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THE SEARCH FOR UNDERLYING DIMENSIONS OF TURNAROUND MIGRATION: AN ALTERNATIVE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

by

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B.S., Kansas State University, 1982

A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1985

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Professor Donald J. Adamchak for his guidance and patience as major professor on this project. I would also like to thank the Population Research Laboratory for material and support during this research. Thanks to Karen Henderson for help in the preparation of the initial interview letters, and to Nikki Cox for her concerned effort in the preparation of this manuscript.

Appreciation is also extended to my thesis committee members, Professor James Miley and Professor Wayne Rohrer. Finally, a most heart-felt thank you to the twenty subjects who gave their thoughts, feelings, and time to make this project work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For social scientists interested in the role of population change as a factor in sociological understanding, the role of migration has become increasingly significant to that understanding. To this point, many advances have been made in the other areas of population studies such as fertility and mortality. Theoretically, demographic transition theory has aided in the understanding of population change in the developed world and provides a baseline of comparison for changes occuring in third world nations today. In more substantive areas, research on the effects of the "baby boom", the implications of population growth, and the resultant concern over zero population growth have maintained interest in the variable of fertility. Concern over the infant mortality rate and its relationship to socio-economic variables continues to be a major research area on the mortality variable. However, with the general stabilization of these variables throughout most developed nations of the world, new interest has been directed towards the role of migration in the study of population.

Presently, migration is playing a major role in reshaping the population distribution of the United States. For the first time in history, the population center of the United States is west of the Mississippi River. The flight from the older, decaying industrial centers of the Northeast and North Central U.S. to the Sunbelt areas of the South and West are reshaping the social, political, and economic structures within the U.S. The emergence of an urban-to-rural migration trend in the past

fifteen years is beginning to have serious impact in rural areas, and even effects the larger urban areas which are faced with such problems as a reduced tax base and a declining employment pool.

Beyond its social implications, this type of "turnaround" migration is challenging many of our traditional interpretations of the migration variable. First, the economic explanation behind the more traditional rural-to-urban migration is highly problematic when applied to turnaround migration. It appears quite evident that other, non-economic factors are playing a significant role in the motivation behind this new kind of migration. Second, the persistence and widespread nature of this migration pattern suggests that it will not quickly disappear and must be dealt with. Research (Wardwell, 1980; Vining and Kontuly, 1978) has documented the fact that turnaround migration is occurring in many of the developed nations of the world and economic fluctuations have not effected it to the degree that some (Campbell, 1981; Zuiches, 1980) believed it would.

For demographers and other social scientists aware of this increasing significance of migration in the social world there is also an increasing awareness of the lack of theoretical and conceptual clarity in the understanding of the migration process. Turnaround migration has made many researchers painfully aware of this failure of past attempts to capture an all-embracing understanding of this phenomena. Many of the universal theories of migration are severely limited because they have not withstood the test of time or are not grounded to empirical facts. Until recent events have forced the expansion of our understanding of migration, it has been a general tendency for demographers to

treat migration as a sole, dependent variable with cause-and-effect relations unique unto itself. While this approach may have its merits to the purists within the demographic discipline, it more often than not results in an unmeaningful and sterile interpretation of the act.

In an ever-changing and increasingly mobile society, it is imperative that social scientists move toward a more clear and concise understanding of the role that migration plays in social structure and social change. By removing migration from its isolated, dependent variable role and placing it within the larger sociological context, social scientists and demographers have set the stage to develop a universal paradigmatic approach to migration that will help to guide theoretical development for specific instances. There is no longer any need to view migration as a mechanistic event subject to "laws" as a physical science model would have us do. No single theory will ever capture the wide diversity of acts referred to as "migration". However, there is no reason to believe that a general paradigm, based on the sociological context of the event, cannot be developed to facilitate theory building for specific cases such as turnaround migration.

It is not the intent here to suggest that migration can be understood solely from a structural, functional, or interactionist perspective. The more micro-psychological aspects behind the values, beliefs, motivations, and decision-making processes of migration must also be addressed if true clarity is to be achieved. Yet this is not to suggest a reductionistic approach that would reduce a social, physical act to a mere

cognitive process. Micro-analytical approaches must also be carried out within the context of the over-all sociological framework if truly meaningful interpretations are to be arrived at. Researchers must not forget the reciprocal nature of the micro/macro relationship such that social structure provides the context to evaluate individual acts, just as individual actions cumulate in the process of social change.

Failure to understand the above considerations has resulted in weak theory and the emergent "surprises", such as the turn-around, when theory fails to provide any kind of serious predictive capability. Of course, this does not necessarily prevent the progress of substantive research, however, it does tend to create a piecemeal approach, as researchers take off in their own, often unrelated, directions. In many respects, this is what is happening in research regarding turnaround migration. While a great deal of substantive research has been, and continues to be produced, there is no unifying paradigm or theory that can incorporate the research to date, and begin to give direction to future research.

The agenda for students of migration now becomes two-fold. We must deconstruct what we "know" of migration. In other words, we must begin by questioning the facts about migration that have emerged in the absence of sound theoretical guidance. Similarly, we must question the methodologies that have been used to arrive at these facts. We must question theory itself. Is it grounded to empirical facts? Is it properly conceptualized? Is it linking migration to its sociological context or is it treating it as an acontextual event? Finally, and perhaps most

importantly, what are our most basic assumptions that underlie our understanding of migration? Metatheoretical considerations are often the most overlooked aspect of what we call "science". However, any theory that is built on untenable or problematic assumptions will inevitably be weak and faced with anomalies it cannot account for.

The second part of the process is to begin to reconstruct our understanding of migration through what we have learned in the deconstruction stage, and by evaluating research findings which were problematic when viewed through our old understanding. First and foremost, we must recognize and openly state what our most basic assumptions are about the act of migration and the individuals involved. We must then move towards a general paradigm, based upon the assumptions we have stated, that will conceptualize the act within a sociological context and provide direction for theory and research into specific instances of the act. Needless to say, a general paradigm would also facilitate comparison and contrast between different instances of migration.

A brief caveat is necessary here to recognize that there is no reason to believe that a single paradigm is going to emerge that will be satisfactory to everyone involved. However, that should not be problematic for three reasons. First, the most important task is to get the assumptions upfront where they can be clearly scrutinized. Second, any general paradigm must incorporate the sociological context as part of its approach. Debate between opposing views, or assumptions, should not necessarily impede our understanding of the migration act as long as the theory which evolves does not become detached from the

metatheory. Finally, as will be emphasized latter, any comprehensive approach to migration will necessitate an interdisciplinary approach because of the complexity of the issues involved. This need for an interdisciplinary approach should not be considered as derogating the over-all sociological context to a minor role, rather it is meant as a means for developing an integrated, holistic, and synthetic approach to this context and not the more traditional, fractionated, and unintegrated approach. Obviously, this will not be easily accomplished, however. Debates over the proper assumptions and emphasis should spark researchers involved to strive for even greater clarity in their conceptualizations and rigor in their empirical research.

We must also move towards an understanding that theory should emerge from empirical fact rather than the other way around. The ideological implications of couching empirical facts to "fit" theoretical assumptions or predictions are too great to fall under a meaningful, scientific procedure. In fact, we must open up our methodological approaches if we are to truly come to grips with the ideological implications of assumptions, theory, and methodology. Too often the ideological assumptions of a quantitative, positivistic science are overlooked when considering the relationship between metatheory, theory, and methodology. This argument will be more clearly emphasized in the following chapters when the relationship between "quality of life" and turnaround migration are discussed.

The nature of the research presented in this study is exploratory. It is an attempt to deal, in an empirical manner,

with the assumptions and conceptualizations we presently hold towards the act of migration. The substantive area is turnaround migration. It was chosen because it is presently an area of intense research, it is having a profound effect especially in rural and nonmetropolitan areas of the country, and there is a glaring lack of theoretical understanding that can unify research to date, and direct future research. Turnaround migration was also chosen because it defies the traditional economic causal element that has been found to operate in so much of the more traditional rural-to-urban migration. With the unilinear cause-and-effect explanations of traditional migration confounded, turnaround migration brings in an undeniable relational-multidimensional causation that will require an interdisciplinary, sociological context to provide meaning for any explanation. Therefore, it is a substantive area in need of theory and a meaningful paradigm to guide that theory.

This research is also exploratory in the sense that it is an attempt to integrate multiple methodological approaches. To begin with, it is an attempt to break away from the somewhat "sterile" facts that emerge from secondary sources. "Data of this kind, for the most part, are inadequate for meaningful sociological...analysis. Because, by their very nature, they are unable to reflect the interactional dimensions of migration, they cannot and do not touch upon the basic social processes involved, hence they offer little promise in the quest for general knowledge about migration" (Mangalam and Schwarzweller, 1968, p. 1475). It is also an attempt to go beyond survey data by integrating a survey-type interview schedule into an in-depth

interviewing methodology. Research on turnaround has been dominated by secondary and survey data, and while they are fruitful in many respects, they fail to capture the richness of understanding that many migrants have with regard to what they have done. By going directly to the migrants for explanations, it is hoped that the misconceptions and misunderstandings which exist to date can be clarified.

Finally, the exploratory nature of this research is continued in the geographic location in which it was conducted. Turnaround migration research has been dominated by research in amenity-rich areas such as the upper Great Lakes and Ozark regions, or research that has been conducted over a wide-spread area. This research was conducted in a two-county region of the northeast-central part of Kansas which, while having its own intrinsic attractiveness, is lacking in any outward, amenity-based rationale for migration.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to our knowledge of migration in general, and turnaround migration in particular. But more importantly, it is hoped that it will join the growing body of literature which recognizes the arguments that have been presented in the preceding pages. The following two chapters will specify and detail this argument using turnaround migration as an example. The final chapters present the findings of this research and discuss their implications for future research and the deconstruction-reconstruction phase that students of migration are facing.

CHAPTER II

ATTEMPTS AT UNIVERSAL THEORIES OF MIGRATION

For the formal demographer, migration is one of the three elements of change within a population. However, formal demography is concerned with statistical enumeration and evaluation of the event and does not venture into the more complex issues of cause-and-effect relationships in the greater sociological context. In order to address these issues we must leave formal demography behind in order to understand how changes in population effect society, and the reciprocal process of how society effects changes in a population. Of course, the process is complicated because society is ever-changing, and while many of these changes proceed almost imperceptibly, some are indicative of major shifts that may change the very nature of the society.

"The relationship between population and social changes has been almost a virgin field for theoretical and empirical research and has been left practically untouched since the days of Durkheim (1933)...." (Mangalam, 1968, p.2). However, with the general stabilization of fertility and mortality throughout the developed nations of the world, the role of population change through migration is once again being linked to macro-social structure, organization, and change. In this process of linking migration to its social context many social scientists and demographers are taking a serious look at our present understanding of the migration process. This, coupled with current trends in migration such as the turnaround, have demonstrated just how inadequate our conceptualizations and

theories of migration have been in the past and how these inadequacies are forcing major reconsiderations in our present understanding of the process of migration.

In order to understand the present dilemma over migration, it might do well to critically examine, briefly, the historical antecedents which have led to our present quandary. Like sociology, the study of migration did not emerge in a social vacuum but has been effected by the major currents of intellectual development. Before any systematic analysis came about "explanations of migration tended to be of the 'rape and pillage' variety, fitting well into the evolutionary scheme as codified in the Darwinian demonstration of the principle of natural selection" (Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1981, p. 309). However, with the advance of industrial society and its accompanying complexities, these essentially teleological frameworks became problematic.

The first truly systematic attempt to bring the study of migration under the auspices of a scientific world view was conducted by Ravenstein (1885; 1889). Clearly, Ravenstein's approach was heavily influenced by the successes in the natural sciences, particularly physics. By placing his interpretation of the migration act in terms of "laws" of migration, Ravenstein took the assumption that social processes can be understood in the same mechanistic, reductionistic manner as inanimate objects in space. Ravenstein also failed to base his theoretical argument on rigorous empirical evidence, but rather argued from gross generalizations of trends occuring during his time. While these criticisms make Ravenstein's contributions relatively

limited in today's world, he is still generally recognized as the first to attempt a universal theory of migration.

Attempts at universal theories have been somewhat scarce since Ravenstein's day. Two works stand out from the first half of this century as having contributed considerably to our understanding of migration, though they are seldom considered attempts at a universal theory. Dorothy Swain Thomas's "Memorandum on Migration Differentials" (1938) is often cited as a work that has helped in the development of migration theory. If the arguments presented in this paper are accepted then the work of Thomas may need to be "rediscovered" since early on she advocated a combination of case and statistical methods emphasizing the environmental conditions in the sending and receiving communities (1938, p. 162-167).

The other work, which is more often cited as a classic in sociological literature, is often overlooked for its contributions to our understanding of the migration process. Thomas and Znaniecki's "Polish Peasant in Europe and America" (1927) must also be "rediscovered" in light of the many recent criticisms that have emerged in migration literature. "By actually studying the conditions and characteristics of the social organizations in which the migrants were involved, they have suggested forcefully the need for understanding the migrants and their problems in terms of both their areas of origin and that of their destination.... a theme repeated in Dorothy Thomas's research memorandum (1938, p. 3)" (Mangalam, 1968, p. 3). Of particular importance to this study is the fact that "they have argued that the best method for studying migration is to

investigate how the values of the migrants act upon their preexisting attitudes, resulting in their migrating or not migrating" (Mangalam, 1968, p. 3).

Another theoretical attempt from this time period was made by Stouffer (1940). His use of intervening variables helped to cast the analysis of migration into an economic, cost-benefit framework. In contemporary terms Stouffer's approach is quite problematic because the single greatest intervening variable was distance and as communication and transportation means have improved the use of distance as an intervening obstacle becomes of increasingly less utility. However, this has not prevented several contemporaries of Stouffer (Greenwood, 1975; Lowry, 1966; Margolis, 1977) from pursuing essentially econometric models based on distance-related variables.

In more recent times, Petersen (1958, 1961) has aided the more analytical approach to migration by suggesting that the most general statement that one can make about migration should be in the form of a typology rather than a law. From the arguments being presented in this paper, the ideas of Petersen are highly relevant since there will be a need to distinguish between different kinds of migration in order to direct a general paradigm towards different instances of migration. It should also be noted that the present argument agrees that the philosophical underpinnings of science that required the location of mechanistic "laws" has long since passed and that any general statement about migration must emphasize the processual and relational aspects of migration in its social context rather than static and ideologically laden "laws."

