOURCE: *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, Population, Vol. I, Oklahoma, First Series, Table 4, and *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Population, Oklahoma, Second Series, Tables 7 and 28.
 * Data not available.

Table 4.—Population of the Five Townships Surveyed, According to the Census and the Survey, 1930 and 1940.

Township	1940				1930			
	Census	Survey	Difference		Census	Survey	Difference	
			Number	Percent			Number	Percent
All townships	3960	3823	-137	-3.5	4237	3913	-324	-7.6
Delhi (Beckham)	807	775	-32	-4.0	1077	949	-128	-11.9
No. 9 (Craig)	951	917	-34	-3.6	917	950	+33	+3.6
Taloka (Haskell)	1030	995	-35	-3.4	1010	912	-98	-9.7
Union (Lincoln)	957	904	-53	-7.0	838	693	-145	-17.3
Quinlan (Major)	415	432	+17	+4.1	395	409	+14	+3.5

SOURCE: *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Population, Oklahoma, Second Series, Table 28.

Section _____ County _____
 Township _____ SURVEY OF POPULATION MIGRATION Schedule No. _____
 Oklahoma A. and M. College
 Bureau of Agricultural Economics Cooperating

Name _____ Race _____ Interviewer _____
 P. O. Address _____ R. F. D. No. _____

I. Mobility History of Head of Household, 1930-1940

Place (A)	County (B)	State (C)	Size of Comm. (D)	Chief Occupation (E)	Year moved to this place (F)	Year moved away from this place (G)

H. Total number of moves of household since January 1, 1930 _____.

I. For heads living in Pacific Coast States, give address April 1, 1939 _____

II. Composition of Household <table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <thead> <tr> <th>Relationship to head (A)</th> <th>Age (B)</th> <th>Check if not at home (C)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Relationship to head (A)	Age (B)	Check if not at home (C)																III. Birthplace and Occupation <table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <thead> <tr> <th>Head (A)</th> <th>Homemaker (B)</th> <th>Father (C)</th> <th>Father-in-law (D)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Head (A)	Homemaker (B)	Father (C)	Father-in-law (D)																				
Relationship to head (A)	Age (B)	Check if not at home (C)																																									
Head (A)	Homemaker (B)	Father (C)	Father-in-law (D)																																								

Have any other relatives, friends, teachers, or other persons lived in household since January 1, 1930? _____

IV. Farm Information No. Acres in farm (In 1940 or last year in area) 1. Total _____ 2. Owned _____ 3. Rented _____ 4. Principal crop _____ 5. Principal source farm income _____ 6. Did head earn $\frac{1}{2}$ or more of its cash income from sources off farm? Y N NA Occupation or principal source _____	V. Household Possessions 1. Own farm Y N NA 2. Tractor Y N NA 3. Workstock (No.) _____ 4. Milk Cows (No.) _____ 5. Hogs Y N NA 6. Poultry Y N NA 7. Garden Y N NA Notes: _____
--	--

VI. Check years of participation of any household member in:											VII. Conditions of farm in relation to other farms in areas:				
	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40				
1. AAA-ACP	X	X	X									1. Acres in farm	1930	39	40
2. FSA Loans	X	X	X	X								2. Quality of land			
3. FSA Grants	X	X	X	X								3. House			
4. S & F Loans												4. Other bldgs., fences			
5. WPA	X	X	X	X	X							5. Adequate water supply			
6. Relief															
7. NYA	X	X	X	X	X										
8. CCC	X	X	X												
9. 4-H, FFA															

Figure 2-a.—Page 1 of Schedule Used in This Study.

small difference of 137 persons, or 3.5 percent, may be explained by the fact that the Census was taken in April, while the survey began in November and continued through June 1941. Obviously, some losses in population occurred during the intervening months, because, as is shown later, there was a net outmovement. It may be observed in Table 4 that the survey enumerations were smaller in four of the five townships than those reported by the Census. Incidentally, Union Township, the last one surveyed, had the highest percentage of difference. In Quinlan Township (Major), the number of per-

IX. Socio-Economic Status Scale

Score	Item
_____	Brick, stucco, etc., or painted frame house (5); Unpainted, frame, or other (3)
_____	Room () -Person () ratio: Below 1.00 (3); 1.00-1.99 (5); 2.00-2.99 (7); 3.00+ (9)
_____	LR walls: Pl. (6); Wlbd. (5); Cell. (4) Bldg. paper, none (2)
_____	LR walls: Wallpaper, fancy plaster, or paint (5); Undecorated, newspaper, bldg. paper (2)
_____	LR floorcover: rug-, carpets (6); linol., bare (3)
_____	LR windows: shades, curtains, or drapes Y (5) N (2)
_____	LR divan, daynport, studio couch (6) daybed, couch (5); bed, cot, none (3)
_____	Lighting: Electricity (8); Gas, mantle, pressur. (6); oil, others, none (3)
_____	Water piped into house? Y (8) N (4)
_____	Kitchen sink? Y (7) N (4)
_____	Linol. on kitchen floor? Y (3) N (2)
_____	Power washer? Y (6) N (3)
_____	Refrigerator: Mech. (8) Ice (6) Other or none (3)
_____	Radio? Y (6) N (3)
_____	Telephone? Y (6) N (3)
_____	Automobiles? (Other than truck) Y (5) N (2)
_____	Wife's educ.: 0-7 (2) 8 (4) 9-11 (6) 12 (7) 13+ (9)
_____	Husb's educ.: 0-7 (3) 8 (5) 9-11 (6) 12 (7) 13+ (8)
_____	Husband a church member? Y (5) N (3)
_____	Husband attends church? (½ meetings) Y (5) N (2)
_____	Husband attends Sun.School?(½ meetings) Y (6) N (3)
_____	Husb. a member of farm coop.? Y (8) N (4)
_____	Wife a church member? Y (5) N (2)
_____	Wife attends church? (½ meetings) Y (5) N (2)
_____	Wife attends Sun.School? (½ meetings) Y (6) N (3)
_____	Wife a member of Ext. or PTA Group? Y (8) N (4)

_____	For Resident and In-Migrant Households
_____	Separate dining room? Y (6) N (3)
_____	Separate kitchen? Y (6) N (3)
_____	Separate living room? Y (6) N (3)
_____	Living room woodwork finished? Y (5) N (2)
_____	Living room floor finished? Y (7) N (4)
_____	Furniture insured Y (7) N (4)
_____	Family takes dally newspaper? Y (6) N (3)
_____	No. magazines taken regularly: 0-1(3) 2-3(5) 4-5(7) 6+(8)
_____	Approx. no. books: 0-7 (3) 8-49 (5) 50-99 (7) 100+ (8)
_____	Husband's life insured? Y (6) N (3)
_____	Scale Score

(Toilet: Indoor flush () Indoor chemical () Outdoor () None ()
 *Rating: Above average (1) Average (2) Below average (3) Not available (4)

X. Occupancy History of This Place

Yr.	Name of occupant	present location
40		
39		
38		
37		
36		
35		
34		
33		
32		
31		
30		

XI. Rating of Household in Relation to Others in Area:

	A	B	C
1. Financial standing			
a) at most prosperous period			
b) at present			
c) for migrants			
2. Willingness to work			
3. Ability to get along on own efforts			
4. Members of hald. working together			
5. Ability to meet hard times			
6. Willingness to work for welfare of community			
7. Man's ability as manager			
8. Woman's ability as manager			
9. Meeting obligations			
10. Value to the community as a citizen			

XII. 1. Informant:

A	_____
B	_____
C	_____
2. Occupation:	
A	_____
B	_____
C	_____
3. Relationship:	
A	_____
B	_____
C	_____

Figure 2-b.—Page 2 of Schedule Used in This Study.

sons enumerated slightly exceeded the Census count, which may have been due either to underenumeration on the part of the census taker or to an excess of immigration over emigration during the period elapsing between the Census and the survey.

A tabulation also was made from the schedules to determine the number of persons enumerated as living in the townships surveyed in 1930. These figures can be compared with

those reported by the Census of 1930, also shown in Table 4. The discrepancies between the two sets of figures are not large, the net percentage of underenumeration being 7.6 percent. Failure to get a complete record for all persons migrating from the townships and for all deaths during the eleven-year period generally accounts for the difference.

DISTRIBUTION AND COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

This part of the study describes the distribution and composition of population of the five sample townships by migration type. The persons enumerated were classed into four groups. Those who occupied the same dwelling throughout the eleven-year period are designated as *nonmigrants*. Persons who moved only *within* the townships surveyed from 1930 to 1940, inclusive, are termed *intramigrants*. Persons moving into the township during the survey period and residing there in 1940 are referred to as *immigrants*. The last group, *outmigrants*, consists of those persons who resided in the township sometime during the period studied but who moved *from* the area before the special enumeration. For numerous households and nonfamily persons who migrated across township lines more than once from 1930 to 1940, inclusive, the migrant classification is based upon the last move *into* or *from* the survey area.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

The most striking characteristic of the population enumerated is its extreme migratoriness. Seven of every eight persons moved one or more times during the eleven-year period ending in 1940 (Table 5).

The main movement of population was away from the townships, with over one-half of all persons being classed as outmigrants. The largest exodus of population occurred in the predominantly cotton-growing areas, represented in this study by townships in Beckham and Lincoln Counties. Contrary to what might be expected, Taloka Township in Haskell County had the least amount of emigration.

The amount of immigration varied little from one township to another, with slightly over one-fourth of the total population surveyed being classed as immigrants. Apparently there is a closer relationship between the volume of in and out movements of population than there is between the amount of migration across township lines and that of nonmigration or intramigration.

Table 5.—Distribution of Population Classified by Migration Type and Survey Townships.

Township	Number of persons	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION			
		Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
All townships	8032	12.5	7.6	27.1	52.8
Delhi (Beckham)	1846	9.6	5.4	26.2	58.8
No. 9 (Craig)	1896	13.8	8.0	27.6	50.6
Taloka (Haskell)	1694	14.5	13.8	26.9	44.8
Union (Lincoln)	1725	9.9	3.4	28.5	58.2
Quinlan (Major)	871	17.5	7.6	25.6	49.3

Relatively few persons restricted their moving to the areas surveyed. The large circulation of population within Taloka Township may be interpreted to mean that a need for more intensive emigration was present but that accessible employment opportunities outside this township were relatively more scarce than for the population of other sample townships.