The last generally recognized endeavor at a universal theory was attempted by Lee (1966). Drawing upon the previously mentioned works of Ravenstein and Stouffer, Lee set forth a theory based on four variables: 1) characteristics of place of origin, 2) characteristics of place of destination, 3) intervening obstacles, and 4) characteristics of migrants. From these variables Lee developed a series of hypotheses regarding migration. In a recent review of Lee's theory conducted within the context of turnaround migration research, Ludlow and Adamchak (1984) concluded that many of the hypotheses were highly problematic, but the four variables upon which he based his theory may be useful in a more general, paradigmatic approach. In this review, intervening obstacles were seen as the most problematic variable given the nature of contemporary society. However, Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny (1981) may have shed light on this by their conceptualization of the processes of adult socialization serving as an intervening obstacle to migration.

To be able to conduct a literature review in such limited space on the major theoretical contributions to any scientific research concern should suggest a lack of understanding of the topic. This review was not intended to be intensive or exhaustive, it has covered only the generally recognized major contributions. Perhaps this is why the major theoretical concern in recent years on the topic of migration has not been debates over opposing theories but a general concern over the lack of theoretical development within the field. As Mangalam notes, "in spite of the large number of existing works dealing with

migration, only a very few of them ventured any theoretical statements, and most of them did not suggest any theoretical import for their empirical findings" (1968, p.1).

With the increasing significance of the role which migration is playing in social structure and change there should be little surprise that the major emphasis of the present criticisms (Mangalam, 1968; Mangalam and Schwarzweller, 1969, 1970); Zelinsky, 1983; Goldstein, 1976) are all emphasizing the importance of placing migration theory within the larger context of a general social theory. It is for this reason that most universal theory attempts discussed above are no longer given serious consideration in the analysis of migration. As Goldstein put it:

> Among the greatest faults of which we are guilty in migration research is being locked into the same kinds of questions related to the same concepts of migration that were developed years ago for a particular setting at a particular time. This may well help to explain why we are so surprised at what is happening in the developed world; it may go far in explaining why we know so little about population movements elsewhere (1976, p. 428).

The tide of rising concern over the failure of past attempts to adequately interpret the migration process as part of a greater sociological context is reflected in comments from these critical articles. Zelinsky argues that "the most grevious lapse.... has been a general failure to ground migration work in any basic, comprehensive social theory, or even to try seriously" (1983, p. 39). Finally, Mangalam and Schwarzweller attempt to make clear that:

> the study of migration has not been an object of concern for our leading sociological theorists, nor has the enormous mass of findings produced by researchers in the field been incorporated into the evolving body of

> general knowledge. As a consequence, our current knowledge about migration and phenomena concomitant with migration tends to be fragmentary, noncumulative, and non-sociological (1969, p. 17)

Another dominant theme emerging from these critical analyses of migration research has to do with assumptions and conceptualizations. Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1969) point out four problematic assumptions that have been pronounced in past attempts at research and theorizing. They are: 1) randomness; 2) reductionism; 3) migration as individual behavior; and 4) the uniqueness of each migration. There is little point in restating their argument here other than to point out that it is cogent, and a significant presentation if one is to consider migration in its sociological context.

The issue of assumptions in migration theory is at the heart of a recent article by Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny (1981). In their attempts to move towards a new paradigm in migration research they argue that two basic assumptions have clouded our understanding of the process. These assumptions are that human beings are essentially sedentary by nature and arrive at migration decisions on the basis of rational reasoning. Their suggestion is to turn that paradigm "upside-down" and assume an inherent dynamism in individuals as well as to recognize that migration decisions are not always carefully weighed out in a cost-benefit analysis. While their argument is problematic in many respects it is a prime example of the arguments presented earlier in this paper regarding the need to critically examine our underlying assumptions, or metatheory, about the migration process.

By altering just two of the basic assumptions about the individual in the migration process, Kubat and Hoffman-Nowotny have opened up an entirely new set of questions and research areas to be confirmed or refuted. What will happen if we begin to question some of the basic assumptions that we carry as to our understanding of social structure, interaction, and change? Above and beyond that, what will happen if we begin to question the assumptions of the very nature of the ways by which we come to "know" about a particular subject? Our present approach to scientific knowledge is heavily laden with assumptions that have become increasingly problematic when we are dealing with such a processual and interactional event as migration. As Zelinsky has put it, "Perhaps if we look at our migration data through new mental spectacles, we may be surprised at what we find" (1983, p. 38).

As we can see, the question of assumptions is beginning to be addressed and it promises to enliven the theoretical development of migration research. The issue of tying migration theory to a general sociological theory is also beginning to become a central theme for those who have been willing in recent times to attempt a more general, theoretical approach to migration. Albrecht (1972) attempts to place his general theory of migration within the context of social change. Richmond (1969, 1979) addresses the issue of migration from an industrial-post-industrial society analysis. McNeil (1978) draws heavily upon demographic variables and their relation to overall social structure. Finally, Petersen (1978), responding at least

in part to the theoretical criticisms of Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1969, 1970) emphasizes the difference of interaction patterns and relationships as a basis for understanding migration behavior.

All of these more recent theoretical attempts at understanding migration are not without their own unique problems. Many of these problems are associated with the assumptions of a socio-biological paradigm, such as suggested by Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny (1981). However, the point to be made is that they have all attempted to place migration within the larger context of an emerging, general sociological theory. Many of these works are based on international migration and their specific details are not designed to deal with the topic of this paper, internal migration. However, this exemplifies another argument of this paper in the sense that we must first attempt to develop a general paradigm consisting of the commonalities, in a social context, of what we call migration, and from there begin our analytical procedure of breaking down this phenomena into more specific theoretical accounts. It is imperative that this analytical breakdown be guided by a more holistic overview that will not result in our theories containing a reductionistic bias.

In order to move towards this kind of theoretical development in migration research, it is equally important that we begin to achieve some sort of parsimony in the conceptualizations and definitions that are to be used. As has been demonstrated, the narrow pragmatism of traditional migration research is largely an "atheoretical praxis that skims lightly over questions of definitions, or avoids the larger implications

of the phenomena" (Zelinsky, 1983, p. 38). A review of this literature reveals a wide diversity of definitions and conceptualizations of the migration process, where they are addressed at all. More often than not the definition of migration is couched in terms that fit specifically into the assumptions and concerns of the researcher rather than being directed at any kind of universal understanding.

For purposes of this paper, with its emphasis on the sociological context of migration and also on the assumptions behind that context, the definition set forth by Mangalam (1968) and restated by Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1969) can serve as a starting point in appropriately defining the concept of migration. "Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchially ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants" (Mangalam, 1968, p. 8). As will be later demonstrated, some reference to the influence of general ideological values of society must be addressed in order to clarify both the emergence of a value hierarchy and to account for the interactions of individual and social values in social change and migration.

The purpose of the preceding pages was to demonstrate what was discussed in the beginning of this paper. Namely, that we are facing a period of deconstruction-reconstruction where we must break away from the assumptions and understandings of most past migration theory and move towards new understandings that more accurately fit and describe the nature of the process under

investigation. The limited utility of these theories from the past has clearly been demonstrated time and time again. With the increasing significance of migration in contemporary society we can little afford such surprises as the turnaround in the future because researchers have failed in their attempts to deal with the critical issues of the day. This is as true at the society-wide level as it is at the individual level, for as Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny have noted, "the interdependence between massive population shifts and the complexity of the modern state administration is more pronounced" (1981, p. 311). Even the value of empirical research is reduced when it is not attached to a theory which gives it meaning, and as Mangalam (1968) pronounced, "This lack of theoretical statements has resulted....in the virtual impossibility of making use of the existing research findings as an analytical tool" (p. 1).

The remainder of this paper deals with turnaround migration. This topic is particularly relevant to the issues regarding migration research and theory that have been discussed thus far for several reasons. First, it is a fairly recent phenomena that represents a reversal of a long-standing historical trend of rural-to-urban migration. Second, this new development in migration behavior was unexpected and caught social scientists and demographers by surprise. Third, as was noted in the opening chapter, it is pervasive throughout most developed nations of the world and does not appear to be a short-lived event. Finally, traditional explanations and interpretations of the causal mechanism (i.e., economics) do not seem to work in explaining why this migration is occurring.

More macro issues are also involved. Since turnaround migration represents a radical break from tradition in both its cause and effects, is it representative of greater changes occuring at a social level? Undoubtedly, it appears to be associated with macro change, but at what level? Schwarzweller comments,

> We may be witnessing the swell of an enormously powerful wave of change that will transform rural America into something quite different from what we've known. Or we may simply be seeing another phase in the inevitable blending of rural and urban sectors into an integrated whole; i.e., the formation of a more comfortable accommodation between the rural sector and the larger post-industrial context (1979, p. 8).

In many respects, turnaround migration is forcing many issues to be considered. First is the general lack of theoretical understanding that can be applied to the subject. Second, when researchers do begin to address theoretical questions they are being compelled to take a serious look at the assumptions that are presently held in our understanding of the individual and society. In particular, one area, the beliefs and values associated with the dominant social ideology in Western developed nations, is becoming more and more problematic for providing a base of understanding for the behavior of individuals in those societies. Finally, when one begins to question some of these basic assumptions about society and its interaction with the individual it seems to inevitably lead to a questioning of the way in which those assumptions have come about and been reinforced. Our present approach to scientific knowledge is heavily laden with assumptions which may be hampering our understanding of these evolving processes, such as turnaround

migration, because it too is inextricably linked to the dominant ideology.

Ultimately, these questions end up being directed at our present conceptualization of reality, but it is not the intention here to reduce research on turnaround migration to these levels. The more important issue at hand is to deal realistically, yet with an open mind, with the more substantive question of why this kind of migration is occurring and what effect or relationship, if any, does it carry to overall social structure, organization, and change. These are the issues at hand, and while the remainder of this paper does not attempt to ignore these more global implications, the emphasis is to present new, exploratory research on this topic of turnaround migration that will hopefully stimulate greater interest and discussion that will lead to new and more insightful understandings.

CHAPTER III

THE TURNAROUND AND QUALITY OF LIFE: NEW DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Since its "discovery" over a decade ago (Beale, 1975), social scientists have been attempting to understand and explain the phenomena of turnaround migration. This reversal of a long-standing historical pattern came as a considerable surprise to demographers whose theories and data had led them to believe that no major shift from the traditional rural-to-urban pattern would occur. After the initial skepticism of some and the amazement of others, demographic data left little doubt that the turnaround was for real (Beale, 1976). Not only had metropolitan growth slowed, but many remote rural counties were experiencing population growth through migration. This growth in remote areas was most significant because it could not be simply explained as urban expansion or "spillover" into adjacent counties.

After a decade of research on the topic there still exists more questions than answers. Part of this is undoubtedly due to the fact that no unifying theoretical approach has emerged that can integrate the existing data into a coherent whole, and therefore give direction to future research. One thing is certain, the lack of answers has not stemmed from an unwillingness to investigate the topic. An abundance of data exists and continues to be produced, yet as with migration research in general, there has been a reluctance to couch research in theoretical terms or to suggest the theoretical implications of research findings. As a result, the wealth of information that does exist tends to be in the form of isolated facts.

Clearly, to come to an understanding of such a complex issue will require a diverse interdisciplinary approach that far transcends a single demographic or sociological orientation. In order to remove these facts from isolation we must be willing to take a more global view of the process. To begin with, it seems quite evident that turnaround migration involves issues from virtually every social science. Not only are demographic variables important, but turnaround migration raises questions for economics, psychology, political science, public administration, and even the natural sciences must be consulted when such issues as the environment and geographic location are considered. It may well be that turnaround migration is showing us the limitations of unilinear, cause-and-effect models, long deemed the panacea of the scientific world view.

Before going on to discuss the manner in which the turnaround has been theoretically dealt with, it might do well to eliminate some of the explanations of the turnaround which clearly do not seem to apply. Zelinsky (1983) points to four hypotheses and the reasons why they do not appear to account for the migration. First, original questions over the reliability of the data have been put to rest with the release of new census data and the wide-spread character of this migration across developed nations is quite pronounced. Second, another technical explanation views the turnaround as primarily "spillover" migration, or urban sprawl. There is no doubt that this is occurring to some degree however, it can in no way explain the growing resurgence of many truly remote, rural areas.

Third, there has been no pronounced policy of population deconcentration in the U.S. to account for these moves. While some nations experiencing this migration have encouraged dispersion away from congested urban zones, there is evidence (DeJong, 1977) that suggests that these policies have been weak and ineffectual. Finally, swings in economic considerations do not appear to account for this migration. This migration began during relatively good economic times and has not seemed to be seriously effected by the subsequent swings in the economy. This has led Zelinsky (1983) to conclude that "the moral to be drawn from the foregoing theoretical strategies is that conventional modes of explaining migration phenomena are inadequate in coping with that surprising international event, the turnaround" (p. 22).

Schwarzweller (1979) presents several facts regarding turnaround migration that may go a long way in helping to develop a more clear understanding of the process. First, after decades of rural-to-urban migration, a straightforward demographic reason for the turnaround is that there has been a drastic reduction in the number of individuals in rural areas who typically migrated to urban areas. From an economic standpoint, Zuiches and Carpenter (1978) have noted that the median income gap between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas has narrowed considerably. This has led some (Carpenter, 1977) to suggest that the turnaround may be the result of some American families being able, economically to live out their preferences in residential location.

This issue of residential preference for smaller rural areas appears to be a growing legacy in the United States. Numerous research attempts (Dillman, 1973; Fuguitt and Zuiches, 1975; Carpenter, 1977; DeJong, 1977) have all demonstrated a clear preference of Americans for living in relatively small cities, towns, and rural areas. Zuiches has reviewed many of these studies from the context of migration theory (1980) and American society in general (1981). Morrison (1981) notes that "the average American resides in a place that had 546,000 inhabitants in 1960 and 524,000 in 1970. By 1975, however, the population size of this hypothetical place was down to only 455,000 - a reduction of 13% in only five years" (p. 5). It appears quite clear that "the idealization of rural life continues to persist in American society" (Schwarzweller, 1979, p. 14). On the other hand whether or not a residential preference is highly correlated to actual migration behavior is not clearly established (DeJong, 1977).

Why this residential preference for more rural areas appears to be gaining even greater momentum may be closely linked to the motivations behind turnaround migration. A sampling of migration literature demonstrates the prominence of noneconomic factors behind the motivation for turnaround migration. Lichter and Fuguitt (1982) conclude that it "remains clear that traditional ecological location and economic base variables have been of dimenishing utility in explaining deconcentration during the 1970's" (p. 220). Sofranko and Williams (1980) point to the fact that "the metropolitan-to-nonmetropolitan stream....is composed of persons moving for environmental considerations than for employment reasons" (p. 52). Sokolow (1981) states that "the

most striking feature of the new migration is the noneconomic motives of urban-to-rural movers" (p. 173).

Many researchers have taken the notion that these noneconomic considerations fall under the terminology of "quality of life" (QOL). There is a general tendency in the literature to use the two synonymously. Whether this approach is correct or not will be taken up latter in this chapter when the issues concerning QOL are discussed. The point to be made is that new motivations behind the migration process have emerged with the turnaround and some researchers (Sofranko, et al., 1981) are interpreting this as arising within the context of structural changes occurring in America.

This points to the argument presented in the first two chapters of this paper. The turnaround demonstrates the absolute necessity of coming to grips with migration from a sociological context. Any theoretical attempt at addressing the issues of the turnaround are going to have to come from within the context of a general sociological framework. As one might suspect, given the previous chapter's criticisms on theory development, theoretical approaches to the turnaround have been few and far between. Fortunately, the three theoretical models that have emerged are based, at least partially, on a sociological framework. Unfortunately, researchers have been slow to design their studies as tests of these theories as most research remains almost entirely atheoretical.

The most detailed and theoretically explicit attempt at explaining turnaround migration has come from Wardwell (1980). In his theory, Wardwell develops a primarily socioeconomic

paradigm which views the nonmetropolitan migration as "characteristic of a stage of social evolution" (p. 74). This stage of evolution is marked by an urban-rural convergence whereby rural areas have reached a level of societal-structural development which enables the residents of large urban areas to implement their preexisting residential preferences. This view of the evolutionary character of turnaround migration is shared by Beale and Fuguitt (1981) where they compare the shift in migration patterns to the demographic transition theory of fertility and mortality.

A closer look at the Wardwell theory reveals some of the direct and more underlying dimensions of this theoretical model. To begin with, Wardwell does address the issue of social change which has made the rural-urban convergence possible. He sees the change in his model as being brought about by three exogenous variables: transportation and communication technologies, personal affluence, and a set of consumption values. Improvements in transportation and communication technologies have opened up rural areas to the point that their social organization has become similar, if not totally enmeshed within the urban setting. The convergence has allowed urban dwellers who are experiencing the benefits of a more affluent society, to be able to act out their residential preferences and move to the country. Because of a wider dispersion of production and marketing activities Wardwell also sees rural areas as having grown to allow a convergence in consumption values. Therefore, rural-urban convergence, scale and agglomeration economies, and

increasing locational flexibility constitute the heart of this model.

In many respects, Wardwell has done precisely what migration theory critics have been asking for, namely to cast explanations and understandings of the migration process in sociological terms. Particularly relevant is the issue of social change which Wardwell sees as being directly correlated to changes in migration behavior. For these reasons, the work of Wardwell is exciting and challenging. He even goes as far as to lay out a relatively detailed, graphically displayed model which closely parallels the development of a general migration paradigm, as suggested earlier in this paper. However, his work is not unproblematic and in many respects does not seem to capture the essence of what substantive research has illuminated thus far.

While there is little argument that an urban-rural convergence has occurred, to a large degree in socioeconomic terms (with the emphasis on structural convergence), Wardwell, in his primarily unidimensional paradigm, has failed to capture the fact that other macro changes were occurring along with structural convergence. Certainly part of what Wardwell missed is closely associated with shifts in values and beliefs. At the same time as much of this structural convergence was occurring so was an entire host of problems associated with urban living. Implicit in Wardwell's argument is the idea of convergent value structures, yet this is highly questionable. Also, implicit in his argument is that residential preference is a "value" end instead of a preference aimed at increasing the potential of living out other valued beliefs.

Another interesting twist in Wardwell's theory is in his interpretation of what is meant by "urban". In discussing underlying causes of the turnaround, Wardwell cites a pervasive urbanization of the total society as the foremost cause. "The process of urbanization is here conceived of as a form of the social organization of space, not as the mere concentration of people in space" (p. 22). While this is hardly a novel interpretation of what is meant by urban, it does point to the issue of the validity of the rural-urban dichotomy. Wardwell, time and time again, refers to the rural-urban convergence in the same breath as referring to the differences that still exist between the two areas. However, he never makes any attempt to suggest that these differences may be playing an even larger role in the turnaround than convergence.

In many regards, Wardwell's theory is primarily based on economic considerations. His only true concerns over values are over consumption values and all three of the components which make up the heart of his model are related directly to, or heavily imply economic considerations. In responding to the criticisms raised about the fact that economic considerations do not appear to be playing a major role in the motivation behind turnaround migration, Wardwell argues that economic models have declined because the very differentials on which they were based have declined. While this argument is true to a point, there still remains nearly a 20 percent differential in median family income between the two areas (Zuiches and Carpenter, 1978) and this says nothing about the logic of trying to explain the primarily noneconomic motivations from an implicit economic

framework. While Wardwell's theory goes a long way in answering "why now" it leaves many questions of "why" unanswered.

Campbell and Garkovich (1984) have developed another theoretical approach to the turnaround based upon the interpretation of the migration as a form of collective behavior. In this approach to the turnaround there is a much greater reliance on a social-psychological emphasis as opposed to Wardwell's social-structural emphasis. Drawing from the work of Smelser (1962) and other social psychologists, this approach has established six determinants that constitute collective behavior: 1) structural conduciveness, 2) structural strain, 3) growth and spread of a generalized belief, 4) precipitating factors, 5) mobilization of participants, and 6) the operation of social control. As can be seen, Campbell and Garkovich are attempting to demonstrate the influence of more macro, structural considerations upon the micro-individual development of values and beliefs.

To support their argument that turnaround migration is actually representative of collective behavior, Campbell and Garkovich (1984) point to four elements which fit the pattern of the determinants mentioned above. They are: 1) the changes in income, employment, infrastructure, and government programs provided the structural conduciveness; 2) the urban problems of the 1960's and the environmental movement of the early 1970's provided the structural strain or discontent by portraying the cities as undesireable places in which to live; 3) the anti-urban/pro-rural place of residence belief structure already existed, but it was strengthened by the events of the 1960's and

1970's; and 4) the same events (urban problems and environmental movements) which created the strain probably precipitated the migration.

Once again we can see the sociological basis behind this theoretical approach. In many respects, Campbell and Garkovich have taken one step beyond Wardwell (1980). Much of what Wardwell said about structural convergence as leading to the turnaround has been incorporated in Campbell and Garkovich's argument about the structural conduciveness behind the collective behavior that they believed led to the turnaround. Yet the factor of structural strain which Campbell and Garkovich discuss introduces elements which are factors in social change and transcend a strictly structural analysis. The impact that the urban unrest and environmental problems of the late 1960's and early 1970's had on the individual was profound, given the widespread mass media attention that these topics garnered. The collective behavior approach is an attempt to explain not only the "why now" but also the "why" of turnaround migration.

This approach is not without problems either, though it has attempted to step beyond a predominantly unilinear economic paradigm. To begin with, to conceptualize the turnaround as an act of collective behavior is to base one's theory on very questionable assumptions. There has been no public mandate, group activities, or the emergence of any kind of leader to indicate that the turnaround is in any way a collective action. In order to conceptualize turnaround migration this way Campbell and Garkovich have viewed this migration as a "craze" based on a positive wish fulfillment belief. Webster (1974) defines craze

as "an exaggerated and often transient enthusiasm" with the often implicit dimension of insane or irrational behavior. There is nothing in either the scientific, analytical literature or contemporary, popular literature or media that suggest that this migration is either exaggerated, transient, or related in any way to irrational behavior.

Another problematic issue in Campbell and Garkovich's presentation is the implicit assumption that residential preference is essentially a "consumptive" behavior. This view is based on the "homo economicus" assumption of human beings as rational individuals who weigh costs and benefits of a particular decision and act according to maximize profits for minimum cost. The issue here is one of logic. It has been clearly demonstrated that the turnaround is not solely economically motivated, yet there is still the desire to view the individuals involved as using an exchange theory approach to arrive at their decisions. This may be the case, however, this type of assumption is very questionable when we start discussing the costs and benefits associated with beliefs and values that are not of an economic or empirical nature. Clearly the pursuit of a particular lifestyle offers certain rewards and costs but to suggest that they can be understood from a "balancing scale" point of view is unfounded.

Finally, the social controls that Campbell and Garkovich see operating on the turnaround seem for the most part to be of the double-edged sword type. The recession of the mid 1970's may have circumscribed certain incentives to migrate to rural areas, yet economic hard times was the motivation behind much of the

migration to rural areas during the 1930's, and White (1983) has demonstrated this to be the case in recent times in Appalachian Kentucky. The oil crises may have created desires to be less distant from work, yet this is primarily associated with the "spillover" turnaround and because of the social relations and organization of rural areas, no one has demonstrated that higher fuel bills have a greater impact in rural areas. (An exception here would be the farmer who undoubtedly feels this crisis more than others, yet farming has not been demonstrated as a dominant occupation among turnaround migrants.) Finally, while urban unrest has subsided and environmental problems are becoming more pronounced in rural areas, there has been no major shift in residential preference patterns. Therefore, these social controls on this "collective behavior" are slim if not nonexistent.

Again, the contributions of Campbell and Garkovich (1984) and Wardwell (1980) should not be disregarded simply because they are not a definitive and complete understanding of the phenomenon. Their contributions to understanding the turnaround and the development of theory are to be applauded. The criticisms offered here are aimed at refining the theoretical approach to the turnaround by retaining what is meaningful and applicable to migration research while attempting to ferret out what is problematic and untenable. The question which begs to be answered is why these theories have gone almost completely untested by the empirical research, or why research has failed to apply their findings to these theoretical conceptualizations. The research to be presented in this paper attempts to reconcile

this apparent disparate relationship between theory and research by assembling the empirical research in such a way as to test a third theoretical analysis of the turnaround as offered by Adamchak and Flint (1982).

Drawing upon a macro-sociological framework, Adamchak and Flint (1982) have developed a theory of turnaround migration based upon social scarcity and ideological transformation. The concept of social scarcity derives from the idea of the reduction of economic, political, and social resources available to individuals, though as they point out, scarcity in natural resources often precipitates social scarcity. The result of this emerging social scarcity has been a marked decline in values and beliefs that are guided by the traditional Western ideology of economic materialism where quality of life is equated with the material lifestyle that an individual enjoys. In its place is a growing ideology based on quality of life/community satisfaction that is propelled by values that deemphasize the accumulation of material good above all else.

Once again, the influence of economic considerations becomes paramount to theoretical development, yet Adamchak and Flint attempt to break the ideological element that runs through so many of the other theories. As they see it, "What migration frameworks lack....are ideologically based reasons that transcend traditional explanations, without reducing the importance of economics or economic considerations. These economic considerations should be viewed as basic component parts of a larger idea dialectic that is influenced by not only the material world but the world of values and ideas" (1982, p. 3). Perhaps

the single greatest contribution of this approach is the manner in which it takes a primarily micro issue, such as values and beliefs, and demonstrates the macro-social context in which they must be negotiated. It is not an attempt to derogate micro-psychological processes to a secondary level, rather it emphasizes that these processes are contained within and emerge from a sociological framework.

Adamchak and Flint have also taken a step beyond the theoretical position of Campbell and Garkovich (1984) by pointing out that the urban unrest and environmental problems of the past had more than an impact on just residental preference. The subject of social scarcity is at the heart of a great many issues which arose in American society during this period. The very nature of our conception of social reality was being challenged during these troubled times. Despite the fact that time has dulled some of the fanaticism and there has been a recent resurgence of traditional ideology, the social criticisms which emerged during this period of history irrevocably altered the course of Western society which seemed so clear in the 1950's. Therefore, the single most significant question that this theoretical position poses is, "Are people in the U.S. (and other developed countries) responding to global scarcity by adjusting lifestyles that include a quest for nonmetropolitan residence and less emphasis on economic consideration?" (Adamchak and Flint, 1982, p. 4).

This shift in values and beliefs, or ideological transformation, suggested by Adamchak and Flint is graphically depicted in Figure 1 and 2. As they describe it,

> During times of abundance and when a large fraction of Americans resided in small towns and rural areas the ideological development of the population was/is embedded in the "system" that yields a quality of life (QOL) based on the prevailing values and norms of the macrosocial system, as depicted in Figure 1.
>
> The relationship between ideology and the dependent variable, QOL, during times of abundance is represented by the curved dotted line. For a QOL based on economic materialism to be achieved a conforming ideology must emerge. However, based on the conforming ideology, to achieve a commensurate QOL (say before 1965), the population must be in the mainstream of the macro social system, which was a highly urbanized environment. So rural-to-urban migration prevailed the first two-thirds of this century, as well as throughout the 19th century in response to societal abundance.
>
> Since about 1965, a different pattern emerges....Figure 2 describes the process when societal scarcity emerges as the exogenous variable. When the population experiences limited or restricted means to meet their needs, their ideological foundations begin to change (as rejecting the macro social system which keeps them from achieving their needs). When their social needs are not being realized in a highly urban-industrial society (one based on economic materialism), a contradiction between the social and economic emerges and the ideological change alters the foundation of the dependent variable, QOL, from economic materialism to community-life satisfaction (or from an alienated to a non-alienated foundation). (Adamchak and Flint, 1982, p. 7)

Of course, this theoretical approach is not without its problems. First, and perhaps most problematic, is the fact that the dominant capitalist ideology has/is experiencing a resurgence in recent years, yet many oppose its assumptions and policies. The apparent recovery from a serious recession would seem to be nearly complete and a most conservative political leadership has received a resounding mandate in the recent election. The cries of the yippies from the troubled times of "never trust anyone over 30" are being supplanted by the words of the yuppie (young, upwardly-mobile professional) who say "never trust anyone under 30 (thousand dollars income)". This swing in economics, and the accompanying ideology, inevitably raises the question of validity of a social scarcity paradigm.

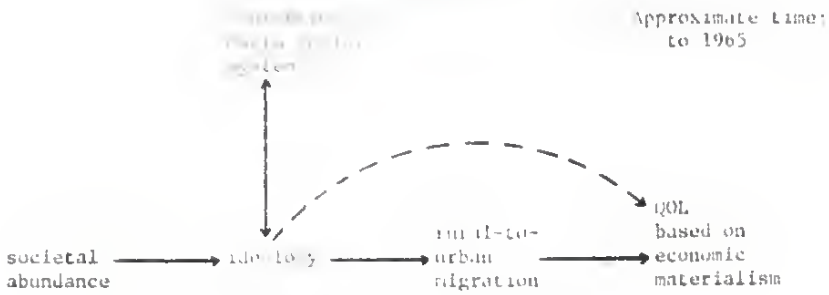

FIGURE 1. SOCIETAL ABUNDANCE MODEL

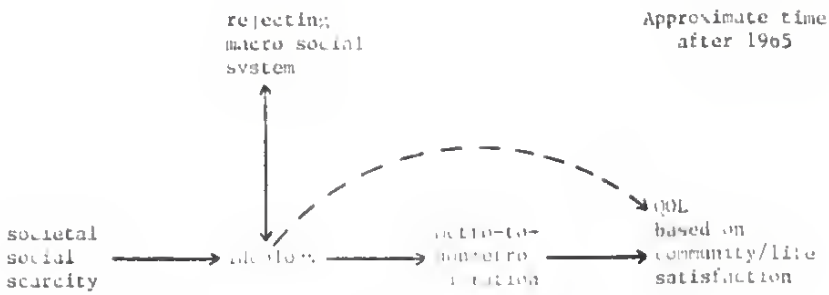

FIGURE 2. SOCIETAL SCARCITY MODEL

Since Adamchak and Flint argued that this ideological shift began somewhere around 1965, why in 20 years has this shift not become more pronounced in terms that are empirically manifest.