The size of the nonmigrant group in each township does not seem to vary according to type of farming area, economic levels, or other characteristics frequently associated with immobility or the lack of it. Possibly the density of population, the age of settlement, and the structure of social organization in each area governs migration to a considerable degree.

SEX SELECTION

The ratio of males to females is used frequently in sociological research for purposes of analyzing sex differences in age, marital status, migration, birth and death rates, and other characteristics of a population. The sex ratios in Table 6 indicate that migration is selective as to sex, which is in conformity with the findings of all important studies of migration without any known exceptions.

Intramigrants and immigrants were characterized by a heavy preponderance of males over females, and this relationship held regardless of the size of community from which immigrants came. On the other hand, of the outmigrants, only those going to other open-country areas contained an excess of males over females. Among those persons moving to villages and cities, females outnumbered males. Villages, especially, attracted large numbers of elderly women, chiefly widows, who were ready for retirement.¹ Similarly, villages

¹ Cf. T. Lynn Smith, "The Role of the Village in Rural Society," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 7, March 1942, pp. 18-19.

Table 6.—Sex Ratios of Population, by Migration Type.

Migration type	Number of males per 100 females
All types	102.7
Nonmigrant	102.8
Intramigrant	106.4
Inmigrant	105.9
From open country	106.3
From villages	103.4
From cities	108.4
Outmigrant	100.5
To open country	103.5
To villages	89.0
To cities	98.0

and cities offer greater opportunities for employment and other forms of self-expression to women than the open country. Because agricultural occupations predominate in the open country, it was not unexpected to find a high degree of masculinity in the resident population, regardless of migration type.

AGE SELECTION

The age composition of population is believed to be one of the most important factors influencing migration. When young people leave home, they usually move about frequently for a few years seeking an economic foothold. Once this is attained, migration slows down. Even persons who fail to acquire a fair degree of economic stability tend to move less as age increases.²

Table 7 shows the age distribution of the population as of 1940 for all migration types. Nonmigrants were considerable older than migrants, especially from the age of 45 years upward. Among intramigrants and inmigrants, children under 15 years old were conspicuously numerous. High proportions of outmigrants were in the age groups from 15 to 44 years, which are often referred to as the productive ages. A supplementary tabulation reveals that heads of inmigrant households tended to be slightly older than the heads of outmigrant households, but they were still in the prime of life with relatively large numbers being between 25 and 44 years

² Robert T. McMillan, *The Interrelation of Migration and Socioeconomic Status of Open-Country Families in Oklahoma*, Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1943.

Table 7.—Distribution of Population by Age as of 1940, According to Migration Type.

Age group, years	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
Number of persons	8032	1008	610	2175	4239
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 15	27.2	25.3	34.9	35.5	22.2
15-24	22.6	21.3	21.8	19.5	24.9
25-34	15.5	7.8	14.0	14.0	17.9
35-44	12.7	10.4	11.7	12.1	13.6
45-54	10.4	12.4	9.4	9.6	10.4
55-64	6.3	11.6	3.4	5.3	6.0
65 and over	5.3	11.2	4.8	3.2	5.0

of age.³ It is unsafe to make any generalizations regarding the proportion of persons 55 and over among the different groups of persons who migrated because of the susceptibility of the data to sampling error.⁴

Important differences in the sex ratios by age groups can be seen from the data in Table 8. From the age of 25 years upward, the preponderance of males over females tends to increase with advancing age. Two factors mainly account for this situation. In the first place, a high degree of masculinity usually characterizes frontier communities, and the excess of males over females in the older age groups is to be expected

Table 8.—Sex Ratios of Population, by Age Groups.

Age group, years	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
All ages	102.7	102.8	106.4	105.9	100.5
0-14	100.8	89.6	99.1	105.5	100.6
15-24	95.8	130.1	137.5	97.3	85.5
25-34	92.2	85.7	93.2	88.5	94.4
35-44	106.9	100.0	102.9	111.8	106.4
45-54	111.9	89.4	159.1	123.2	110.5
55-64	125.6	101.7	61.5*	136.0	141.5
65 and over	125.8	124.0	61.1*	150.0	131.9

* Based on small numbers.

³ Compare with study reported in Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932, Vol. III, pp. 625-627.

⁴ A special comparison of the total population surveyed with the population enumerated by the Census according to age indicates that children under 5, youth 15 to 24, and persons 65 years old and over tended to be underenumerated, the discrepancies being due to failure to account fully for outmigrants and deaths.

in a recently settled region such as Oklahoma. On the other hand, recent censuses reveal a steady trend toward the equalizing of sexes in this State and elsewhere. This tendency would be noticeable first in the younger age groups.

From an examination of the data by migration types, it appears that females tended to move across township lines at an earlier age than males. The irregular sex ratios among the several age groups of nonmigrants and migrants cannot be explained readily, but probably they reflect peculiar local conditions.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION

In selecting the sample townships no effort was made to procure proportional representation by race because of the relatively small number of nonwhites in the rural-farm population of the State.⁵ The few Negroes enumerated lived in Union Township of Lincoln County. In Table 9, the discrepancies in proportions of whites and Indians, when compared with the census data in Table 2, are accounted for mainly by differences in the definition of the term Indian.

Table 9.—*Distribution of Population by Race.*

Race	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
Number					
of persons	8032	1008	610	2175	4239
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	93.1	87.1	90.0	93.9	94.5
Indian	5.2	9.5	9.5	5.0	3.7
Negro	0.5	1.4	0.0	0.7	0.3
Unknown	1.2	2.0	0.5	0.4	1.5

The nonwhites were less migratory than the whites. Indians especially were not numerous among migrants crossing township lines. This suggests that they have relatively fewer and more scattered employment opportunities than whites. Probably such barriers as color, limited education and skills, and lack of resources for traveling restrict their movements to and from the townships.⁶ The fact that Indians were more numerous among inmigrants than outmigrants may indicate that during periods of depression they are more likely to re-

⁵ Of the rural-farm population in the State in 1940, 6.4 and 4.3 percent were Negro and Indian, respectively (See Table 2).

⁶ Cf. Oliver LeFarge, ed., *The Changing Indian*, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942, pp. 119-123.

turn to their native communities than whites.⁷ While the small number of Negroes does not afford a basis for comparison, it is probable that their migration is more local in character than that of whites for about the same reasons that apply to Indians. The findings of other studies indicate that Negroes are less migratory than whites.⁸

MARITAL STATUS

Few indexes in this study reveal as clear cut differences among migration types as that of marital status. Being older, the heads of nonmigrant households were distinguished chiefly from heads of migrant households by a greater prevalence of widowhood and a smaller degree of divorce (Table 10).⁹ A high incidence of married persons prevailed among heads of intramigrant households. In contrast, single and divorced persons were relatively more numerous among migrants crossing township lines than among nonmigrants. Over twice as large proportions of single heads of households moved away from townships as moved into them.

The tendencies for women to live longer than men and for fewer of them to remarry account for the excess of widowed women over widowed men in all migration types. Similarly, the higher percentage of single males than of single females can be explained by the relative scarcity of the latter in open-country areas generally. Unmarried women have difficulty in fitting into agricultural occupations, and relatively large numbers of them go to cities and towns where they can find opportunities for employment, education, or marriage. On the other hand, men migrate into agricultural communities in larger proportions than women. This is a well-established fact in most migration studies. Divorced and widowed heads of households moving into the townships tended to have children, whereas those leaving did not.

The relatively high incidence of marriage among the surveyed heads of households (including by definition single, divorced, and widowed persons) has several explanations. First of all, there is the traditional emphasis upon familism in rural

⁷ The distribution of population by race and birthplace furnishes verification for this statement. The higher incidence of farm ownership among Indians than among whites likewise accounts for the large landward movement of the former.

⁸ T. Lynn Smith, "Characteristics of Migrants," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, March 1941, p. 340 and Hareld Hoffsommer, *Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama*, Washington: Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, Series II, No. 9, November 1935, p. 11.

⁹ Head of household refers to the person responsible for making the living. In this study 23.7 percent of the schedules of outmigrants represent persons who had separated from the parental family for the first time. To avoid unnecessarily long descriptive terms, heads of families and unattached single persons hereafter will be referred to as heads of households.

Table 10.—Marital Status of Male and Female Heads of Households, by Migration Type.

Marital status	HEADS OF RESIDENT HOUSEHOLDS, 1940			HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS AT TIME OF MIGRATION		
	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
Male						
All male heads	910	221	133	556	539	1064
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	4.6	4.5	3.0	5.0	7.1	14.1
Married	90.9	88.7	95.5	90.5	89.2	82.2
Divorced or separated	1.2	0.4	0.0	1.6	1.5	1.2
Widowed	3.3	5.4	1.5	2.9	2.2	2.5
Female						
All female heads	892	224	136	532	523	1074
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.7	3.2	13.3
Married	92.7	87.9	93.4	94.4	92.0	81.5
Divorced or separated	1.0	0.0	0.7	1.5	1.5	1.4
Widowed	6.0	12.1	5.9	3.4	3.3	3.8

areas. Next, during the "thirties" it was expedient to be married if employment on relief programs was expected.¹⁰ Apparently, fewer persons who left home to work for themselves in open-country communities remained single. Lastly, the advancing age of population may lead to an increase in the proportions married.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

The question as to whether migration selects small or large households requires a qualified answer. Single or unattached persons are free to move more easily than families. In turn, small families ordinarily migrate more frequently than large families. But it is often the case that large families have relatively little wealth and, in order to earn their living, are obliged to keep moving. Such families tend to accumulate only those types of personal property that can be moved or disposed of readily. Therefore, it appears probable that large families who depend for a living chiefly on wage labor tend to be relatively more migratory than the average-size family but

¹⁰ See T. G. Standing, *A Descriptive Study of the Rural and Small City Relief Population in Oklahoma*, Stillwater: Oklahoma Agri. Exp. Sta. Bull. No. B-251, November 1941, pp. 10-13, and Robert T. McMillan, *A Social and Economic Study of Relief Families in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, 1934*, Stillwater: Oklahoma Agri. Exp. Sta. Tech. Bull. No. 2, July 1938, p. 25.

less migratory than young single or recently married couples whose energies are directed toward gaining an economic foothold. Differences in age also affect the amount of migration, younger persons being generally more inclined to move than older ones.