Another serious problem associated with this approach is the ability to establish some sort of causal relationship between these macro issues, particularly when they relate to macro ideology, and actual behavior. No research to date has documented any rejection of the dominant ideology as a precipitating factor in turnaround migration. One minor exception would be the "back-to-the-earth" movement of past years, though these constitute a small segment of the turnaround. Of course, the failure to find these ideological elements in a migration paradigm may be the result of two things. First, no one has looked for them. Questioning the dominant ideology of a society from within that society is a precarious situation. Also, shifts of this nature are extremely subtle and are not always easily made empirically manifest. Second, to assume that people are aware that their actions represent ideological statements is a bold step, and even for those that are aware of the possible implications of their actions there is no reason to believe that they would willingly reveal these motivations to researchers.

What Adamchak and Flint (1982) have done is to force researchers to "put on a new pair of glasses" when studying turnaround migration. By taking their approach we can no longer make the assumption that the turnaround is just part of a greater social evolution. What it may suggest is a radical break from the evolutionary scheme implicit in Wardwell (1980) and Beale and

Fuguitt (1981). In many respects, this approach is a valuable contribution to the argument made in earlier chapters that suggest we must critically examine our assumptions behind the migration process.

This approach also raises similar questions in regard to the concept of quality of life/community satisfaction. The approach of Adamchak and Flint makes clear that we can not use the same metatheoretical assumptions about QOL as guided our understanding of an economic materialism ideology. The emergence of QOL as a concern of social scientists and policy makers in many ways parallels the emergence of the turnaround, both temporarily and substantively. To have the two linked theoretically seems quite parsimonious from a macro-sociological perspective, especially considering the empirical research on the turnaround which is replete with references to QOL (Lichter and Fuguitt, 1982; Sofranko and Williams, 1980; Sofranko and Fliegel, 1980; Sofranko, et al., 1981; Ploch, 1978; Adamchak and Flint, 1982; to list a few).

Since the research being presented in this paper is derived for the most part, from the theoretical position of Adamchak and Flint, it is deemed necessary to take a brief side-track from the substantive issue of migration and deal with the issues surrounding QOL before presenting the details of this study. This is for several reasons. First, our understanding of QOL is in its infancy and many metatheoretical, theoretical, and methodological issues cloud this understanding. In this regard, it parallels much about what has been said on our understanding of migration. Second, as noted above, both the turnaround and

concern over QOL have emerged in the past fifteen years during a period of radical change in the larger society. The shift to a post-industrial society (Bell, 1973) has issues in changes in social structure, organization, and interaction, and for the first time in contemporary history there is a deemphasis on the acquisition of material goods and new emphasis on what brings quality to the lives of individuals. Finally, many of the issues raised by QOL would seem to suggest that the theoretical position of Adamchak and Flint (i.e., social scarcity and ideological transformation) may indeed be the more accurate portrayal of the present social reality (i.e., their assumptions are more grounded in social reality than arguments from a more traditional ideological approach).

The term "quality of life" is a new term for an old notion, however, it carries a distinctiveness associated with the fact that it is dealing for the most part with new issues. In the past, social concern was for what brought a sense of well-being to the individual and an increased standard of living to the general population. Many of the new issues revolving around QOL question some of the assumptions behind what was believed to be "good" for the individual and society in the past. This has led to conflict and confusion as to what actually constitutes QOL. The result is that researchers and theorists in the social sciences must blind themselves to certain assumptions or spend more time explaining their position than dealing with the actual issue at hand.

This forces us to return to the question of assumptions or in this case metatheoretical considerations. Quality of life

cannot be used to explain migration until there is a unified understanding as to what the term constitutes. In the same respect, it cannot be used to guide policy on related matters, nor as any sort of predictive tool until the ambiguities of the concept are resolved. We are facing a changing social world where values and beliefs are changing along with definitions and meanings. Demographers could not anticipate the turnaround because the underlying assumptions about migration behavior were almost entirely based on a "homo economicus" paradigm. The quality of life issue is a classical example of what happens when the realities of a changing social world bump up against the assumptions which formed the foundation of the world which once was. Ideological constraints prevent a rapid alteration of the social structure and create a type of blindness in policy-makers and scientists. These individuals who are suppose to be the vanguard of society are being confused and confounded by the lay-individual who is living and experiencing the changing social world and making adjustments accordingly.

Nicholas Helburn, in his presidential address to the Association of American Geographers (1982) has cited several limitations to the QOL concept. They are as follows:

> It depends on culturally relative definitions;
> It deals more with amenities than with basic needs;
> It can be backward looking, sometimes even nostalgic;
> It calls for motives beyond profit and capital accumulation;
> It challenges the established goals of economic growth and productivity;
> It contains incomensurate elements and will probably never lend itself to a quantified index;
> It requires a holistic view of problems and thus requires synthetic as well as analytic thinking, systems rather than linear views of cause and effect (p. 448).

These limitations are a major problem when policy-makers and social scientists attempt to deal with the issue of QOL. American ideology and the ideology of a positivistic science are not equipped to deal with the kind of contradictions that are presented by this list of limitations. These kinds of ideological constraints prevent an accurate portrayal of what the QOL concept represents and how it may be accurately represented in research and theoretical matters.

The fact that QOL is culturally relative should be self evident to most individuals. There is no reason to believe that what brings quality to the life of a farmer in Kansas will bring quality to the life of a tribesman in New Guinea. This is not to say that there are not some common components between the two but rather that any attempts at a universal definition of QOL will inevitably fall short. Not only does cross-cultural interpretations of QOL fail, but there is also a temporal aspect within a given culture that limits the possibility of a given definition being applicable across time. As has been noted above, this sort of temporal shift in meaning of QOL appears to be occuring in contemporary Western culture. The shift in social concern from standard of living to quality of life could be equated with a shift in concern from quantified, economic materialism to quality, community/life satisfaction as has been argued by Adamchak and Flint (1982) in their theoretical explanation of turnaround migration.

If this is indeed the case, then we are witnessing a shift in values and beliefs as well as definitions and meanings. The criticism of QOL as being a middle-class goal does not take into

consideration this kind of shift. In the past, when the material abundance of today was not so profound, there was a much greater concern for issues directly related to the standard of living. That is to say that there were concerns over there being enough quantities of material goods to go around and even concern that society was not able to take care of the basic needs of some individuals. For the most part, from a social perspective, the standard of living could be directly measured and correlated with certain socioeconomic indicators such as an ever-increasing and growing Gross National Product (GNP). In many respects, the economic progress of the past which opened the doors for the scientific and technological advances that reduced human suffering and toil was synonomous with social progress.

Because of this, the approach of social scientists to this topic of standard of living was simplified a great deal. Not only was there a general consensus that social progress was directly related to economic development, but also the measurement of socioeconomic indicators was directly ameanable to, and in fact the best tool for, the application of a positivistic, scientific methodology to the social world. Income, education, and productivity could all be accurately measured and broken down into their component parts for further study and investigation. This approach allowed research to coalesce with, and was directly related to the social goals of a capitalistic economic system. A rising GNP was a sign of social progress which led to more scientific and technological advances which improved the standard of living for all. It was a tidy picture of social reality but one which could not last.

The social unrest and ecological crises of the late 1960's and early 1970's marked a period when a great deal of the social reality described above was questioned. It is also the period from which we see such issues as QOL and turnaround migration emerging. It is imperative to realize that the shift in concern from standard of living to to QOL was more than just a semantical, academic alteration. There is a very real difference between what the two concepts are attempting to deal with and it cannot be reduced simply to the difference between economic and noneconomic factors. Standard of living was primarily economic, even though certain measurements of this standard were not directly interpreted as dealing with monetary concerns, most could be reduced to or highly correlated with economic variables.

On the other hand, QOL considerations have an undeniable economic aspect and researchers who ignore this by referring to noneconomic factors as QOL factors have improperly conceptualized the social history and meaning of the phrase. This tendency to group any factor that falls under the category of noneconomic into the QOL equation denies the economic side of QOL and represents a "backlash" effect due to the fact that previous explanations of migration were based almost entirely on economic considerations. Clearly, what has emerged is a false dichotomy between economic and noneconomic factors which adds little to either our understanding of migration or QOL.

If we couple the assertion that the turnaround is occurring within the context of structural changes in American society (Wardwell, 1980; Campbell and Garkovich, 1984; Sofranko, et al., 1981) with the approach of Adamchak and Flint (1982), which

states directly that a great deal of turnaround migration can be explained by macro-level shifts from economic materialism to quality of life/community satisfaction, then we can start to understand why QOL is not just emphasizing amenity concerns, as one of Helburn's (1982) limitations suggest. While turnaround migration is predominant in amenity rich areas it is also occurring in "hundreds of remote, thinly settled, and emphatically bucolic counties" (Zelinsky, 1977, p. 176) for which economic and amenity concerns do not apply. Therefore, the QOL considerations of the migrants to these remote rural areas may very well be for the reason of reorganizing, at least in a social sense, their sustenance activities which bring them their basic needs. If this is the case then Helburn (1982) is incorrect and QOL considerations may have a great deal to do with the process by which we bring about our basic needs.

In reading through the list of the remaining limitations which Helburn cites, it becomes apparent that he is arguing in much the same manner as this paper. The third, fourth, and fifth limitations relate to alternatives associated with social relations or question the assumptions which form the basis of many of our present social relations. The final two are directly related to the limitations of a positivistic, scientific world view.

If, in fact, we are dealing with changing values and beliefs, definitions and meanings, then the problem of how we can adequately deal with the QOL concept as a tool for social analysis becomes all the more important. The initial problem is in conceptualizing a definition that transcends culture and time and can still be measured in some analytical manner. As Helburn

(1982) noted, QOL will probably never lend itself to a quantified index. Also, any attempt to delineate such a specific index will undoubtedly be culturally and temporally bound. There is an intuitive approach which suggests that QOL is closely linked to the "pursuit of happiness" or things which make people feel good. However, this requires an understanding of the internal values and beliefs that people associate with happiness, and how their lives in the external social and physical world are conducted to maintain an optimum level of happiness. Any definition of QOL will have to be couched in terms of this awareness of its internal (psychological)/external (sociological, environmental) meaning. Hornback and Shaw (1972) recognized this and suggested that any definition of QOL should be viewed as a function of the objective conditions appropriate to a selected population, and the subjective attitudes toward those conditions held by persons in that population.

Two points in this argument should be made. First, it should be apparent that QOL is attempting to make explicit what is often implicit in most social research and theory, and that is what constitutes our beliefs about human nature. The "homo economicus" paradigm implicitly makes certain assumptions about human nature. These assumptions are given and not open to question without invalidating the entire paradigm and related theory. Second, the objective conditions of a society and the subjective attitudes of its population are subject to change. These variables are symbiotic in nature, in that a change in one often produces a change in the other.

The fact that the issue of QOL has appeared at all is an indication of social change both in objective conditions and subjective attitudes. It would also appear to be part of the changes that emerged out of the late 1960's and early 1970's that questioned some of the basic assumptions that contemporary Western Society held about human nature. Therefore, when QOL considerations become relevant to research it should automatically bring out assumptions in the research about social change and human nature. Rigid operational definitions of the concept do not discuss assumptions but present them as givens. Quality of life should be conceptualized as a tool requiring new methodologies and theoretical approaches to understanding the relationship between the individual, society, and the physical world as a symbiotic process.

There are two other issues related to the measurement of QOL which must also be addressed. First, if we are witnessing a shift in values and beliefs from an economic, quantified, standard of living to a quality of life/community satisfaction, it makes little sense, logically, to continue attempts at measuring QOL from the quantified or economic viewpoint. In fact, quantified measurement itself seems intuitively contradictory to the concept of quality. Why this is such a problem for policy-makers and researchers will be discussed in fuller detail later. Second, the operationalization of the concept results in a fractionated approach to the issue. Each researcher, regardless of discipline, can formulate his/her own "definition" according to the needs (assumptions) of his/her respective theoretical and methodological approach. The result

is that confusion can exist within disciplines, let alone across them. Any true understanding of QOL will necessitate an interdisciplinary approach just as a true understanding of the turnaround will require.

Finally, with regards to the subjective analysis of QOL, there has been no concerted effort to determine what QOL means to the general population. There are bountiful surveys on attitudes and values yet none have attempted to ask directly what the individual subject sees as bringing quality to their lives. For the most part, measures of QOL have been arrived at by indirect methods where surveys are filled out and then a list of indicators of QOL are derived from the responses to questions which the researcher has conceptualized as containing elements related to QOL. Subjective analysis of QOL is highly problematic because it assumes that people know what brings them happiness or satisfaction and how the changing social world effects this state. Qualitative studies such as direct observation or in-depth interviewing provide the possibility of establishing a "qualitative" understanding of QOL. Guy Parker, Research Associate at Cal Tech's Environmental Quality Laboratory, has urged more intensive field research in QOL that is more in touch with social reality. For too long scientific researchers have dominated discussion over QOL rather than representatives of different lifestyles (E.P.A., 1972). An analysis of the living conditions and lifestyles (including values and beliefs) of a particular individual or group could compare the everyday actions and behaviors to what would be considered the dominant ideology of the society to determine the possible direction and degree of

social change. This type of research on QOL is desperately needed if we are to come to a fuller understanding of the quality of life concept.

Much of the radicalism of the 1960's and early 1970's was based upon a growing criticism which suggested that the answers to our problems required new ideas and responses rather than the old answers for new questions that the governmental approach was taking (Adamchak and Flint, 1982). One issue which seemed to run as a common thread through many of the problems that emerged during this time was the issue of social and economic growth. To this point there was a general consensus that if big was good then bigger was better and more was better than less. The American capitalist ideology is/was based on the premise of an everexpanding economy to provide jobs and capital for the future. It was from this context that many of the QOL issues evolved and to a lesser degree, the theoretical position of Adamchak and Flint (1982).

Nowhere was this issue of growth more prominent than in the concern over the natural environment and natural resources. In response to this growing concern, the government took action to protect and enhance the quality of the nation's environment to sustain and enrich human life. This action was known as the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), whose policy was "to foster and promote the general welfare, to create and maintain conditions under which man and nature can exist in harmony, and fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations of Americans." While this act is only one of many to address the problems which contemporary society faces,

it is a prime example of the growing concern for quality in the lives of individuals.

At first glance, the NEPA is a bold step towards a new relationship between the human race and the planet on which it lives. To this point, the dominant approach to nature and natural resources was based on utilitarian principles. In other words, if it was part of the natural world, then it was placed there by a bountiful "Mother Nature" to be put to use at and for man's discretion. (The use of sexist language is appropriate here since this attitude evolved out of a false objectivity which was developed, by men, in the early stages of our present, instrumental, scientific world view.) The NEPA was an attempt to recognize changes in values and beliefs at a macro level. The shift was from a utilitarian view of nature to a more symbiotic relationship between the human race and the natural world.

The problem is that the very foundation of the NEPA is based upon an internal contradiction. In order to promote harmonious relations between people and their planet there is a general belief that we must abandon some of the economic and social goals that are at the heart of American ideology. Meadows, et al., (1972) in The Limits to Growth, have pointed to perhaps the biggest single problem in our contemporary socio-economic beliefs. They argue in an explicitly detailed manner that continued economic growth such as required by an ever-increasing GNP cannot be supported by the limited life-support system we call Earth. Therefore, it must be argued that any policy which is intent upon promoting our present approach toward social and

economic growth will be inherently alienating for people and their planet.

Of course, this is but one view point and one which is hardly shared by everyone (Beckerman, 1974). McCutcheon (1979) has compiled more than 250 books, articles, and papers dealing with this issue of the limitations to growth. It is not the purpose here to debate this issue, but to state that the arguments presented by Meadows, et al., and others (Erlich, 1974; Commoner, 1971, 1974; Anderson, 1976) are/were compelling enough to initiate a transition in values and beliefs for all but the most die-hard ideologue. This transition is directly linked to the assertion made earlier that American culture is moving away from the quantification of well-being to quality of life issues. However, governmental policy is inherently biased towards a quantified, growth policy and ideology and it cannot adequately address issues of quality of life in terms other than more is better than less and big is better than small.

Not only has the growth syndrome been criticized on its own merits, but there was a growing literature which emphasized the positive effects of smallness on a social scale (Schumacher, 1973; Sale, 1980) and the virtues of "voluntary simplicity" (Gregg, 1977; Elgin and Mitchell, 1977a; 1977b). It seemed apparent that the aspirations of the past for quantities of things are rapidly giving way to a rising concern for quality in life. This shift is precipitating new attempts by individuals and government to ascertain just what will bring a sense of well-being to people (E.P.A., 1972). A problem arises if we are in fact witnessing a shift in values from a quantified QOL (i.e.,

economic materialism) to a quality QOL (i.e., community/life satisfaction) (Adamchak and Flint, 1982). The problem is that the old values and beliefs are still deeply entrenched in the ideological underpinnings of the present system which is trying to investigate this new trend toward quality of life. The result is that the search for a meaningful interpretation of QOL is clouded by the ideology of a socio-economic-political system.

The blindness created by this ideological framework is often perpetuated in the research on these issues because of the close link between academic research and government funds which support this research. Governmental policy-makers and bureaucrats are geared to interpreting the social world from the numbers created from social indicators or other quantifiable indexes that measure the "health" of our present system. They have been trained in the reasoning and rationale of these indicators and cannot incorporate into their system research that questions the basic assumptions which hold that system together. Also, the "efficiency" of bureaucratic relationships does not allow for the careful mulling over of a serious theoretical piece which would attempt to deal with issues and contradictions. Research which cannot be placed within the context of "hard facts" will inevitably be passed over in favor of research that does render these kind of facts.

In many respects, this can be seen as occuring in the theoretical approaches to the turnaround. Wardwell's (1980) theoretical approach to turnaround migration is almost entirely based on economic considerations. His emphasis on structural convergence suggests that because of advances in transportation,

communications, and technology the urban and rural world are no longer separated by significant distance or time. This coupled with a tendency towards industrial deconcentration (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982) has opened up rural areas throughout Western society so that they can offer all the structural advantages of urban areas. This, Wardwell argues, is allowing people to live out their pre-existing preference for rural life without surrendering any of the amenities of urban living.

This approach can be reduced to purely economic issues and the "growth syndrome" (i.e., more roads, better communications, more jobs, etc.). There is nothing in this theory which addresses those noneconomic motivating factors behind turnaround migration. Also, there is no recognition of the differences not related to structural economics between the rural and urban worlds. Research has demonstrated that rural people tend to have the highest levels of interpersonal satisfaction whereas urban people tend to have the lowest, and, at least with regards to community satisfaction, rural-urban differences appear not only real but relatively important (Miller and Crader, 1979). These are the issues which are at the heart of QOL with regards to turnaround migration and the concept in general.

Beale and Fuguitt's (1982) quasi-theoretical approach to turnaround migration is also heavily couched in ideological terms. These kinds of theories are of the evolutionary type whereby turnaround migration is viewed as a natural outgrowth of shifts within modern society. Beale and Fuguitt cite: 1) metropolitanization sufficient enough to fulfill the needs of modern society; 2) the disamenities associated with the excesses

of urbanization; and, 3) urban-rural convergence as the reasons behind the "distributional" aspect of demographic transition in developed nations. Evolutionary approaches are acceptable when sufficient time has elapsed between the phenomenon and the study of the event. However, they tend to be both teleological and tautological in their arguments and rely heavily on the dominant ideology especially when explaining recent, anomalous events. This theoretical approach pays little attention to the shifts in values and beliefs that brought the QOL issue to the forefront of migration research.

From the analysis of these theoretical approaches to turnaround migration one becomes acutely aware of problems associated with research and public policy. Wardwell and Beale and Fuguitt recognize the nature of a changing social world, especially in a structural sense. However, their analyses are still dominated by an economic metatheory that no longer is sufficient in itself to explain our present social reality of changing values and beliefs. Yet when presented within the context of public policy these approaches contain the same assumptions as the dominant ideology that guides governmental action and therefore tend to become the preferred approach of researchers seeking governmental research grants. When noneconomic considerations are clearly shown to play a role in the migration, researchers are faced with the difficulty of reconciling these apparent ambiguities.

One such way of dealing with these ambiguities is not dealing with them by placing their importance on a secondary level and emphasizing the role of factors more associated with

the dominant socio-political-economic thought. The other way of dealing with these ambiguities is closely aligned with the above approach, yet one which is often cloaked behind the vail of scientific objectivity. Just like the constraints of a powerful social ideology, the constraints of our present positivistic scientific world view shape and color the world we perceive. Our present approach to the accumulation of "knowledge" is guided by an understanding of reality based on instrumental rationality, reductionism, and Cartesian dualism. The limitations of this approach render the "scientific" study of quality to a near impossibility. In order to escape these limitations we must expand our understanding of what constitutes legitimate facts and knowledge and legitimize new methodological approaches that can access this new knowledge.

The primary issue in the scientific study of QOL centers around the question of whether or not it can be quantified in a meaningful way. Helburn (1982) as noted earlier, has stated this as one of the limitations of QOL (i.e., that it will probably not avail itself to a quantifiable index). In a conference conducted in 1972 by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), two concerns about the quantification of QOL were particularly pervasive. One dealt with the potential of a kind of harmful use to which a QOL index might be put. "Strong fears of the potential for abuse of a QOL measure by a large bureaucracy were expressed frequently at the EPA Conference" (EPA, 1972, p. 1-37). This becomes particularly problematic in light of the fact that bureaucrats and policy-makers are geared, by their socio-political ideology, to this kind of quantified index.

The other major concern was epitomized by the work of Maruyama (1972) who argued that "the entire notion of quantifying "quality of life" is inextricably linked with a traditional Western logic system that is being replaced by a new approach stressing the symbiotic rather than the competitive. As a consequence, Maruyama concluded that any attempt to classify and quantify QOL factors merely serves to prolong an outdated system, and hence should not be undertaken" (EPA, 1972, p. 137). This argument is directly related to the one presented earlier in that it makes no sense, logically, to continue interpreting social issues such as QOL from a quantified, economic materialism paradigm since there has been an apparent macro shift in values and beliefs to a quality, community/life satisfaction paradigm.

The problem seems to lie in the fact that academic and governmental researchers, and for that matter the general public, have been so enamored with the scientific world view that it has become difficult to even suggest an alternative epistemological base. Such issues as atomic power and weaponry and pollution have begun to tarnish the shine of "science", but there is still little recognition of its imposing metatheoretical constraints on such non-life threatening issues as QOL. Just as the capitalist, growth-syndrome ideology has been attacked, our present conception of science and its accompanying methodology has also been under attack in recent years. In fact, it becomes difficult to separate them at times. As Berman put it, "Science and our way of life have been mutually reinforcing, and it is for this reason that the scientific world view has come under serious scrutiny at the same time that the industrial nations are

beginning to show signs of severe strain, if not actual disintegration" (Berman, 1981, p. 295).

Berman (1981) has effectively criticized the rise and persistence of Cartesian dualism in scientific metatheory which has led to such false dichotomies as mind-body, and man-nature. Bookchin (1982) has pointed out that the rise of an instrumental rationality in science can be linked to the legitimation of domination in society. Mitroff (1974) has demonstrated that there is a subjective side to all science and claims to "value-free" objectivity are ideological in nature. Finally, a whole host of works (Capra, 1975, 1983; Zukav, 1979, LeShan, 1975) deriving from the study of quantum mechanics and subatomic physics have demonstrated that reductionism becomes most problematic when carried out to its logical conclusion.

It is these recent, substantive critiques of our scientific world view that have been the most scathing, but these are not without their historical antecedents. Bertrand Russel (1949) asked the question, "'Can a scientific society be stable?', emphasizing that it was the human and psychological factor, not the economic one, that could be our undoing unless we find a way of uniting human effort without loss of individual fulfillment; suggesting that if the demands of the worlds of computerisation and material facts come to dominate the world of feeling and of internal well-being, then increasing disorder and disease would develop and disaster ensue" (Pearse, 1979, p. XI). This has led Pearse to conclude that "contemporary society has been compelled to interpret nature from the standpoint of the atom. Man is then seen as subject to the laws of statistical probability and seems

to have this significance only. The prevalence of such a self-imposed restrictive view both of man and of nature, could well account not only for the present impasse in science, but also for the sickness of society" (Pearse, 1979, p. X).

The point of this discussion is to recognize that we must reconceptualize our understanding of "science" if we are to properly deal with issues like QOL that are emerging from the changing macro value and belief structure in Western society. Capitalist ideology and positivistic science have reached their limits in an ever-changing social world and these limitations become most glaring when they are imposed on new ideas and concepts which in many cases contradict to these ideologies. Marcuse (1964) argued that contemporary society had reached a one-dimensional level where it was capable of absorbing all contradictions and this would be the case if a concept such as QOL was quantified, indexed, and fitted into bureaucratic policy. But this has not happened and it may be because the changes in values and beliefs are becoming so pervasive as to prevent this.

It has also become apparent that alternatives to these ideologies have been developing as the old ones continue to demonstrate their limitations. With regard to QOL, Maruyama (1972) provides insight into the kind of philosophy and logic necessary to approach these new issues when he calls for the abandonment of the traditional, absolute forms of logic, which are uniformistic, hierarchial, classificational, unidirectional, competitive, quantitative, object-based, and self-perpetuating. Instead he advocates that we adopt the emerging form of logic

that is heterogenistic, interactionist, relational, mutualistic, symbiotic, qualitative, process-oriented, and self-transcending (self-renewing). This will require that scientists in general, and social scientists in particular are going to have to broaden their concept of science and their general epistemological base to incorporate new methodologies and new forms of "knowledge."

Obviously, there must be a revitalization of qualitative scientific research in the social sciences as a first step towards a broader epistemological base. There has been a tendency for social scientists to derogate qualitative methods to a second class methodology because it often requires more time and effort and is seldom interpretable in terms of statistical significance. Guy Parker (1972) who urged that social research should be more in touch with social reality has suggested that qualitative methods such as in-depth interviewing should be used to address such issues as QOL (E.P.A., 1972). This is precisely the point made earlier in this paper when it was argued that only qualitative methods can address personal happiness and satisfaction in the context of a given (and changing) social and natural world. These symbiotic, relational, process-oriented variables will never be able to be accurately portrayed in the world of quantified, positivistic science.

The urban unrest and environmental problems of the past leveled many powerful criticisms at the dominant ideology in Western society such that many individuals began to believe less and less of the stories it would tell. It appears that within the general context of values and beliefs that two distinct and separate trends began to appear. One saw value and belief change

within the context of the dominant ideology. The result of such thinking was the NEPA, quantified QOL measures, and interpretations of such phenoneman as turnaround migration from the "homo economicus" metatheory. The other change in values and beliefs was not constrained by the dominant ideology but rather appeared to be growing out of the contradictions and limitations of that ideology. The result of these changes are seen in a diversity of emerging social movements that provide avenues for the individual to begin the process of "breaking away" from their reliance on a social system which is in the process of breaking down.

Many of these movements appear to have direct QOL implications. That is to say that they appear to be motivated by community/life satisfaction considerations rather than economic materialism. Hopefully, as has been demonstrated by the arguments of this paper it has become clear that this kind of shift in values and beliefs is directly linked to underlying assumptions about human nature and the way in which we shall understand it. This is why researchers who are investigating these new social phenomenon and still cling to old assumptions are confused and perplexed when the explanations they derive do not seem to fit the social reality.

This is the case of "quality of life." The topic itself is evidence of new strains of thought and activity in our social world. Marx was correct when he noted that the emerging social order is already being forged in the process of the breakdown of the present one. For most social change along "evolutionary" lines this is obvious, yet it is also true when the "evolution"

takes a radical break away from what the history (ideology) of the present would suggest. Turnaround migration is a substantive issue which demonstrates how some people are taking action to lessen the effect of the dominant ideology on their lives while still remaining tied in major ways to that declining social order. As Erlich (1974) argued, "One area in which your personal efforts to change society are most likely to enhance the quality of your life in the future is your local community. If our predictions are correct, there will be an accelerating trend toward decentralization in the next few decades, and gradually your relationships with your neighbors and your local community will increase in importance while those with federal and (probably) state governments will tend to fade (p. 181).