At the time of migration across township lines, in-migrant households exceeded out-migrant households in size, the medians being 3.9 and 3.4 persons, respectively (Table 11). It should be recalled that nearly one-fourth of the out-migrant households consisted of single persons leaving home, presumably to make their own living.

Table 11.—Distribution of Households by Size.

Number of persons per household	RESIDENT HOUSEHOLDS, 1940				HOUSEHOLDS AT TIME OF MIGRATION	
	Total	Non- migrant	Intra- migrant	In- migrant	In- migrant	Out- migrant
No. of households	910	248	142	520	516	1263
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
One	3.8	6.0	2.8	3.1	10.4	25.6
Two	21.1	24.3	23.3	19.0	22.3	17.4
Three	18.1	18.1	13.4	19.4	19.7	16.5
Four	19.5	17.7	21.8	19.6	15.5	15.6
Five	13.3	7.7	14.1	15.8	13.7	8.6
Six	10.5	10.5	9.2	11.0	7.6	7.1
Seven	6.1	8.9	5.6	4.8	5.2	3.9
Eight and over	7.6	6.8	9.8	7.3	5.6	5.3
Median	4.4	4.1	4.5	4.4	3.9	3.4

In-migrant and intramigrant households were approximately the same size in 1940, but the latter reflected greater maturity than the former. Since the still older nonmigrant households were more nearly completed, many of their children had left home. It is possible, too, that this stable group may have smaller families regardless of age differences.

EDUCATION

The improved educational opportunities of the younger members of the population necessitate adjustment for age differences in analysis. Likewise, the fact that boys frequently drop out of school at an early age because their labor is needed on the farms and because they exhibit a greater dislike for school than girls necessitates comparison of schooling by sex. This has been done in Table 12.

Table 12.—Amount of Schooling of Male and Female Heads of Households, by Age Groups.
(Percentage distribution)

Age group and highest grade completed in school	TOTAL		NON-MIGRANT		INTRA-MIGRANT		IN-MIGRANT		OUT-MIGRANT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages, percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-8	77.9	70.9	82.1	75.0	67.4	64.2	76.6	66.9	79.1	72.9
9+	22.1	29.1	17.9	25.0	32.6	35.8	23.4	33.1	20.9	27.1
Under 35, percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-8	58.1	50.3	58.8	58.8	62.2	54.7	61.5	48.6	55.4	49.9
9+	41.9	49.7	41.2	41.2	37.8	45.3	38.5	51.4	44.6	50.1
35-54, percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-8	82.1	81.4	85.6	75.2	63.2	68.0	80.2	79.4	85.0	85.1
9+	17.9	18.6	14.4	24.8	36.8	32.0	19.8	20.6	15.0	14.9
55 and over, percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-8	91.8	90.0	82.6	80.4	94.7	85.0	92.5	94.3	94.8	93.8
9+	8.2	10.0	17.4	19.6	5.3	15.0	7.5	5.7	5.2	6.2

ERRATUM:

In the above table, the fourth line from the bottom should read:

9+ 17.9 18.6 14.4 24.8 36.8 etc.

The heads of migrant households generally had more schooling than heads of nonmigrant households, due principally to the fact that the latter were the older as a rule. Among the former group, intramigrants tended to have the greatest amount of schooling and outmigrants the least.

Age and sex differences are quite apparent in the educational achievements of the several classes of migrants and nonmigrants. Approximately five times as many heads of households under 35 years old as of those 55 years old and over had formal training beyond the elementary school level. The schooling of female heads tended to exceed that of male heads at every age level and in all migration types.

Educational selection appears to be operating in migration. The heads of outmigrant households under 35 years old tended to have more formal education than those of other migration types. Among outmigrant household heads 35 years old and over the relationship was reversed. Apparently outmigrants were characterized educationally by two extremes: a group of young people with better-than-average schooling, and a group of older persons, especially between the ages of 35 and 54 years, whose inferior formal training and other handicaps prevented them from making satisfactory adjustments in the survey areas.¹¹ Also, among heads of immigrant households, relatively few in the age group from 35 to 54 years had more than an eighth-grade schooling.

The fact that the level of school achievement among nonmigrant household heads under 35 years old is somewhat lower than that of outmigrant household heads of corresponding age seems to confirm further the hypothesis that young people with superior education, regardless of their status on the land, are being drained away from open-country areas.

ORIGIN OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Knowledge of the geographical origin of people furnishes an important clue with which to explain their migratory behavior. A recent study shows that southern-born persons in the open country of Oklahoma move more frequently than northern-born persons chiefly because more of them are descendants of landless families.¹² In early settlement, northerners gained the occupancy and ownership of the better

¹¹ Cf. Noel P. Gist and Carroll D. Clark, "Intelligence As a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migration," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIV, July 1938, 36-58, and N. P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad, and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Rural-Urban Migration," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 6, March 1941, pp. 1-15.

¹² Robert T. McMillan, "The Relationship of Selected Social Background Factors to Farm Tenure Status," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, March 1943, pp. 321-322.

lands of the State to a greater degree than southerners, a fact which may be attributed as much to the place of entrance into the State as to foresight or other factors.

The heads of outmigrant households studied consisted chiefly of native Oklahomans who moved mainly in search of economic opportunities (Table 13). Oklahoma was settled originally by people whose migration probably was motivated by similar objectives. Only 27.3 percent of the nonmigrants as against 62.2 percent of outmigrants originated in the State. A reliably larger proportion of nonmigrants were born in northern states, whereas a preponderant number of intramigrants and immigrants reported their birth in one of thirteen southern states, including Oklahoma. From these data it may be inferred that the expulsive forces are operating with least intensity against early settlers, especially those from the North.

An overwhelming number of heads of households, 98.7 percent, originated in rural areas, 97.1 percent being born in the open country. The remainder reported their birthplace in cities.

In addition to learning the geographical origin of heads of households by migration type, it is perhaps even more important to trace their tenure and occupational genesis. In the opinion of the writer, there is no single factor that exerts greater influence in determining the tenure status of a person in agriculture than the tenure status of the parents. Since migration is selective with reference to tenure and occupation, as will be shown later, it is assumed that similar differences

Table 13.—Heads of Households Classified by State of Birth.

State of birth	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
Number of heads of households	1172	220	122	481	349
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Oklahoma	46.2	27.3	47.5	42.8	62.2
Arkansas	16.6	13.2	21.3	18.3	15.2
Missouri	10.2	18.6	9.8	11.6	2.9
Texas	7.9	8.2	8.2	9.4	5.7
Kansas	5.4	6.8	2.5	7.7	2.3
Other southern states	7.3	10.9	8.2	5.0	8.0
Other northern states	5.6	13.6	2.5	5.0	2.6
All others*	0.8	1.4	0.0	0.2	1.1

* Includes seven persons born in states west of Oklahoma and two persons from foreign countries.

can be observed among the parents of heads of households, classified by migration type.

The chief obstacle in tabulating the data on this point lies in the dearth of information relating to parents of outmigrants. The few cases for which the necessary information was obtained contain a higher proportion of landowning parents than seems logical on the basis of other findings in the study. More information was obtained concerning children of farm-owning households who migrated from townships than was obtained for those of landless households, because, in the case of the latter, parents as well as children frequently were outmigrants and consequently no pertinent data were procured for either generation. An examination of such criteria as state of birth, size of farm, amount of schooling, migration history, and tenure or occupational mobility leads the writer to believe that a considerably smaller proportion of heads of outmigrants households than of heads of households in other migration types had parents who owned farms. A glance at Table 14 shows that the percentage of parents of heads reported as owning farms decreased in the following order: nonmigrant, intramigrant, and immigrant.

Obviously the immobility of the open-country population is correlated closely with the degree of farm ownership. For the population under study at least, probably a larger proportion of outmigrants descended from landless classes than of residents in the townships in 1940.

Table 14.—Tenure and Occupational Distribution of Fathers of Heads of Households.

Tenure or occupation	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	Immigrant	Out-migrant
Number of fathers of household heads	204	111	429	
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Farm tenure				
Owner	83.8	73.9	64.1	
Tenant	10.2	22.5	26.8	See text
Cropper-laborer	0.5	0.0	1.9	
Nonagricultural occupations	5.5	3.6	7.2	

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

This section analyzes migration with reference to its volume, range, direction, and motivation. From the frequency of migration, it is possible to infer the relative ability of the population to secure an economic foothold in the community. The radius and direction of movement afford the best approaches to the character of the population absorption and dispersion. Both expressed and implied motives for migration are discussed, because verbalized "reasons" alone do not always reveal the real motives for changes in dwelling place.

FREQUENCY OF MIGRATION

Numerous factors affect the amount of migration. Usually, moving tends to decrease as the age of population increases. It usually varies inversely with socioeconomic status, at least within limits. Furthermore, the moving habits of the people influence rates of residence turnover. In this particular study the time-span cannot be standardized adequately because the migration histories do not cover the whole survey period for one of the major groups—outmigrants. For many of these latter households the only year covered by the migration history was the one in which they left the township. Consequently, their rate of migration, based upon this short period, is high.

To compare the amount of moving reported for each migration type, a crude rate was calculated by dividing the total number of moves by the total number of years of *all* persons included in the migration histories, times 100. The resulting figures, though not adjusted for age and the distinctive time element affecting the data under observation, give the average number of moves per year for each 100 persons during a period of eleven years or less.

For each 100 persons enumerated, the average number of moves per year was $29.3 \pm .16$ (Table 15). For all persons living in the survey townships in 1940, the corresponding rate was $21.8 \pm .22$.¹ Inmigrants moved approximately one and one-half times and the outmigrants nearly two times as frequently as intramigrants. There tends to be an inverse relationship between migration and socioeconomic status, i. e., if status is

¹ In a sample of households from four selected counties in 1937, the similar rate of migration, based upon moves during the earning life of the head of the household, was 21.6. Robert T. McMillan, *The Interrelation of Migration and Socio-economic Status of Open-Country Families in Oklahoma*, Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Louisiana State University Library, 1943, p. 91.

Table 15.—Average Number of Moves per Year for Each 100 Persons, 1930-1940, by Migration Type.