Rather than feeling the frustration of wondering how we will ever accurately measure the QOL concept, researchers should recognize the challenge presented by such new concepts and phenomenon as QOL and the turnaround. These new issues are forcing us to face the limitations of contemporary ideology and epistemology. More importantly, they emphasize the need to bring social research more in line with social reality. By doing so the social scientist stands to act as a buffer between what was and what will be. The transition is occurring whether we choose to close our eyes to it or not. The only question which remains is how that transition will finally be realized.

CHAPTER IV

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The geographical setting for this research is aimed at studying the turnaround in rural areas which do not have a strong identity with recreational or other amenity-based concerns. Pottawatomie and rural Riley county in northeast Kansas served as the setting from which turnaround migrants were located and interviewed. These counties are located in rolling hill terrain not typically associated with the Kansas plains yet have no major recreation trade associated with the area. A major reservoir lake which is located on much of the common border shared between the two counties serves as the focal point of outdoor recreation in the area, yet is, at best, a marginal draw to the area. A major military reservation is located to the west of Riley county, and Shawnee county (Topeka, Kansas SMSA) shares approximately ten miles of common border with Pottawatomie county to the southeast.

This area was selected because Pottawatomie County had experienced a 20.5 percent increase in population from migration alone from 1970 to 1980. This inmigration represented a reversal in a longstanding history of population decline in the county. Current Population Estimates (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Jan. 1985) show a net increase in population for Pottawatomie county from 1980-1983 of 6.5 percent, thereby establishing a continued trend of population growth. For these reasons Pottawatomie county fits the description of what has been called in the literature, a "turnaround" county. Riley county has been a continuous growth

county for several decades. The same issue of C.P.E. cited above shows an .8 percent population increase for the same 1980-1983 span. Of the twenty primary subjects used for this research, only four lived in the rural areas of Riley county. Three were located in the more remote northern half of the county, living in housing developments across the reservoir from northern Pottawatomie county. One lone subject was located in southern Riley county, approximately five miles from Pottawatomie county.

METHODOLOGY

The subjects for this research were procured using a multiple-method sampling procedure. Twenty primary subjects were selected to be interviewed. (A primary subject being an adult household member responding to the preliminary questionnaire and/or the main respondent to interview questions.) Fifteen of the primary subjects were selected from a pool of individuals who had been identified by cross-referencing telephone directories from circa 1976 and 1984. This was achieved by dividing the 1984 directories into blocks of 20 residential listings and cross-referencing, starting with the first listing in each block of 20, until a listing was found not to be in the 1976 directory. Listings which appeared in the 1984 directories, but not the 1976, were contacted with an explanatory letter and a basic questionnaire to determine whether or not they had migrated to new, rural settings, from metropolitan areas (SMSA counties). Subjects responding to the initial questionnaire and fitting the description of individuals needed for this research were then contacted by phone to set up a date and location for the actual interview.

Another method of sampling was used to procure the remaining five primary subjects based on Coleman's (1970) "snowballing" procedure. These subjects were identified by other subjects or associates of the researcher as individuals who fit the description of subjects needed for this research. These individuals were then contacted in much the same manner as the subjects described above, and those wishing to participate were then interviewed.

It should be stressed at this point that no attempts at randomness were made except in the selection of potential subjects from the telephone directories. This eliminated any systematic bias associated with family relationships among subjects (i.e., subjects having the same last name). Since there was no way of determining whether or not subjects selected from the directories were urban-to-rural migrants many respondents to the initial questionnaire were rejected because they were not new to the area, were nonmetropolitan migrants, or they did not wish to participate in an interview. Therefore, the final criterion for selection was not randomness, but rather based on Glaser and Strauss's (1967) concept of "theoretical sampling". This approach allows for both "snowball" sampling and selective sampling from a random group with the emphasis on the collection of data pertaining to a specific theoretical position and whether or not that position can be grounded in the facts.

Because Pottawatomie county shared a small section of common border with a metropolitan county, care was taken to eliminate any subject whose life was still closely linked to the metropolitan area. One subject did hold an industrial job in the metropolitan

area, however, the vast majority of his commercial activities, and virtually all of his social ties were centered in the Riley-Pottawatomie county region. All other subjects claimed no other affiliation to the metropolitan area. For these reasons, it can be assumed that the subjects participating in this research are not "spillover" migrants whose lifestyles remain closely linked to the metropolitan area.

A semi-structured interviewing procedure was used whereby subjects were posed a series of open-ended questions concerning the causes and effects of their migration experience. The original interview schedule consisted of thirty primary questions with accompanying probes, and was tested in three preliminary interviews for conceptual and verbal clarity. These preliminary interviews are not included in the data being presented here. After minor adjustments were made as a result of the preliminary interviews, the same thirty primary questions were retained and formed the basis of most the data collected in this research. The interview schedule can be conceptually broken down into three separate areas of interest. The first consisted of basic questions regarding the cause and more obvious effects of the move. Included in this were nine primary questions which were accompanied by a simple eleven-point scale. These questions were designed as a quasi-test of the variables regarding quality of life as suggested by Sofranko, et al., (1981). Since the scale ran from zero (worst possible case) to ten (best possible case) there was a general tendency to rate responses in the mid-to-upper ranges of the scale.

Only primary subject responses were attained on these scaling measures where they were asked to identify their position regarding the given issue both before metropolitan and after (non-metropolitan) the act of migration. While it is recognized that there are methodological complications involved in getting accurate "before" responses, in this research certain steps were taken to alleviate this problem to the greatest extent. First, subjects were encouraged to verbally respond to the issue regarding his/her thoughts and attitudes as they existed prior to the act of migration. In following this procedure subjects were allowed to recapture their urban living experiences before evaluating them with regard to the specific issue at hand. Also, urban evaluations were always asked for first in hopes of eliminating the influence of their rural living experience, to the greatest extent.

It should also be noted that the primary emphasis of these scaling measures was to assess the subject's perception of differences that exist between the two areas rather than as some sort of precise, quantitative measurement of the actual variable in question. Therefore, the distance between the "before" and "after" ratings are equally significant to their particular location on the scale. While the emphasis of this research is upon the qualitative interview responses of the subjects, it is felt that these relatively simple scaling measures do provide insight into the migration process of these subjects and will be included in the discussion where appropriate.

The remainder of the interview schedule can be broken down into two areas of major concern. The first being a series of

questions regarding lifestyle and changes in lifestyle since the subject's move to more rural areas. The final section consisted of a series of questions concerning more national and global concerns. These two sections were aimed at being a direct test of the Adamchak and Flint (1982) theory in hopes that any type of macro value shift may be detected in subject responses to these questions.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBJECTS

The actual interviewing process was conducted, as previously noted, with 20 primary subjects. Of these, seven interviews were conducted with a lone female participant, ten with a lone male participant, and three interviews were conducted with married couples, with the male serving as the primary subject. Responses of secondary subjects were considered as part of the interview, however, on the scaling measures they acted in cooperation with the primary subject to arrive at a single evaluation for the question at hand. The age range of all primary subjects was 24 to 72 years of age, with the median age being 35.5 and the mean was 41.5. The median age of all participants (primary and secondary) was 35 and the mean was 41.0. Fifteen of the primary subjects were married, three were divorced, one was widowed, and one was single, but engaged to be married. Eight of the primary subjects had children living at home with them, including one divorced male. The children's ages ranged from 15 years to a few months old. Two households each had four, three, two, and one children living at home.

The average years of educational attainment of all primary subjects was 13.4. Only one subject did not have a high school

education, and six had graduated from college. Four others had had at least some college. Six subjects were employed at blue collar jobs, seven were employed in white collar positions, four were retired, and of the remaining three, one was a housewife, one was a student, and one was recently unemployed. Only one subject was totally dependent on farming or agricultural production. Fifteen subjects owned their homes and the remaining five were renters. The geographical distribution over the two-county region of the 20 primary subjects was as follows. As mentioned earlier, four subjects were located in the rural areas of Riley county. Six subjects were located in relatively isolated aras of rural Pottawatomie county. Four subjects lived in small rural places or towns (none exceeding 600 in population), and the remaining six subjects were located in a small, urban town of approximately 3200 people.

FINDINGS

The first question posed to subjects in the interview was one dealing with their living circumstances in their most recent metropolitan living experience. This was done in order to allow subjects a brief period in which to attempt to recall what the circumstances were that they faced in the metro area, and also to give the interviewer a feel for any unusual circumstances which could have complicated or confounded future questions. For the most part, subjects described their neighborhoods as middle or upper-middle class and their individual living circumstances as fitting into these neighborhods. Two subjects referred to brief periods of time spent in lower class neighborhoods where crime and personal safety were of some concern, however, they had also

spent a greater amount of time in more middle class areas. One subject, who was retired from the military, had lived in metro areas yet most of his family's living circumstances were centered around base housing. Overall, the subject's general descriptions of their living circumstances in urban areas would not give the impression of an anti-urban bias.

When asked to evaluate what they considered to be the best aspects of metropolitan living, the single most predominant response fell into the category of social, cultural, and recreational "things to do" (eleven subjects mentioned this). This was followed by commerce (shopping) (5), and convenience (5). Three subjects considered the physical environment of the metro area as one of the best aspects. Two subjects could find no best aspect of metropolitan living. As the total number of responses suggest, on most questions multiple responses were given by subjects. Only on questions that specifically asked for a single response were subjects limited in their comments. As a result, the total categorized responses to most questions exceed 20 responses with no upper limit that would have restricted subject's responses. The analysis and categorization of these multiple-response questions was carried out in the same content analysis approach used on the single response questions.

When asked what they felt were the worst aspects of metropolitan living, overcrowding and congestion was mentioned by thirteen subjects, followed by crime (8), and traffic (7). Six subjects referred to the general urban lifestyle (i.e., fast-paced, impersonal, etc.) as one of the worse aspects, and only

one individual could find no "worse" aspect of metropolitan living.

A similar question regarding the best and worst aspects of rural living was also posed to subjects. Eleven subjects referred to the general lifestyle in rural areas as being best (i.e., independence, freedom, slower pace, etc.). Nine subjects saw the people and community life as one of the best aspects, while seven mentioned the general environment (i.e., nature, quiet, safety-security) as being the best aspect of rural life. One subject, the same one who saw no "worst" aspect of urban living, saw no "best" aspect of rural life. The worst aspects of rural living were seen as commuting and convenience (7), and the cliquishness of the people or community interference (5). The economic circumstances of rural life was cited by four subjects as a "worst" aspect, and the harshness of rural weather was mentioned by two. Three subjects could find no "worse" aspect of rural living.

Prior to these evaluations of rural living, subjects were asked if they were happier in the present circumstances than they were living in the city. Only two subjects were not happier and one saw no real difference. Of the seventeen who were happier, eight made strong comments regarding their happiness such as being definitely or absolutely happier in the rural atmosphere.

Of particular importance to this research was the question concerning what was the single most important consideration in the subject's decision to move. Six subjects moved to the area because of jobs. Four moved because of rural pull factors and the same number for urban push factors. Three listed retirement

as the single most important factor, and three others moved for personal or family related reasons. When asked if other considerations played a factor in their move, twelve subjects mentioned factors related to rural living, such as a rural lifestyle, privacy, freedom, more space, recreation, nature, etc. Eight others listed family in the area as a consideration, three mentioned urban disamenities, and two cited the lower cost of living in rural areas as playing at least a partial role in their decision to migrate.

Two questions concerning the impact that the move had had on income and job potential were confounded by several issues. Six subjects had experienced major life-span shifts, such as entering retirement or leaving school, that made income comparison problematic. Three subjects had been dramatically affected by the growing agricultural crises. One of these individuals had just recently lost his job of selling agriculture-related products because the company had folded in the area. Ironically, near identical circumstances had spurred his move from the metro area four years previously. However, he believed that he could find work in the area and that in the meantime, being located in the rural area helped to reduce the difficult times during the transition.

Perhaps the most dramatic impact on income that any one subject had to deal with was exemplified by an individual who had left a good paying ($24,000+) service-related job in the metro area and was now attempting to start into the hog farming business. At the time that this interview was conducted in mid-December of 1984, the individual was anticipating a yearly income

of approximately $8,000. Nevertheless, the subject felt that he was much happier in the rural setting, and even though he considered his old job to be one of the best aspects of urban life, he said he would not return to it even if the possibility was presented to him.

The general consensus was that income opportunities were not as good in rural areas, and that wages were, as a rule, depressed in these areas. However, two females, one single, one divorced, did note a marked increase in their income (the only two where income clearly went up unassociated with life-cycle changes such as leaving school or retirement). Another confounding issue concerned married couples, where the wife had not been able to find acceptable work in the area, and as a result family income had dropped. However, in most of these cases, there seemed to be an open willingness to trade income potential for a more family-oriented lifestyle, or other activities such as student. A similar kind of trade off was noted by a couple occupying white collar jobs. In this case, they both openly recognized the increased income potential in larger urban areas but were willing to trade this for living a rural lifestyle and commuting to smaller urban areas for work. This type of attitude was reflected in much the same manner with regards to job potential. While many subjects did not see a great deal of potential advancement in their present situations, or opportunities to move elsewhere, only one felt that moving closer to a larger urban area would be necessary, and even this move was contingent upon the individual's health.

This general satisfaction with rural living which seemed to emerge in this opening section of the interview was even further reflected in subject's responses to what they felt the ideal community would be to live in. Thirteen subjects responded to that question by either openly stating or generalizing that their present situation was ideal, or almost ideal. Five subjects wanted to be located in, or closer to a larger urban area, but not metropolitan. Only one subject felt that a large metropolitan area fit the description of being ideal, and one subject believed that the size of population was irrelevant.

The scaling measures which followed the section of questions presented above are presented in a brief overview in Table 1. Once again, the emergence of a clear pro-rural stance is revealed. Rural areas were equal (on 1 item) or greater than (on 8 items) metropolitan areas in every evaluation. Certain issues were raised during these scaling measures which need to be clarified in order to fully understand what was being evaluated. The question regarding family was couched in terms of how the respondent felt about the distance they had to travel to be with family in both the urban and rural areas. This was done rather than just asking if they were closer to family because the latter assumes that people like being close to their families and as such was a component of QOL. As these interviews demonstrated, proximity to family is not shared by everyone as being a positive experience and therefore may not constitute a QOL component.

The question regarding privacy was also confounded by several issues which clearly signify a profound difference between rural and urban areas despite what the numbers might

TABLE 1- MEAN SCORES ON QOL SCALING MEASURES AND DIFFERENCE OF MEANS TEST

QOL TOPIC	URBAN	RURAL	DIFF.
How friendly are/were your neighbors	5.85	7.10	1.25
How safe do/did you feel living there	5.85	8.50	2.65
How do/did you feel about the distance you must travel to be with family	6.20	6.85	0.65
How do/did you feel about your friendships there	6.70	8.40	1.70
What level of privacy do/did you have living there	6.47	6.47	0.00
How do/did you rate the environmental conditions	5.20	8.00	2.80
What would it be like to raise children there	4.50	7.30	2.80
How do you rate the schools in this area	5.61	7.29	1.68
How do you rate the cost-of-living in this area	5.26	6.80	1.54

suggest. First, the responses regarding the rural evaluations of privacy were subject to a great deal of variance. This appeared because of a split in subjects who lived in remote rural areas (five scores of 10), and some subjects located in small places or towns (four scores below average). Interestingly enough, of the four who did rate rural privacy below par were two, younger females who were raised in urban environments and two males who, because they were civicly involved, recognized the need to maintain a "proper" public face. Also, it is quite clear that the kind of privacy being measured between the urban and rural settings were quite different. Urban privacy was almost referred to as an anomic and alienated privacy where no one knows anybody and no one cares, whereas the privacy in rural areas pertained to physical isolation and a lack of a congested social atmosphere.

Finally, the three topics which seem to clearly separate the urban from rural settings pertain to safety, environment, and raising children. In these cases, over 2.5 points separate the urban and rural evaluations. This combined with the previously mentioned tendency to avoid extremes on the scale makes the difference even more significant. It should also be noted that the urban evaluation as a place to raise children was the only below average mean for any topic. These three issues are also dramatically represented in the work of Sofranko, et al., (1981) as being powerful elements in what constitutes the QOL component in turnaround migration.

The next section of the interview schedule dealt with lifestyle and changes in lifestyle since the subject's move to more rural areas. Once again, the predominance of rural

lifestyle factors played a key role. A reference to a general, more relaxed, friendlier lifestyle was cited by six subjects as the single biggest change that they had experienced. Five subjects noted change in social or entertainment activities as the single biggest change. Three subjects cited improvements in their personal happiness and two noted improved community interest or involvement as their biggest change. Also, one individual had moved toward a greater self-sufficiency because of living in the rural area. The biggest change for two subjects were more related to the life cycle changes of retirement rather than changes from migration, and one subject cited the lack of family and religious community as the single biggest change. Therefore, it can be argued that the impact of moving to a more rural area had a direct impact in the changes that 17 out of 20 subjects experienced in their lifestyles, and in more than half (9) of these instances it was a conscious change.

A question regarding whether or not the subject had experienced any change in their consumption patterns followed the above question. The main thrust of this question was to see if subjects were attempting to move towards a more simplistic lifestyle rather than guided by economic materialism values which Adamchak and Flint (1982) suggested were being rejected by the turnaround migrant. In 17 out of 20 cases subjects had experienced no significant change in their consumptive patterns or their attitudes regarding the acquisition and possession of material goods. Two subjects had experienced some changes towards a more simple lifestyle, and one stated that he was clearly spending less in attempts to simplify his lifestyle. In some

respects, this question did uncover certain aspects of consumption patterns which are of interest. Seven subjects noted that most of their extra spending, beyond basic subsistence spending, was centered around the home, and particularly home improvements. These improvements ranged from a truck load of gravel for the driveway to hot tubs, redwood decks, and greenhouses. One couple and two other subjects were actively involved in the design or remodeling of their homes. This becomes even more significant in light of the fact that this sample contains five renters and three mobile home owners.

A series of questions regarding farming and gardening activities were posed next, as well as a question of reliance on alternative energy use. It was felt that these questions may tap into underlying tendencies towards a more self-sufficient lifestyle and the resultant reduction of dependence on the traditional, institutionalized economic agents which supply the urban population with food and energy. Thirteen out of the 20 primary subjects were involved in at least some level of gardening and six of these placed a fairly heavy reliance on their garden products. Several of these individuals either canned or froze garden produce thereby benefiting year-round from their garden. Perhaps it is no surprise that 75 percent of the primary subjects were not involved in any kind of gardening in their urban settings. As noted earlier, only one subject was totally dependent on farming for their income. And, while this individual was suffering through difficult economic times, the burden was lessened somewhat by the fact that he was able to butcher his own livestock for meat, grew a rather large garden

and canned from it, and was nearly 100 percent reliant on alternative energy (firewood) for heating purposes. Two others supplemented their main income by farming activities, and two of the more remote rural subjects raised poultry for personal use. One subject did note that he did not buy any meat in the marketplace for three months because his family had lived off deer meat attained during hunting season.

Ten of the 20 primary subjects did rely on firewood as an alternative energy source. For two of these individuals there was a near 100 percent reliance on it for heating, and three others placed a major reliance (roughly 70 percent of total heating) on it. Six had wood stoves, three had fireplaces, and one had both. Two subjects mentioned passive solar capabilities in their homes, though no one had an active solar system. Of particular importance here are the subjects who did not rely on alternatives such as firewood. The five renters and three mobile home owners did not have a way of utilizing alternative sources, and the other two non-users were both older (60 and 67, respectively).

Another question regarding lifestyle concerned any changes in diet or exercise that subjects may have experienced in relation to their migration. It was felt that this question may tap into the "new consciousness" of fitness and health which seems to be such a part of contemporary culture. Only three subjects had experienced any changes in diet patterns and only four were actively involved in exercise programs, and for one of these subjects an exercise program was followed when they were living in the urban setting. Four subjects noted that the

physical demands of rural living left little time or energy for exercise programs (three of these four were involved in farming). Two subjects said that they had actually become more lax in their diet and exercise activities and ten noted no change in their diets or activities.

The lifestyle section of the interview schedule concluded with two questions regarding quality of life. The first was concerned with whether or not subjects felt that their QOL had improved since moving to the rural area, and then subjects were asked to give what they felt was an accurate definition of QOL, or what brought quality to their lives. Sixteen of the subjects believed that their QOL had improved since their move and two felt that there was no significant difference. Two subjects felt that their QOL had worsened since their move. (Perhaps it is no surprise to find that they were the same two subjects who were not happier since their move to the rural area.)

The question regarding a definition of QOL was more problematic. While some subjects readily responded with what they felt were various components of QOL, some subjects (like some researchers) had a difficult time defining what QOL meant to them. This was exemplified by one subject who, at first, responded, "If I could answer that question I would answer a lot of problems I've faced in the past ten years." Another subject may have hit at the very heart of the issue when he responded that QOL was "a very nebulous thing - it's going to be different for everyone under the sun." Ultimately and allowing for multiple responses, nineteen different response categories were created out of a total of 48 different responses. These nineteen

categories were collapsed into seven categories which are by no means suggested to be mutually exclusive. The largest component had seventeen responses that fell into a happiness/well-being/general satisfaction category. Eleven responses fit into relational aspects of friends, family, or community. Eight responses fell into a less stress/less congestion/health category. Four responses were definitive statements about spirituality, and five responses emphasized the day-to-day nature of QOL. Only two responses fell under the category of "economics", and two miscellaneous answers did not fall under any of the above categories.

The concluding section of the interview schedule dealt with more global issues. It was felt that if, indeed Adamchak and Flint (1982) were correct, changes in macro values and lifestyles might be more directly manifest in questions dealing with more ideologically apparent issues. On several of these issues, 21 responses serve as the base because of the divergence of attitudes between one husband and wife with regard to these issues. With regards to political issues, a wide spectrum emerges. Six subjects identified themselves as Republicans, and four as Democrats. Four subjects were independents and two felt they fell into the "something else" category. However, five subjects identified themselves as completely non-political and were the only subjects who did not claim an active participation in voting. Only two subjects said that they had ever been involved in politics beyond voting.

With regard to more specific political issues, ten subjects classified themselves as having been satisfied with the outcome

of the recent presidential election (pro-Reagan), and eight were not satisfied (anti-Reagan). One subject listed himself as indifferent, and two voiced rather strong anti-political stands. (For example, "All politicians are crooks!"; "They're all liars!". Ironically, two subjects who were pro-Reagan also made strong anti-political statements.) One Democrat was pro-Reagan, and one was indifferent, leaving only two strong Democrat subjects in the sample. Independents split with two each going to pro and anti-Reagan forces, respectively. Both subjects who classified themselves as "something else" were anti-Reagan.

Following the question on politics, subjects were asked if they felt better or worse times were ahead with regard to economic issues. Seven subjects believed that better times lie ahead, while nine felt that worse economic times were ahead. Two subjects believed that things would stay about where they are but be subject to a series of up and down cycles. Three subjects were not sure about the country's economic future. Subjects were also asked to respond to a question regarding whether or not they believed that their children (or young people growing up today) would have as "good" as life as their own. While many subjects couched their responses in terms of hopefulness, there were nine subjects each who were either optimistic/hopefully optimistic or pessimistic/hopeful, yet pessimistic. Two subjects were not sure of their children's future and three noted that whether rather the future looked optimistic or pessimistic, their children's lives would be different from the lives that they have known.

Closely paralleling the question on the economic future of America was a question regarding where our social allocations

should be focused. Since most media attention today is focused on the military versus social program split, this dichotomy served as the focus of much of this question. Twelve subjects responded that they would like to see cuts in the military budget, or at least no further increase. Seven subjects saw the recent increases as alright and were not opposed to more increases. Eight subjects would have liked to see cuts in social programs. Two issues which were a common element in many of these interviews were the topics of wastefulness and cheating related to government economics. Eight subjects made specific remarks regarding the extreme wastefulness in government spending. Four of these were of a general complaint to the inefficiency and bureaucratic waste, whereas four were specific comments on the wasteful spending in military areas. Six subjects mentioned how "cheating" the system played a role in their evaluation of economic allocations. Two of these responses were concerned over the tax cheating of the rich, and four responses were concerned over cheating on social programs by the poor. Two subjects each mentioned that increased spending should go to the environment and education, respectively, while one subject wanted to see more spent on research and technology. Ironically, only one subject mentioned that there should be increased support of the agriculture industry.

Following the questions on economic issues came a question regarding the subject's attitudes towards science and technology and their relation to the national economy. In every instance, subjects saw most of the advances of science and technology as good, with only six subjects even mentioning reservations they

had with regards to the social impact of these advances. Also, six subjects did mention problems in the area of medical science as being too costly or impractical and/or interfering with natural processes (i.e., genetics and certain life-prolonging procedures). When questioned whether their move to more rural areas was intended as a step "backwards" (i.e., to lessen the significance of science and technology in their lives), only one subject stated that this was part of his original reasoning in moving to more rural areas, yet this attitude had softened over the years since his original move. Two subjects said that there was an element of escapism in their reasoning, and two noted that, while it was not intentional, they were dealing less with the advances of science and technology in their rural settings. Perhaps, ironically, two subjects responded to this question by saying that living in crowded urban conditions was, in fact, backwards and that their move had been a step forward to them. One subject noted that some of the greatest advances in science and technology were operating in agricultural related fields in rural areas, and one should not view rural areas as being backwards.

Following these questions, the interview schedule turned to international relations. The first question of concern here was whether or not the respondents believed that the threat of the Soviet Union was real. Ten subjects believed that the threat was real while six did not believe it was real. Three believed that the Soviet threat to the U.S. was no more real than our threat to them, and one subject was not sure whether the threat was real or not.

The next question asked respondents whether or not they believed that a nuclear confrontation was inevitable, or not. Six did not believe that nuclear was in the future while twice that many (12) were leaning towards a probable confrontation, and two were unsure. One of the most interesting features of any question considered throughout the entire interview were subject's responses to this question of nuclear confrontation. Ten out of the twelve subjects leaning towards a probable confrontation cited the role of a third party (i.e., "mad men", terrorists, the middle-East) as being the element which would start a nuclear conflict as opposed to direct confrontation between the two super powers. This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that no question or probe in the schedule was aimed at this issue of the role of a third party in nuclear confrontation. Even the two subjects who believed a confrontation was probable, but not the result of a third party, believed that the confrontation would arise out of situations (accidents or "double-binds") which would not be controllable once the process had started.

The final series of questions on the schedule dealt with the subject's attitudes about the future of America. Fourteen subjects felt positive about the future of the U.S. leading into the twenty-first century, while only three felt negative. Three subjects felt both attitudes as they attempted to segment the positive and negative aspects as they saw them. When asked what they perceived as being the biggest change for the U.S. in the future, responses were varied. Three subjects saw worsening economic times as the single biggest change (one of these

responses was couched in terms of the agricultural crisis). Three subjects saw scientific and technological changes as providing the biggest adjustments, while three cited changes in social-structural relations (economics, socio-political, family) as facing the biggest change. Of particular significance to this work was the responses of three subjects who saw changing values as the single biggest change facing the U.S. in the future. This value shift was seen to be occuring in the rather vague category of "traditional" values such as family and church. Interestingly enough, two of the three subjects who saw value shifts as the biggest change ahead were also the same two who were not happier in the rural area and perceived worse conditions in their QOL since their move.

Several other issues were raised with regard to the biggest change ahead. Two subjects cited a reduction in the global power of the U.S., one cited illegal immigration and over immigration of certain groups (such as southeast Asians in southern California), and one noted environmental problems as the single biggest change to be faced. Two subjects saw no major changes in the considered period of time, and two were not sure.

DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

The results from this research pose many interesting questions. It should be abundantly clear though, that this research is exploratory in nature, and conclusions must be tentative, at best. Yet, as the results indicate, certain patterns seem to be emerging from this relatively small subject pool. To begin with, a comparison of this data to other data collected in the North Central region reveal some interesting

facts. Sofranko and Williams (1979; 1980) collected data in the amenity-rich areas of the Ozark region and Upper Great Lakes by use of telephone interviews with a total of 1134 subjects (501 metro-to-nonmetro migrants). Adamchak (1983; 1984) conducted similar research using mailback surveys in 13 high inmigration, nonmetropolitan counties in Kansas, with a total of 715 respondents, including 166 metro-to-nonmetro migrants. These two major studies and the implications drawn from them have had a major influence in the conceptualization and analysis of this research.

First consideration should go to an analysis of the subject pool. Results from this research indicate an age structure that falls somewhere between the age structure of the two major studies mentioned above. Adamchak's (1984) sample for metro movers had 14.2 percent of subjects 60 and over, whereas Sofranko and Williams had 33.6 percent. There were four primary subjects in this research 60 and over for 20 percent of the sample. With a mean age of 41.0 and a median age of 35.5, it would seem apparent that this research was dealing with a relatively young cohort of movers, with 65.0 percent of the primary subjects falling between 24 and 40 years of age.