Migration type	Average number of moves per year for each 100 persons
All persons, including nonmigrants	29.3±.16
All persons, excepting nonmigrants	35.6±.21
All persons, excepting outmigrants	21.8±.22
Intramigrants only	21.4±.54
Inmigrants only	34.2±.34
Outmigrants only	39.9±.31

high, migration is low, and vice versa.² This relationship is also subject to qualification in terms of age differences.³

NUMBER OF YEARS AT LAST DOMICILE

The number of years spent at the last dwelling place is a useful index for indicating the stability of population. Several observations can be drawn from the data in Table 16.

One-third of all persons enumerated had lived less than two years at the last dwelling place in the township. Occupancies extending for a period of ten years and over included only one-eighth of the total.

Table 16.—Distribution of Population According to Number of Years at Last Domicile in Township.

Number of years at last domicile in township	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
Number of persons	8032	1008	610	2175	4239
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 1	4.7	0.2	0.0	1.9	7.6
1	27.9	1.4	25.9	32.0	32.4
2-4	39.3	0.2	45.9	48.1	43.1
5-9	15.4	0.2	25.6	17.0	15.4
10 and over	12.7	98.0	2.6	1.0	1.5

Outmigrants were less stable than inmigrants, and intramigrants had considerably longer occupancies than either group of movers across township lines.⁴ Only a few nonmigrants—

² B. O. Williams, *Occupational Mobility Among Farmers*, Clemson: South Carolina Agri. Exp. Sta. Bull. No. 296, 1934.

³ R. T. McMillan, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-78.

⁴ For a few outmigrants, the period of residence was counted from the time they left their parental home until they departed from the township which in nearly all cases was less than a year.

those separating from their parents to establish their own households—had not resided more than ten years in the dwelling occupied at the time of the survey.

RANGE OF MIGRATION

From the earliest formal studies of migration, distance has been regarded as one of its most relevant considerations. Ravenstein, an early authority on migration, observed that most migrants travel short distances and that long-distance migrants tended to be males who went directly to centers of trade and industry. With few exceptions, subsequent studies have confirmed these principles. Recently, Stouffer has advanced the hypothesis that "the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities."⁵

Lively has found, in experimenting with methods of measuring distance migrated, that use of political subdivisions is more practical but somewhat less accurate than mileage.⁶ For obvious reasons political units have been used in this study.

Eight of every ten persons enumerated crossed township lines during the period from 1930 through 1940 (Table 17). Outmigrants traveled farther than immigrants, as is shown by the fact that over one-third of the former group crossed state lines as compared with less than one-fourth of the latter group.

The volume of migration to and from adjoining townships and other townships in the counties which contained the survey townships exceeded that to and from adjoining counties and other counties in the State. Furthermore, since all intramigrants moved only within the surveyed townships, it is apparent that moves for short distances accounted for the major portion of all migration.

The relative scarcity of employment opportunities in Oklahoma in comparison with certain other states partially explains the heavy emigration from the State and the small amount of immigration into it. More Oklahoma emigrants moved to California than to any other state, this group alone comprising 37.8 percent of those crossing state lines (see Figure 3). The movement from the State was mainly westward, but the Ozark Highlands in Arkansas and Missouri and the oil fields in Illinois attracted a fairly large number of movers.

The in-movement of population was approximately one-

⁵ Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, December 1940, p. 846.

⁶ C. E. Lively, "Spatial Mobility of the Rural Population With Respect to Local Areas," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIII, July 1937, p. 96.

Table 17.—Distribution of Population by Range of Migration.

Range of migration	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
Number of persons	8032	1008	610	2175	4239
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No move	12.5	100.0	----	----	----
Within township	7.6	----	100.0	----	----
Adjoining townships	30.1	----	----	40.9	36.0
Other townships in county	4.2	----	----	8.6	3.7
Adjoining county	9.3	----	----	13.3	11.1
Other counties in state	10.5	----	----	15.3	11.5
Adjoining states	12.5	----	----	14.2	16.5
Other states*	12.1	----	----	7.4	19.1
California	7.1	----	----	4.2	13.5
Foreign country	0.1	----	----	0.0	0.1
Unknown	1.1	----	----	0.3	2.0

* Including California.

fourth as large as the out-movement (see Figure 4). Relatively fewer immigrants returned to Oklahoma from California in comparison with the number of outmigrants going to that state than was generally true with reference to other states. This fact suggests either that the migrants to California were hindered by long distance from returning to Oklahoma or that they achieved an acceptable status in that state. Probably the latter alternative best explains the real situation.

Another fruitful approach in the study of migratory behavior can be made by analyzing the range from the place of birth of heads of households to the townships surveyed. This pattern differs greatly from the preceding one because of the longer time-span and the differences in the average age of household heads in each migration type. Older persons tended to be farther from their place of birth than younger ones. Among heads of nonmigrant households, approximately one-fourth were born in Oklahoma, one-half in adjoining states, and one-fourth in other states (Table 18). The differences in distance from place of birth to the townships surveyed varied little between heads of intramigrant and in-migrant households, but high proportions of both groups were born in Oklahoma.

One-half of the heads of outmigrant households were natives of the counties containing the survey townships. Another one-tenth originated elsewhere in the State. The remainder

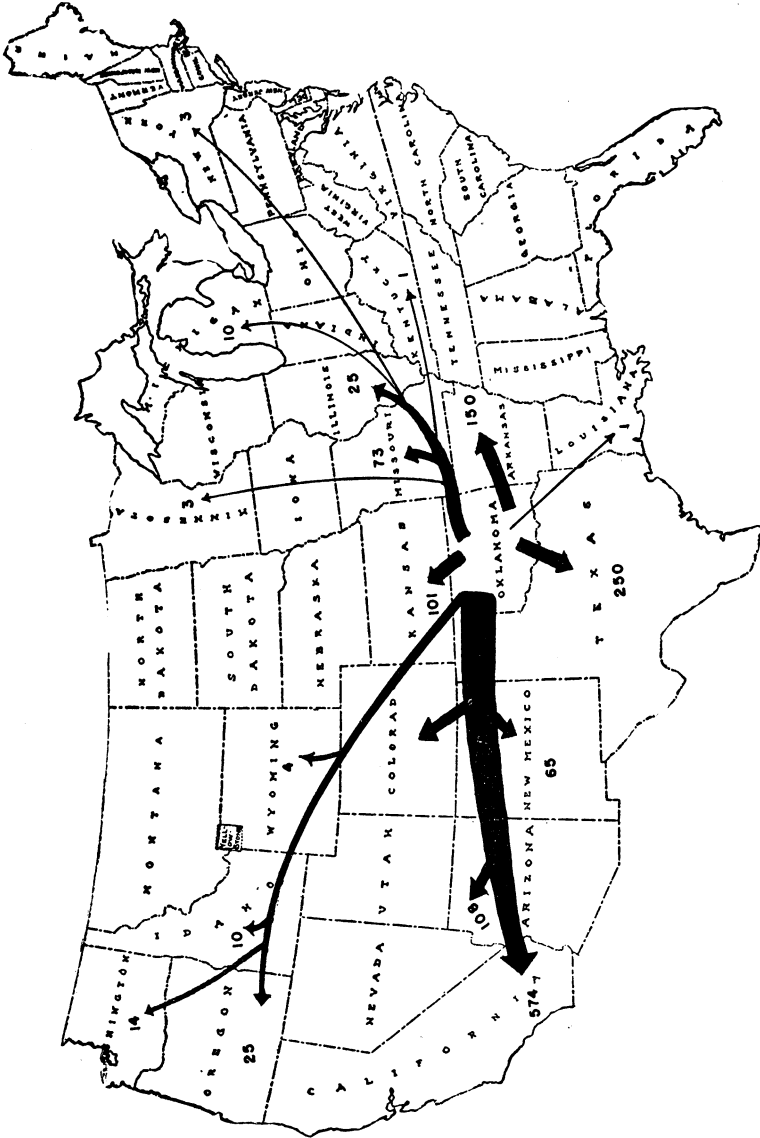


Figure 3.—Distribution of Outmigrants from Five Oklahoma Townships, 1930-1940.

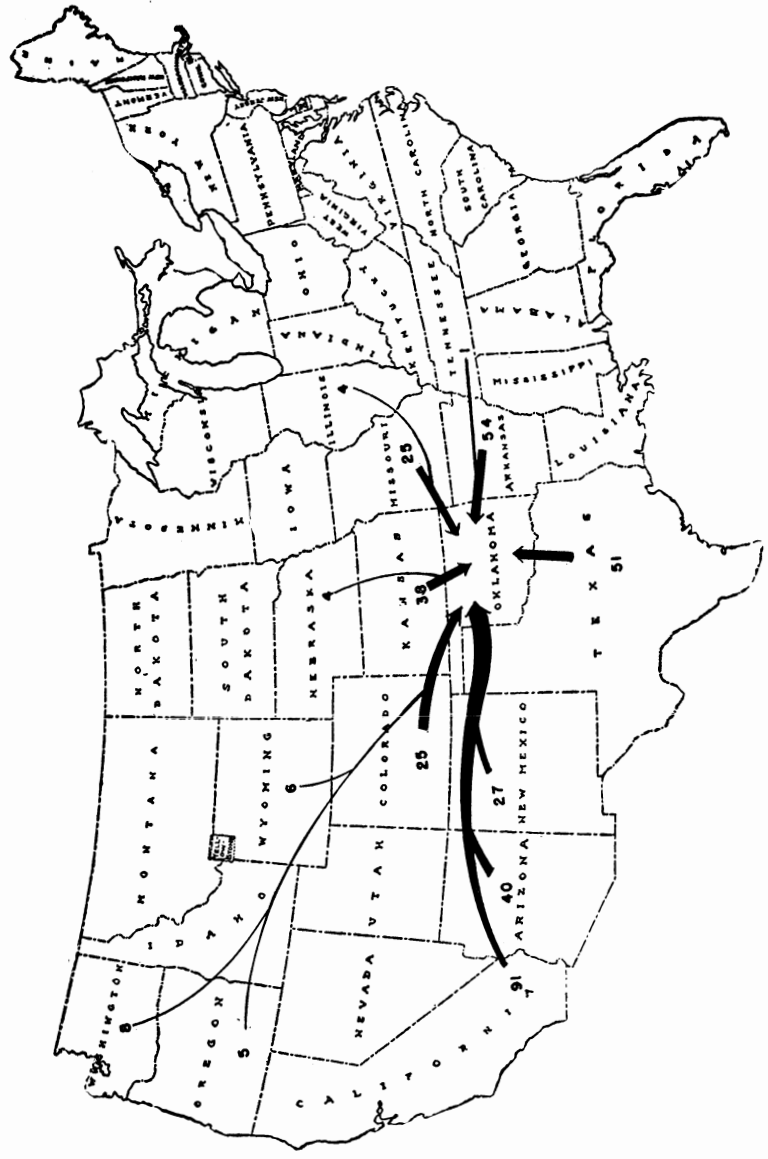


Figure 4.—Distribution of Immigrants into Five Oklahoma Townships, 1930-1940.

were born in states outside Oklahoma. As this State grows older more of its population will be native, and increasingly its rural communities will be *sending* rather than *receiving* migrants. If the outlets for the excess population again become clogged as they did in the "thirties," the problem of internal population adjustment will become serious in this State, especially in its rural parts.

Table 18.—*Distribution of Heads of Households According to the Distance from Birthplace to the Townships Surveyed.*

Distance from birthplace to survey township	Total	Non- migrant	Intra- migrant	Inmigrant	Out- migrant
Number of heads of households	1139	217	121	473	328
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Born in county	33.1	20.3	32.2	27.5	50.0
Adjoining county	6.1	3.2	9.9	6.3	6.1
Other counties in state	6.0	2.8	5.8	8.0	4.9
Adjoining states	42.0	48.4	40.5	47.6	30.8
Other states	12.6	25.3	11.6	10.4	7.9
Foreign country	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3

DIRECTION OF MIGRATION

Of the population studied, exchanges between rural and urban areas comprised only a small proportion of all migration. By far the largest volume of moving probably occurred within or between open-country areas rather than between the open country and villages or cities.

Nearly four-fifths of the people entering the townships surveyed from 1930 to 1940 came from other open-country areas (Table 19). The immigrants from cities outnumbered those from villages.

Over three-fifths of the outmigrants moved to other locations in the open country, but larger proportions were diverted to villages and cities than was true among immigrants.

In actual numbers, the open country gave up to cities well over three times as many persons as it received from them, but it lost considerably fewer than three times as many persons to villages as it gained in exchange. Approximately one and one-half times as many people moved to other open-country areas as were received. While these data tend to confirm Ravenstein's theory that each main current of migration

Table 19.—Distribution of Inmigrant and Outmigrant Population by Direction of Movement.

Direction of migration	Number	Percent
Inmigrant		
Open country to open country	1707	78.5
Village to open country	177	8.1
City to open country	286	13.1
Unknown	5	0.3
Outmigrant		
Open country to open country	2640	62.3
Open country to village	462	10.9
Open country to city	942	22.2
Unknown	195	4.6

has a countercurrent,⁷ the reasons for the disparities are not altogether clear.

The rural-urban movement is large because of high rates of natural increase in the open country, relatively greater economic opportunities in expanding nonfarm industries, and diversity of socio-cultural attractions available in cities. People move from cities to farms because of economic necessity, favorable conditions in smaller, less crowded communities for the rearing of children, health, reuniting of families, preference for farming as an occupation, and for other reasons.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

It is appropriate at this point to identify the principal "push" and "pull" factors operating to affect extensive shifts in the open-country population surveyed from 1930 through 1940.⁸ Migration is precipitated by a conjunction of factors, not by any single factor. While no attempt is made here to prove causal connection between the factors discussed and migration, there are cumulative evidences that such relationships exist.

The following are believed to be some of the more important underlying factors directly or indirectly responsible for the heavy emigration of population from the townships surveyed:

1. High rates of natural increase, i. e., the excess of births over deaths, leading to removal of the "surplus" through migration. This phenomenon manifests itself in the failure of

⁷ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940, p. 175.

⁸ An excellent classification of causes of migration is contained in Otis Durant Duncan, *The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population*, Stillwater: Okla. Agri. Exp. Sta. Cir. No. 88, May 1940, pp. 4-6.

the existing economy, operating at a "normal" level, to absorb all or nearly all of the persons seeking work.⁹

2. The intensive drouth during half of the decade 1930 to 1940 forced large numbers of people to leave farms, especially in western Oklahoma.¹⁰

3. The wide fluctuation in prices for farm commodities during the period studied pushed numerous mortgage-ridden families into bankruptcy and out of the survey townships.

4. Increased farm mechanization has contributed to the dislodgment of population from the land in several ways. First, farmers with relatively large investments in farm machinery tend to increase the size of their farms, thereby reducing per-unit costs of production. Small operators are forced out of farming by the increased number of farm enterprises requiring relatively large amounts of capital. Second, the demand for labor in agriculture is reduced by savings in time and energy resulting from the use of motor-driven machinery. Third, the specialization in agricultural production associated with the process of mechanization increases the seasonal character of farm labor demand. Fourth, employment tends to be increasingly temporary in character and upon a cash-wage basis, the laborer being alienated from any rights to the land or its product.¹¹

5. Either directly or indirectly the crop control programs have been responsible for eliminating workers, especially those who are landless, from agriculture. The AAA program has tended to encourage town and city residents to become entrepreneurs in agriculture, thereby eliminating many disadvantaged operators from farms.¹² Furthermore, it has served to induce some farmers to increase the size of their farming operations. There is no doubt but that farm mechanization plays an important role in the elimination of workers, but this trend probably would have proceeded more slowly had it not

⁹ See National Resources Committee, *Problems of a Changing Population*, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938, Part III and C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, Washington: Works Progress Administration, Division of Research, Research Monograph XIX, 1939, Chapter III.

¹⁰ Francis D. Cronin and Howard W. Beers, *Areas of Intense Drought Distress, 1930-1936*, Washington: Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Series V, No. 1, January 1937, p. 29.

¹¹ For further discussion, see C. Horace Hamilton, "Social Effects of Mechanization of Agriculture," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 4, March 1939, pp. 3-19, and A Special Report By an Interbureau Committee and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, *Technology on the Farm*, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, August 1940, pp. 65-66.

¹² For a discussion of this point, see *Report of the Select Committee To Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens*, House Report No. 369, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1941, pp. 394-464. Also see Fred C. Frey and T. Lynn Smith, "The Influence of the AAA Cotton Program Upon the Tenant, Cropper, and Laborer," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, December 1936, pp. 483-495.

been for the AAA program, which tends to subsidize large operators who can cover most of their prime costs with the benefit payments.

6. Still another factor contributing to the complex process of eliminating the small farmer from agriculture is the growing practice of "privilege" or "bonus" rentals. These cash payments which supplement the traditional share rental sometimes reduce the operator's share of income to the point where he cannot profitably stay in business, and cannot expect to become a farm owner.¹³

A long-established principle of migration is that each main current of migration sets up a countercurrent. Since most of the migration into the five survey townships seems to be of a compensating character, it is appropriate to indicate some of the major factors leading to this type of movement.

1. A large proportion of the farm-to-farm movement results in no visible change in the status of migrants. Apparently they move because of their dissatisfaction with existing conditions, e. g., small farms, poor land, inferior housing, low income, year-to-year tenure arrangements, and monotonous patterns of unattractive home and community life.¹⁴

2. Large numbers of the unemployed population move from villages and cities to reduce their cash outlays for food, shelter, fuel, water, and possibly other budget items. These families depend for a living upon subsistence or small-scale commercial farming supplemented by WPA, direct relief, occasional labor on other farms, hunting, fishing, and handicrafts. Especially families with small children prefer the open country because it affords cheaper living costs, more play space, and possibly more favorable health conditions.¹⁵

3. The desire to be near relatives, for semi-retirement, for contentment and security, even at low income, and prospects of inheritance furnish rationalized incentives for urban-rural migration.

People do not move without some motive for the act. While the stated reasons for migration may not reveal the real motives, they furnish basis for inference. From the data in Table 20 it can be seen that differences do exist among migration types with reference to the expressed reasons for moving.

¹³ C. Horace Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁴ See review of Robert Littmarck's study of the Nomads of Malar Valley in Sweden by Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, New York: Social Science Research Council, Bull. No. 43, 1938, pp. 130-140.

¹⁵ See Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941, Chapter 13.

Approximately two-thirds of all persons in the households surveyed moved for economic reasons. The remainder changed dwellings for reasons ascribed as personal, social betterment, social conflict, and health. Economic reversals and displacements, in about equal proportions, accounted for nearly one-fourth of all moves. Also the rapid technological and social changes, as well as the drouth, experienced in the period covered by the survey were responsible for much of the dislodgment.

The outmigrants tended to leave the survey townships more frequently for personal reasons than inmigrants. The latter group was interested primarily in improving its economic status, whereas the former group, which included unattached persons, seemed to be somewhat more dissatisfied with the socio-psychological conditions of their environment.

That economic motives underlie most migration is supported fully by the evidence presented in this study. Widespread instability of residence arises from the size of the landless classes and from the impermanent character of their attachments to the land. Since early settlement, personal and institutional factors have operated to alienate increasing proportions of the agricultural population from the ownership of land. During the last decade changes in the structure of agriculture were initiated which threaten to reduce a large part of the growing tenant class to a wage-hand status. Inevitable as they now appear to be, further increases in the concentration of ownership and control of land, farm mechan-

Table 20.—*Distribution of Inmigrant and Outmigrant Population According to Reason Assigned for Moving.*

Migration type	Num-ber of persons	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS*						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All types	5439	9.5	41.1	14.7	9.7	18.8	3.0	3.2
Inmigrant	1857	6.1	49.7	10.0	8.0	20.6	1.8	3.8
Outmigrant	3582	11.3	36.6	17.1	10.6	17.8	3.7	2.9

* Reasons given by heads of households for moving across township lines:

1. Personal—"tired of farm," "just wanted to move," "wife died," "too old to work."
2. Economic betterment—"better farm," "better job," "inherited farm."
3. Economic reversals—"crop failure," "couldn't make a living," "lost job," "lost farm or other assets through foreclosure," "drouth," "house burned."
4. Economic displacement—"forced to move," "rented out," "landlord sold place," "landlord wanted to farm."
5. Social betterment—"better living conditions," "better schools," "got married," "moved to be near relatives."
6. Social conflict—"couldn't get along with landlord," "trouble with neighbors," "crime."
7. Health—"bad health," "better climate," "to get away from malaria."

ization, size of farm units, prevalence of crop production controls, and "privilege" or "bonus" rentals hold little promise of general improvement in the socioeconomic status of the majority of population now or recently engaged in agriculture unless steps are taken to absorb dislodged workers in suitable employment elsewhere. In the absence of such measures it is probable that residence turnover may be even greater during the next few years than in the past.

SOCIOECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

This part of the study is devoted to an analysis of the population surveyed with respect to farm tenure status, possessions, socioeconomic status, acreage in farms, quality of land, sources of farm and nonfarm income, participation in government programs, and an evaluation of status in the community.

TENURE OR OCCUPATION

The farm tenure status or other occupational status of households is a highly relevant factor in analyzing all aspects of migration. An overall motive for migration is to improve socioeconomic status, which can be measured in part by reference to tenure or occupational status.

Widespread landlessness is closely associated with the residential instability of the households under observation. Of all heads, only 35.1 percent were classed as farm owners.¹ Heads of nonmigrant households were distinguished from those of migrant households by their higher tenure status. Over two-thirds of the former group owned farms, but only one-seventh of the latter group occupied their own farms in 1940 or at the time of leaving the township.

A large proportion (22.7 percent) of heads of outmigrant households reported no tenure or occupation when they emigrated (Table 21). All of these persons were leaving their parental home for the first time. A heavy outmovement of heads of households drawn from the landless classes, especially tenants and croppers, is evident from the tenure composition.

The heads of immigrant households in 1940, in comparison with those of outmigrant households, included larger percentages classed as owners and laborers, but fewer classed as ten-

¹ In another study of resident open-country households conducted in Haskell, Cotton, Major, and Craig Counties in 1937, 37.0 percent of the heads reported ownership of farms. Robert T. McMillan, *The Interrelation of Migration and Socioeconomic Status of Open-Country Families in Oklahoma*, Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Louisiana State University Library, p. 65.

Table 21.—Distribution of Heads of Households
by Tenure or Occupational Status.

Tenure or occupation	RESIDENT HOUSEHOLDS, 1940				Outmigrant households at time of migration
	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	
Number of heads of households	975	248	142	585	1264
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Farm tenure: percent					
Full owner	85.3	94.4	86.0	81.1	70.3
Part owner	22.2	46.4	12.0	14.4	9.6
Tenant	12.9	25.0	11.3	7.9	1.3
Cropper	37.1	21.0	53.5	40.0	45.1
Laborer	1.0	0.4	0.7	1.4	3.5
Laborer	12.1	1.6	8.5	17.4	10.8
Occupation: percent	7.3	0.8	5.6	10.5	6.7
Professional	1.5	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.5
Proprietor	1.2	0.4	3.5	1.0	1.1
Clerk, salesman, etc.	0.7	0.4	0.0	1.0	0.6
Skilled laborer	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.3
Semiskilled laborer	1.4	0.0	0.7	2.2	1.5
Unskilled laborer	2.1	0.0	1.4	3.1	1.7
Other: percent	7.4	4.8	8.4	8.4	23.0
Miscellaneous	3.7	4.8	7.7	2.4	0.3
No occupation	3.7	0.0	0.7	6.0	22.7

ants. While the tenure and occupational status of heads of intramigrant households was generally higher than that of other migrant groups, their status was considerably below that of heads of nonmigrant households.

TENURE AND OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES FOLLOWING MIGRATION

One test of the effectiveness of migration is whether it results in the improvement of tenure or occupational status. Admittedly, individuals and families have other incentives for moving, but because changes in farm tenure rarely occur without changes in dwelling, it is important to analyze the relationship between these two phenomena.

As a starting point, the heads of migrant households were distributed according to their tenure and occupational status before and after moving. For intramigrants the last move was chosen as a basis for comparison, and for immigrants and outmigrants the last move across township lines was used. These data are shown in Table 22.

Table 22.—Tenure or Occupational Status of Heads of Households Before and After Migration.

Tenure or occupation	TOTAL		INTRA-MIGRANT		IN-MIGRANT		OUT-MIGRANT	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Number of heads	1979	1979	144	144	577	577	1258	1258
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Farm tenure	70.2	65.5	78.5	86.8	71.8	82.1	68.7	55.4
Owner	8.3	10.1	13.9	25.7	8.5	19.8	7.6	3.8
Tenant	45.4	30.5	55.6	52.1	40.7	38.6	46.4	24.3
Cropper	2.4	1.2	0.7	0.0	2.8	2.6	2.5	0.7
Laborer	14.1	23.7	8.3	9.0	19.8	21.1	12.2	26.6
Nonagricultural occupations	10.0	17.3	4.1	5.5	17.3	9.6	7.5	22.2†
No occupation	18.4	10.6	13.9	0.7	9.2	5.9	22.8	13.9
Other*	1.3	4.3	3.5	7.0	1.5	2.4	0.9	4.8
Unknown	0.1	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	3.7

* Retired persons and old-age assistance recipients.

† This percentage is distributed among the nonagricultural occupations as follows: professional, 3.6; proprietor, 2.8; clerk, salesman, etc., 4.1; skilled laborer, 1.9; semiskilled laborer, 6.0 and unskilled laborer, 3.8.

Among heads of intramigrant and immigrant households, the major shifts were from nonagricultural occupations into agriculture. For outmigrants the reverse was true. Mobility between tenures or occupations tended to be greater for outmigrants than for inmigrants.

The general direction of change in tenure status following migration was toward a reduction of croppers and tenants and an increase of owners and laborers. Intramigrants and inmigrants generally improved their status as a result of moving. For example, only 13.9 percent of the intramigrants were owners before the last move within the township. Following the move, 25.7 percent of the same heads became farm owners. The inmigrants experienced a similar gain in farm ownership when they moved into the township. On the other hand, outmigrants shifted largely from farm operators to farm laborers and to nonagricultural occupations. The percentage of outmigrants who were farm laborers following their last move from the township was more than twice as great as that which prevailed before migration occurred. Whereas only 7.5 percent of the outmigrants were engaged in nonagricultural occupations prior to leaving the townships surveyed, 22.2 percent were so employed following emigration.

All migration types contained heads of households who were without tenure or occupational status before migration

and who were absorbed in gainful employment after moving. From the data in Table 22, it appears that the persons without an occupation were best able, following migration, to establish themselves as farmers in their own community. When they left the survey townships their alternatives increased in that they became farm laborers or entered nonagricultural occupations. Most of those persons without an occupation who were not absorbed in employment were women who married following migration.

To determine which tenure and occupational classes gave up and received heads of households in the process of migration across township lines, comparisons can be made from the data in Table 23. The townships surveyed lost almost no farm owners in exchanges of population, but tremendous decreases were sustained in the landless classes, especially tenants and croppers. Nearly two and one-half times as many heads of tenant households left the survey townships as moved into them from 1930 through 1940. In the nonagricultural occupations, 62 heads are shown as arriving in the townships as compared with 85 heads departing. Fewer school teachers, grocery-store and filling-station proprietors, and laborers lived in the townships following the exchange of heads of households across township lines.

Table 23.—Tenure and Occupational Selection Resulting from Exchanges of Heads of Households Across Township Lines (Excluding Migrants with No Tenure or Occupations).

Tenure or occupation	Heads of out-migrant households (1)	Heads of in-migrant households (2)	Ratio (Col. 1÷2) (3)
All heads	977	550	177.6
Farm tenure	881	474	185.9
Owner	134	130	103.7
Tenant	567	234	242.3
Cropper	44	8	550.0
Laborer	136	102	123.6
Nonagricultural occupations	85	62	137.1
Others*	11	14	78.6

* Includes heads of households classed as old-age assistance recipients, pensioners, and retired.

Other available data not presented here in table form show that slightly over one-half (50.7 percent) of all heads of households, excluding those reporting no occupation at the time of migration, changed tenure or occupational status one

or more times during the years from 1930 through 1940. The percentages of heads experiencing tenure or occupational changes ranged as follows: nonmigrants, 2.9; intramigrants, 37.0; inmigrants, 54.0; and, outmigrants, 63.0. The frequency of occupational changes tended to vary directly with the amount of moving.

The preceding discussion has been confined principally to the aggregate changes in tenure and occupational composition associated with migration. The final step in this analysis is to determine the extent of changes or lack of change in tenure and occupation accompanying the migration of individual heads of households.

Occupational mobility is defined as any change from one occupation to another. Tenure mobility denotes any change from one tenure status to another. For example, a person may shift from a tenant to an owner which ordinarily denotes an advancement to a higher status. If a farmer becomes a skilled worker, occupational mobility has occurred, but before it could be determined whether the change signified a promotion, degradation, or no change in social position, income, working and living conditions, and other factors would have to be considered. Lacking the data necessary for dealing with this problem, Table 24 was constructed to show the basis for reckoning the direction of change in status. To illustrate its use, if a farm owner shifted to any of the nonagricultural occupations listed on the same level, or *vice versa*, no change in status was recorded. If an unskilled laborer became a farm laborer, it was assumed that a decline in status had occurred. While the tenures and occupations included on each level admittedly are arbitrary, it is believed that the classification reflects with reasonable accuracy the results that would be derived from a more elaborately-standardized comparison.

Of 1461 heads of households having a tenure or occupational status before and after the last move, 17.6 percent gained a higher status, 20.6 percent acquired a lower status, and 61.8 percent experienced no change in status as a concomitant of moving (Table 25).² Excluded from this tabulation were all heads without occupational classification prior to migration.

Generally, heads of intramigrant households experienced more gains and fewer losses in tenure or occupational status from their last change in dwelling place than did those of inmigrant and outmigrant households. A relatively large num-

² Another study of open-country population in Oklahoma shows that only 18.9 percent of all moves of heads of households engaged in agriculture resulted in an improvement of status. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

Table 24.—Comparison of the Levels of Farm Tenure Status and Nonagricultural Occupations for Use in Determining Direction of Change in Status.

Farm tenure	Nonagricultural occupations
Owner	Professional Proprietor Clerk, salesman, etc. Skilled
Tenant	Semiskilled
Cropper	Unskilled laborer
Laborer	

ber of heads of in-migrant households did not change status upon migrating into the township. Losses in status were relatively numerous among heads of out-migrant households on account of the decline in status of farm owners and tenants to that of laborers.

Under the method of classification used, a farm owner who migrated could not be scored as attaining a higher status. For this reason the group of migrating farm owners on the average appears to have lost status through migration, but this must be interpreted in the light of the limitation imposed by the classification. A supplemental tabulation shows that one-half of the farm owners and one-third of the tenants who moved from the survey townships accepted a lower status following migration. Farm laborers and nonagriculturalists failed to improve their tenure or occupational status in a large majority of moves.

Table 25.—Distribution of Last Moves According to Changes in Tenure or Occupational Status.

Migration type and tenure or occupation before migration	Number of heads	PERCENTAGE OF MOVES RESULTING IN:		
		Higher status	Lower status	Same status
All heads	1461	17.6	20.6	61.8
Intramigrant	114	20.2	7.9	71.9
In-migrant	506	16.2	12.8	69.0
Out-migrant	841	16.9	27.0	56.1
All tenures	1272	18.6	19.9	61.5
Owner	128	0.0	39.1	60.9
Tenant	837	18.6	22.9	58.5
Cropper	45	46.7	28.9	24.4
Laborer	262	22.5	0.0	77.5
Nonagricultural occupations	189	9.0	24.3	66.7

The general failure of heads of migrant households to advance in tenure or occupational status through changes in dwelling place does not preclude gains in other aspects, e. g., land, housing, income, and so forth, but the question can be raised whether migration functions efficiently as a means of enhancing tenure or occupational status.

POSSESSIONS

In planning this research, the basic hypothesis was that a high relationship existed between economic status and migration types. The problem of obtaining data for households leaving the townships forced the project supervisors to substitute a simple procedure for the usual practice of estimating the value of resources and liabilities. It was assumed that an informant could best recall whether an outmigrant household at the time of moving possessed certain items, e. g., automobile, workstock, cows, and the like. The results of this approach are presented in Table 26.

Table 26.—Percentage of Households Reporting Ownership or Possession of Specified Items.

Item	RESIDENT HOUSEHOLDS, 1940				Out-migrant households*
	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	
Home or farm	36.4	75.8	29.1	21.5	11.1
Automobile	63.4	66.5	63.8	61.9	53.4
Tractor	16.5	29.0	19.1	10.6	3.8
Workstock	63.1	77.0	71.6	54.9	56.5
Milk cows	76.9	91.1	84.4	67.9	61.5
Hogs	65.9	75.4	73.8	60.0	57.7
Poultry	84.2	95.5	90.8	77.9	67.8
Garden	83.9	93.5	88.7	78.5	65.9

* At time of migration from township.

For every item studied, the incidence of possession tended to decrease regularly among households as follows: nonmigrant, intramigrant, inmigrant, and outmigrant. Stability of residence is associated closely with the ownership of capital, especially land. Three-fourths of the nonmigrant households owned a home or farm as against only one-tenth of the outmigrant households.

In Table 27, the same information is shown for farmers. Those classed as outmigrants were conspicuously lacking in tractors and ownership of farms. Over five times as many nonmigrant farmers as outmigrant farmers possessed tractors. More outmigrant farmers had horses or mules than any

Table 27.—Percentage of Farmers Reporting Possession of Specified Items.

Item	RESIDENT FARMERS, 1940				Out-migrant farmers*
	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	
Home or farm	46.6	77.6	30.9	32.0	17.1
Automobile	67.3	66.1	70.0	67.2	64.2
Tractor	22.2	30.9	23.6	16.4	5.9
Workstock	83.4	81.2	86.4	83.6	89.0
Milk cows	93.4	97.0	94.5	90.8	89.8
Hogs	82.5	77.6	86.4	84.4	88.0
Poultry	96.3	97.0	99.1	95.1	94.2
Garden	96.8	96.1	98.2	96.8	92.0

* At time of migration from township.

other migrant or nonmigrant group. With reference to other items, the differences between farmers entering and leaving the township during the period of survey were not marked.

Other characteristics of the data in Tables 26 and 27 are important. The incidence of such subsistence items as milk cows, hogs, poultry, and garden is somewhat higher than was expected.³ Larger incomes in the late 1930's and stress upon live-at-home programs appear to be having a desirable effect. However, some nonfarmers in the population surveyed apparently had not made the most of their opportunities to increase real income by producing a larger part of their living at home. The rather uniform degree in which automobiles are distributed among the several migration types indicates the high value placed upon this item of cultural equipment in the areas surveyed. Advanced age of heads and limited resources seemed to be the chief reasons why many households did not possess a car.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

In order that the relative status of households classified by the several migration types could be determined more precisely, Sewell's socioeconomic status scale was used for study.⁴ This scale, consisting of 36 items, includes certain material possessions, cultural possessions, and indexes of social participation. If a family scores low on this scale, its socioeconomic status is low, and *vice versa*. Unfortunately in this survey, the data necessary for computing the scores on outmigrant house-

³ Cf. Robert T. McMillan, *A Social and Economic Study of Relief Families in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, 1934*, Stillwater: Okla. Agri. Exp. Sta. Tech. Bull. No. 2, July 1938, pp. 43-44.

⁴ William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Stillwater: Oklahoma Agri. Exp. Sta. Tech. Bull. No. 9, April 1940.

holds could not be obtained from informants, thus rendering impossible a comparison of all migration types. The average scores for resident households were:

All households	148.5±0.89
Nonmigrant	164.0±1.92
Intramigrant	145.3±2.16
Inmigrant	144.6±1.14

The difference between the scores of the two migrant groups is not statistically significant. Households moving into the survey townships from cities and villages increased the score of inmigrant households sufficiently to cancel out other differences.

It can be observed that nonmigrant households have a higher socioeconomic status than migrant households, and a supplementary tabulation shows that inmigrant households from other open-country areas have a reliably lower status than those residing in the townships surveyed.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY ACRES IN FARM

Acreage in farms is a crude, but nevertheless useful, criterion for indicating the land resources of the population. In a type of agriculture which is extensive rather than intensive in character, size of unit is more frequently appraised in terms of acres than volume of production. Admittedly, differences in the quality of soil and climate affect the productivity of the land, but since data are lacking for the construction of a better index of resources, the following analysis will be made in terms of the number of acres in farms operated.

While the population without land or with small farms were the most migratory of all persons studied, striking differences can be observed from the data in Table 28. First, outmigrants were characterized not so much by the absence of land as by their concentration on small and middle-sized farms (less than 175 acres). These data confirm an earlier finding that it was the small operator, primarily the tenant farmer, who experienced the heaviest displacement from farming between 1930 and 1940. Second, the prevalence of population living on farms with 175 acres and over decreased sharply from the least to the most migratory types. Third, in contrasting nonmigrants with outmigrants, it appears that the former group were less frequently without land than the latter group and that they tended to occupy larger farms. And, as has been the case in other comparisons, inmigrants did not match up to intramigrants and nonmigrants with respect to size of farms.

Table 28.—*Distribution of Population According to Acres in Farms as of 1940 or Last Year in Township.*

Acres in farm	RESIDENT POPULATION, 1940				OUTMIGRANT POPULATION*	
	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	(1)	(2)
Number of persons	3793	1008	610	2175	4239	3901
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	19.7	3.5	14.9	28.7	28.3	22.7
1-99	20.4	17.3	22.3	21.5	23.6	25.6
100-174	34.1	41.6	37.5	29.8	39.7	42.9
175 and over	25.8	37.6	25.3	20.0	8.4	8.8

* At time of migration.

(1) Outmigrant population including persons leaving home for the first time.

(2) Outmigrant population excluding persons leaving home for the first time.

QUALITY OF LAND

The relationship of the farming population, classified by migration type, to the quality of land occupied can be observed from data presented in Table 29. The percentage of population residing on below-average land, as judged by enumerators, increased among migration types as follows: nonmigrants, intramigrants, immigrants, and outmigrants. However, larger proportions of immigrants and outmigrants than of intramigrants resided upon land graded above average in quality. This would seem to indicate that migrants across township lines were more likely to be located upon land exhibiting considerable diversity in quality whereas movers within the survey townships tended to concentrate on average land. It is very evident from the data that nonmigrants occupied land superior to that occupied by migrants. In another study by

Table 29.—*Distribution of Farming Population According to Quality of Land Occupied.*

Quality of land	RESIDENT POPULATION, 1940				Outmigrant farming population at time of migration
	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	
Number of persons	3086	968	522	1596	3012*
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Above average	20.3	27.7	15.7	17.4	21.4
Average	53.0	55.9	57.3	49.8	43.7
Below average	26.7	16.4	27.0	32.8	34.9

* Ratings of land were not obtained for any of the persons separating from households for the first time.

the writer it was found, too, that migration occurred with greatest frequency on poor-grade land.⁵

PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF FARM INCOME

Because farming is the principal occupation of the open-country population, and for the reason that different types of farming probably evoke variations in behavior, the migrant and nonmigrant populations were classified according to principal source of farm income.

The percentage (58.2) of population in outmigrant households which operated cotton farms during the last year of residence in the township was over twice as large as that of nonmigrant households (27.5) farming during 1940 (Table 30). The latter group engaged heavily in small grain, livestock, and dairy farming. About one-half of the immigrants, in keeping with their relatively small capital resources, practiced self-sufficing agriculture, with emphasis upon such diversified sources of income as livestock, dairy, poultry, and gardening. Intramigrants tended to be concentrated on cotton and small-grain farms to a greater degree than nonmigrants or immigrants.

Table 30.—Distribution of Farming Population According to Principal Source of Farm Income.

Principal source of farm income	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Outmigrant
Number of persons	6022	939	511	1591	3001
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cotton	46.0	27.5	40.5	35.5	58.2
Wheat and oats	8.3	11.9	14.5	5.4	7.6
Corn	3.8	3.6	1.4	5.1	2.2
General*	18.8	18.6	16.9	24.2	17.8
Livestock	14.1	29.1	18.7	17.6	6.8
Dairy	5.7	6.4	5.7	6.0	5.3
Truck	3.3	2.9	2.3	6.2	2.1

* Combinations of grain, livestock, dairy, or poultry.

If these data have been interpreted correctly, they indicate that the greatest displacement from agriculture has been among cotton farmers. As added proof of this statement, the Census shows that losses in number of farms between 1930 and 1940 occurred in the predominantly cotton counties in Oklahoma. Two factors seem to have operated together to bring about this reduction of farms, namely, the AAA and farm

⁵ Robert T. McMillan, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

mechanization. Drouth and low prices have affected all farmers irrespective of type, and probably these factors are no more responsible for eliminating cotton farmers than wheat, livestock, or other farmers.

NONFARM INCOME

The increasing dependence of the open-country population upon sources of income off the farm suggests the possibility of differences among the several migration types. In the survey, interviewees were asked whether one-fourth or more of the total cash income was received from sources off the farm. The replies are summarized in Table 31 without any attempt to distinguish between farm and nonfarm population.

As might be expected, approximately twice as many migrants as nonmigrants were in households which derived one-fourth or more of cash income from sources off the farm.

Important differences are revealed in the form of nonfarm income by migration type. The high incidence of public assistance among intramigrants in comparison with other migration types seems to indicate that this factor has operated to restrict outmovement. Work at other occupations than farming presumably reduced the prevalence of public assistance reported among population crossing township lines. Investments furnished a frequent source of additional income to several nonmigrants. It may be stated that in general dependence upon sources of income off the farm varies with migration type.

PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Since 1930, the Federal government has organized several programs to assist farmers and other depressed economic groups in the population. Is participation in these programs

Table 31.—Distribution of Population According to Sources of Nonfarm Income.

Sources of nonfarm income	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant
Number of persons	8002	1008	610	2175	4209
Total: percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent of households receiving $\frac{1}{4}$ or more cash income off farm	45.0	26.5	48.5	50.5	46.1
Occupations	24.3	11.1	21.3	27.5	26.3
Public assistance	19.4	10.9	24.4	22.0	19.4
Investment	1.3	4.5	2.8	1.0	0.4

associated with types of migrants? To answer this question, information was secured on the proportion of households that participated in these programs during any part of the period from 1930 to 1940, inclusive. These percentages are presented in Table 32. The chief limitation of these data is that a portion of the population migrated from the survey townships before the agencies were started, but the proportion is relatively small and the data therefore are not greatly affected by such removals.

The heaviest participation in the crop control program of the AAA was reported by nonmigrants, with intramigrants, inmigrants, and outmigrants following in the order named. This fact is not surprising, because many farmers ceased farming and departed from the survey townships during the period in which the AAA program was in operation.⁶ The incidence of feed and seed loans also was highest among nonmigrants and least among outmigrants. On the other hand, the relief

Table 32.—*Distribution of Population According to Participation in Specified Government Programs.*

Program	Total	Non-migrant	Intra-migrant	In-migrant	Out-migrant*
Agricultural Adjust- ment Administration	78.9	92.2	90.1	82.2	75.4
FCA seed and feed loans	11.5	18.5	17.2	11.7	10.1
Farm Security loans	9.9	10.5	13.4	16.6	7.3
Farm Security grants	7.8	5.5	6.4	10.8	3.9
Works Progress Administration	30.9	20.5	43.3	31.2	20.6
Relief	39.2	24.8	38.6	36.8	34.8

* Exclusive of persons leaving home for first time.

and rehabilitation programs favored migrants rather than nonmigrants. Whether as a result of greater need or more familiarity with local officials, larger percentages of intramigrants than of inmigrants and outmigrants were able to get relief and work on WPA. A considerably higher proportion of inmigrants than of other migrant groups received loans and grants from Farm Security Administration.

The relatively low incidence of outmigrants on all programs may be due to incompleteness of entries for this group, or to the failure of persons to establish themselves on various assistance programs which in itself may have stimulated emigration.

⁶ The number of farms in Oklahoma decreased from 203,866 in 1930 to 179,687 in 1940, a loss of 11.9 percent. *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Agriculture, Vol. III, Chap. III, Table 19.*

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to describe and explain the composition, patterns of migration, and the socioeconomic status of the total population residing in five selected open-country townships in Oklahoma at any time during the years 1930 through 1940. A brief summary of the findings follows.

1. The population surveyed in the five townships in 1940 accounted for 96.5 percent of the number reported by the Census for the same year. As of 1930, the special enumeration included 92.4 percent of the persons reached by the Census. Discrepancies can be ascribed to differences in time of contact and to underenumeration in the survey of persons affected by migration and death.

2. Extreme instability of residence characterized the population. Twice as many persons left the survey townships as moved into them between 1930 and 1940, inclusive. Seven times as many persons migrated as remained at the same dwelling during that period. The largest emigration occurred in areas devoted predominantly to cotton. Contrary to what might be expected, the poorest of the five townships from the standpoint of various socioeconomic characteristics had the least emigration and next to the largest proportion of nonmigration.

3. The ratio of males to females was higher among the population moving into the survey townships than among persons departing from these areas. In the exchange of population between communities classified by size, villages and cities tended to select more females than males, but the open country attracted an excess of males over females.

4. With respect to age selection, migrants generally were younger than nonmigrants. Migrants into the townships surveyed included large proportions of children under 15 years old, while emigrants consisted of persons in the higher age groups, especially from 15 to 44 years.

5. It is noteworthy that whites were more migratory than Indians and Negroes. The ratio of outmigrants to inmigrants also was smaller for nonwhites than for whites. These relationships probably indicate that the minority groups in the population are handicapped in making occupational adjustments because of long-established social barriers. Furthermore, Indians showed a greater inclination than whites to return to their home communities during the depression, which probably was due to their stronger tenure position on the land. These generalizations were based upon a rather small sample of nonwhites.

6. Relatively more heads of outmigrant than of inmigrant households were single at time of moving across township lines. The incidence of divorce or separation was least among heads of households residing continuously in the survey townships. On the other hand, widowhood tended to be more prevalent among nonmigrants and intramigrants. The preponderance of married heads of households in all migration types may be due to three factors: the low rate of departure from the parental home during the "thirties," the decreasing age at marriage, and the general emphasis upon familism in rural areas.

7. Households of outmigrants were smaller on the average than those of other migration types chiefly because of the greater frequency of single persons and the younger age of those in the former group. In general, households of intramigrants and inmigrants exceeded those of nonmigrants in size.

8. Because of their younger average age, heads of migrant households tended to have a larger amount of schooling than those of nonmigrant households. No reliable differences were observed between the amount of schooling of inmigrant and outmigrant household heads, although both these groups generally had less formal education than intramigrant household heads.

9. Relatively fewer heads of migrant than of nonmigrant households reported parents who owned farms. While it was impossible in most cases to determine the tenure or occupational status of parents of outmigrants, the inferences drawn from other data indicate that a smaller percentage of them were farm owners than was true of parents of household heads in other migrant types.

10. The average number of moves per 100 persons during each year for which data were obtained increased in the following order: intramigrants, inmigrants, and outmigrants. Similarly, the duration of occupancy at the last dwelling decreased in the same order.

11. Over one-third of all persons leaving the surveyed townships migrated from the State. Nearly two-fifths of those moving out of Oklahoma went to California. In general, inmigrants to the survey areas traveled a shorter distance than emigrants did in moving to other points.

12. With reference to the direction of migration, it was found that four-fifths of the inmigrants came from other open-country areas, and three-fifths of the emigrants went to similar areas. Less than one-fourth of the outmigrants

moved to cities, but only one-eighth of those entering the survey townships came from urban centers. The remainder of the population migrated between villages and the open country.

13. Approximately two-thirds of all heads of households moved for economic reasons. Social betterment, social conflict, and personal reasons including health, furnished incentives for migration among the remaining heads.

14. Of every ten heads of households in each migration type, there were approximately seven farm owners among non-migrants, three among intramigrants, two among inmigrants, and one among outmigrants. The heads crossing township lines exhibited wider diversity of occupations than those residing continuously in the survey areas. Roughly one in four heads of outmigrant households had no employment experience other than that gained on the home farm.

15. In the exchange of heads of households by migration across township lines, there was no net loss of farm owners, but two and one-half as many tenants moved away from as moved into the survey areas. In the nonagricultural occupations, the losses were considerably less than was indicated on the basis of chance expectancy.

16. By analyzing changes in tenure or occupational status coincident with the last move, it was found that 17.6 percent of the heads of households had improved their status, 20.6 percent had suffered losses, and 61.8 percent had experienced no change. Heads of intramigrant households incurred more gains and fewer losses in tenure or occupational status as a result of moving than did those in inmigrant and outmigrant households. Losses in status were relatively numerous among heads of outmigrant households, largely because of the elimination of tenants and croppers from agriculture.

17. For each of the following items: home ownership, automobile, tractor, workstock, milk cows, hogs, and poultry, the percentages of households reporting possession decreased regularly in the following order: nonmigrants, intramigrants, inmigrants, and outmigrants. However, when persons leaving home for the first time were excluded from the latter group, it was found that more outmigrant than inmigrant households had workstock, milk cows, hogs, and poultry. This fact indicates that those who sought economic opportunity in the survey areas during the "thirties" were, themselves, in very distressed economic circumstances.

18. Using Sewell's socioeconomic status scale as a basis for comparison, it was learned that nonmigrant households

had a higher status than migrant households. No reliable differences were noted between intramigrant and immigrant households, primarily because of the effects of modern conveniences on the status scores of households moving into the survey areas from villages and cities. Corresponding scores for outmigrant households were not obtained.

19. Migration was found to be selective of those elements in the population having access to the smallest amount of land or to no land at all. Seven times as many outmigrants as nonmigrants had no land previous to moving, whereas four times as many of the latter group as of the former group resided on farms containing 175 acres and over.

20. Migrants tended to live on poorer land than nonmigrants, and those crossing township lines during the period studied resided on land rated as inferior to that reported for intramigrants. Because of numerous omissions, it cannot be stated definitely whether a higher proportion of outmigrants or of immigrants occupied average or below-average land.

21. In the displacement of the farming population during the "thirties," those whose principal source of cash income was from cotton predominated.

22. Approximately twice as many of the migrant as of the nonmigrant population derived one-fourth or more of their cash income from sources off the farm.

23. Nonmigrants were the largest beneficiaries of the AAA, with the proportion of participants among other groups decreasing as follows: intramigrants, immigrants, and outmigrants. Either because of greater need or greater facility in contacting local officials, larger proportions of intramigrants than of other migrant groups received assistance from WPA and other relief agencies.

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