The next major question emerging from this research is the nature of the major motivation for moving. The analysis of responses to the question of what was the single most important motivating factor fell nicely into the categories developed by Sofranko and Williams (1979, 1980). The 30 percent of respondents who fell into the economic category is closer to Sofranko and William's 24.4 percent than Adamchak's 53.7 percent.

In analyzing secondary and tertiary reasons, as suggested by Adamchak (1984), the importance of economic reasons becomes increasingly less significant. Also, the 40 percent of respondents in this research whose major reason for moving was environmental/quality of life is closer to Sofranko and William's 40.2 percent rather than Adamchak's (1984) 15.4 percent. Retirement reasons (15%) also were closer to Sofranko and William's work than Adamchak's.

Basically, the assertion that non-economic reasons are the major factor in the turnaround is whole-heartedly supported by this research. Of the 30 secondary and tertiary responses only two pertained to economic factors, and of the six subjects who did fall into the economic reason category, two were wives of men who were from non-metro backgrounds and were wishing to return to a more rural setting. Both wives were raised in urban areas and one had developed a rather strong anti-urban sentiment since her move. Of the four subjects left in this category, two were no longer at the same job which drew them to the rural area, and all four listed some sort of rural pull factor (particularly related to a rural lifestyle) as playing a role in the relocation.

These facts, coupled with subject perceptions of the increased income potential in urban areas clearly point to the fact that money is no longer the prime consideration of most of these turnaround migrants. This is even more significant in light of the relatively young age structure of this group of migrants. This brief comparison to other turnaround research suggests two key points. First, age structure in non-amenity areas is indeed different and proportionally younger than in

amenity-rich areas. These individuals who are in the prime family-formation years are clearly opting for an alternative lifestyle that cannot be explained in traditional, economic ways. Second, an in-depth analysis which takes into consideration secondary and tertiary motivations reveals a strong noneconomic reasoning in metro migrants for migration that reaches, or possibly even exceeds, noneconomic reasons in amenity-rich areas. This type of analysis revealed that many of the primary economic reasons for moving were simply masks to more underlying dimensions of lifestyle.

Another major finding emerged during the process of interviewing during this research. Though there was never any direct questioning regarding differences in rural/urban lifestyles, it became quite apparent that many of the subjects were acutely aware of these differences and that these differences were often significant factors in the subject's decision to move. One issue which was not part of the interview schedule but which emerged in conversation over consumption patterns and the best and worse aspects of the urban and rural worlds was entertainment. It appeared that many of these migrants had grown disenchanted with the "excitement" of the metropolitan lifestyle and in their move were rejecting much of the entertainment forms associated with urban life. A dominant, though underlying theme for this rejection was based on the level of social interaction which emerged in relation to urban entertainment. It was apparent many of these subjects were questioning the meaning (in a deeper, personal sense) of the interaction that emerged during many forms of urban lifestyle

entertainment. On the other hand, the lack of "things to do" in rural areas resulted in a much greater dependence upon friends, family, and community for forms of entertainment. Getting together for supper, playing cards, and going visiting were some of the examples of forms of entertainment that were mentioned and ones that depended a great deal more upon the individuals to actively create the emergent quality of "entertainment".

One individual mentioned the greater long-term gratification he received from just day-to-day activities (such as experiencing wildlife with his son around the farm) as opposed to the more "superficial" (his term) gratification of weekend partying and other forms of entertainment associated with the urban lifestyle. This particular subject was "dismayed" at his friends in the city because of their "values, goals, and priorities", and the things they do for fun. He said that his rural experience was less stressful, more natural, more family-oriented, and he concluded by saying, "I'm so glad I'm not there (urban) anymore!" Another subject shared identical feelings, "Before, the friendships were based on partying....alot of shallow things, meaningless things....Here they are on a more personal level." An older subject noted similar patterns. "People back there (urban) are not like they are here", she stated. All she saw them wanting to do was to "go out" to bars and drinking, whereas she felt that the people she knew in the rural setting "were similar to ourselves", and they enjoyed playing cards and camping. She concluded, "They don't know how to entertain themselves (in the city)".

While it is recognized that the examples given here are being greatly generalized (after all, there is still the mighty television in rural areas, too), there can be no denial that a considerable shift in the nature of leisure time activities must go hand-in-hand with turnaround migration. With the growing amount and significance of leisure time activities in contemporary Western society, perhaps turnaround migrants are seeking certain qualities in their leisure time activities that they perceive are not as readily available in the urban setting.

This question of entertainment and leisure time activity may only be part of a greater emphasis that turnaround migrants from this research appear to be placing on satisfaction with their interpersonal relationships. Material derived from these interviews goes a long way in supporting the findings of Miller and Crader (1979) that people in rural settings experience a greater sense of interpersonal satisfaction. One subject pointed out that she had developed more friends in one year in the rural setting than in 15 years in the city. Another subject noted that she had acquired more friends in three years in the rural setting than she had in 22 years in the city. "What separates the people (urban area) from here is that the people (urban area) feel like they have their own problems and they're just all wrapped up in themselves, while the people here have more time for you and your friends and neighbors. They just seem not as wrapped up in themselves. They are concerned about their friends and neighbors," she concluded.

Another subject voiced similar feelings in response to why he was happier in his present situation.

> "Sure, opportunities (available in the city) are important, but you miss out on people and community. I am a people-oriented individual. In the small community you have the chance to grow with the community. In the city you're just one small cog (in the larger system)....You get to enjoy the fact that you know these people. Sure, cooperation is there, but it's not out of necessity because in reality people are more dependent on each other in the city."

The most graphic statement on satisfaction with interpersonal relations came from an individual who had suffered the death of a child shortly after moving to the more rural area. The community response left this individual with a strong emotional attachment to the people he called friends and neighbors ("The beautiful people of this area"). However, things were not always this way as he noted in his response to the issue of social control in rural areas. He noted that he was not one to deviate from the accepted norms, and did not try to "buck the system", to which he added,

> "I think that's (the fact that people really do care) what trips a lot of people when they move to the country or small town. They are used to that fast-paced life and people cheating them, or something like that. Then suddenly they don't understand that people are interested in doing something for them for nothing. The first day I was here the neighbor came by with his tractor and mowed the lawn, and the whole time I was wondering what he was going to charge me. But when he finished he said, "Have a nice day", and drove off. This is what alot of people don't understand after living in big cities. I just feel the cities are more cut-throat, and you don't do anything in the city unless it's for something, to get something back. Out here, people don't expect anything in return except friendship."

Later in the same interview, the subject quite eloquently stated a commonly mentioned (by other subjects) facet of neighborly relations.

> "It's different as night and day, and I don't know that there are words to describe it....the feeling of well-being. There was never that feeling of well-being living in (urban area). Out here there is a tremendous feeling

> of well-being. Out here you have people caring about you....you know they are there to help you if you have a problem. Whereas, in (urban area) you don't know your next-door neighbor, they don't know you, and you're not sure you want to know them."

While it is recognized that these examples are extracted from the larger context of the research project, it is hoped that they are demonstrative of values and attitudes shared by many of the subjects interviewed. At the very least, they are intended to exemplify what came across to the researcher as a genuine happiness at having disassociated their lives from metropolitan settings and the satisfaction of being where they are, for the great majority of the subjects. This stands in stark contrast to the findings of Martin and Lichter (1983) who argued that "migration appears to be a rather poor vehicle for achieving greater satisfaction with work or life in general, despite the apparently changing motivations of recent migrants" (p. 532).

Finally, in terms of a general overview, the question of what was the "cause" of these migrations from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas must be addressed. It would seem apparent that this research, like so much other research on the turnaround, has demonstrated that economic motivations for migration are becoming less and less meaningful as causal agents in migration. However, the research of Adamchak (1984) had left questions as to whether or not economics were still in operation in nonamenity areas. Hopefully, this research has demonstrated that when secondary and tertiary motivations are taken into consideration, as suggested by Adamchak (1984), economic motivations become significantly reduced even in nonamenity areas.

Even though this research has supported the idea that economic motivations are not the most significant reasons behind the turnaround, have the findings presented here led to any clarification as to what is the major causal mechanism behind the turnaround? The argument presented earlier was that this research was to be a test of the Adamchak and Flint (1982) theory which stresses a shifting ideological base from economic materialism to community/life satisfaction within the context of a social scarcity paradigm. It is doubtful that such limited research of an exploratory nature, such as this, could fully support or refute any theoretical model or position, however, certain trends emerged that would suggest that further research is needed to test the arguments of Adamchak and Flint.

This research has demonstrated that for the vast majority of migrants their move to the rural setting has resulted in a greater general happiness and perceived quality of life. Community involvement and a general trend towards greater community satisfaction were certainly evident. Perhaps the most significant feature of this satisfaction was the more relaxed social atmosphere, or slower pace, that subjects perceived to be in operation in rural areas. Certainly, part of the satisfaction derived from their perceptions of greater safety and better environmental conditions that exist in rural areas, as demonstrated by the scaling measures on these topics. Also, there appears to be a life satisfaction dimension to this group of migrants which is centered around what may be called "traditional" values. In particular, this satisfaction seems to be derived from

a greater sense of spiritual fulfillment, a more family-oriented lifestyle, and the satisfaction of owning your own home.

This last issue, the one of owning your own home, was a highly salient feature of these interviews though no one question in the actual interview addressed this issue. It used to be that if anyone ever hoped to own their own home they would have to locate in an area where high income potential existed (urban areas), so that they could afford the costs of home ownership. However, and as the discussion over cost-of-living differences between urban and rural places demonstrated, the near unanimous conclusion of subjects was that the single most costly expense in the metropolitan area was housing. Real estate prices in many cities have greatly out-stripped income potential for most people in these areas. Therefore, the dream of owning your own home now reverts back to the rural area where real estate prices are more in line with the income potential available to a larger majority of the people. (An extreme example of this was the individual who owned two acres of land and a farm home in a remote area and was making $135 monthly house payments!)

It would appear from this research that home ownership is important to these individuals, given the 75 percent home owner rate, and their propensity for spending excess money on home improvements. Of course, this may be part of a value shift towards more of a family-oriented lifestyle. Clearly, people are rejecting the urban atmosphere as a good place to raise children, as demonstrated by the scaling measures. Because of the young age structure of this group of migrants, many were in the family-formation process. Eight subjects with a total of 20 children

under the age of 18 might suggest a group of strong candidates for rural-to-urban migration. However, just the opposite had occurred which may indicate that these individuals are guided in their actions by values based on economic subsistance and a more satisfying lifestyle rather than economic materialism.

Because this research was designed primarily as a test of underlying dimensions to the causation of turnaround migration, there was no attempt to single out any other significant ulterior motive. Therefore, attempts to locate causal elements have to be based on a content analysis of the dominant themes which emerged during the interview process. In some respects, this is a speculative venture highly subject to the nature of the interview questions and the interpretations of the researcher, not to mention the interpretations of the 20 subjects. However, through the process of twenty interviews, it can be argued that relatively clear and distinct patterns have emerged and that these patterns are interpretable from within the context of the theoretical reasoning of Adamchak and Flint (1982). As to whether or not these patterns, as interpreted through a social scarcity/ ideological transformation paradigm, have helped to clarify the reasons and rationale for the turnaround, one could argue that, indeed, they have. At the very least, this research has attempted to bring migration research and theory together, and to do so with new methodological approaches that integrate both quantitative and qualitative data. In the final analysis, research beyond the exploratory level, using integrated methodologies and uniting research and theory, will have to determine whether or not this

research has meaningfully addressed the topic of turnaround migration.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Because of the limited subject pool and the exploratory nature of this research it is difficult to suggest the findings presented here are of major significance in resolving the question of what is the cause behind turnaround migration. However, it was never the intention to develop a global interpretation of the turnaround phenomenon from this limited perspective. Still, there were some specific issues which this rsearch was aimed at addressing and in concluding the findings and implications of this research it can be argued that this research was meaningful and has provided impetus for future migration research. In the opening chapters of this paper several major concerns were set forth for which this research was to be a test. The remainder of this paper will address these concerns and the implications that this research has pertaining to these issues.

Two major concerns emerge over the evaluation of this research as being "exploratory" in nature. These have to do with the geographical setting and methodological approach used in this research. First, the geographical setting was an attempt to test whether or not research conducted in nonamenity areas, within a specific, limited region, would yield similar results as the research that has been conducted in amenity-rich areas. Some research (Adamchak, 1983; 1984) conducted over a wide range of nonamenity areas had suggested that migration to these areas consisted of a different age structure, greater economic reasoning for the migration, and various and other differences

from amenity-rich areas. This research revealed that there appears to be a differentially younger group of migrants moving to nonamenity areas, however, their reasoning behind their moves appear to be motivated by noneconomic concerns just as those moving to amenity-rich areas.

The second major concern over the "exploratory" nature of this research has to do with the methodological approach that attempted to integrate qualitative and quantitative perspectives. It would seem that this approach has been most fruitful and future research on the topic of migration could be greatly enhanced by further development and refinement of this approach. The qualitative approach of in-depth interviewing allowed for a great deal of input from the migrants which may have been lost in a more restrictive format. From the definition put forth in the earlier chapters of this work, migration can be seen as interaction, through the process of people moving, between two different social systems. The in-depth interviewing allowed the subjects to develop a relatively clear picture of what it is that separates these two social systems and why these differences became significant motivations behind their move. The quantitative scaling measures allowed for comparison of results with other, similar research which has been conducted on the turnaround, and demonstrated similar results between the amenity-rich and nonamenity areas. Above and beyond that, the categorization of open-ended responses allowed for a quick overview of responses that could then be accentuated by specific examples from the interviews. Clearly, this approach needs further refinement and development to be used for its fullest

potential, yet it seems equally clear that the integration of these two approaches will yield more meaningful results than either approach used separately.

Another central question that was posed for this work was whether or not the "quality of life" concept could be meaningfully applied to turnaround migration research. As noted in Chapter III, there seems to be an intuitive understanding of what QOL is all about, yet it is an exceedingly difficult concept to deal with analytically. Quantitative approaches to the subject will inevitably fall short of the desired interpretation of the concept, and the subjective/qualitative approach results in a near impossible definitional problem. This coupled with the fact that QOL concept in migration research has tended to result in a false dichotomy between economic and noneconomic motivations makes the concept a most problematic issue.

This research has demonstrated that the QOL concept is of limited use in this type of analysis. Using the multiple-response approach, subjects listed over 45 responses that fell into 19 different categories. These categories were then collapsed into eight categories that still ranged from economic concerns to spiritual concerns. No single element emerged which could have been evaluated as a most important element of QOL. While subjects were not lacking in their interpretations of QOL, many did have difficulty in analytically breaking down the concept to a definitional form. As the one subject noted, QOL is a "very nebulous" thing and it will tend to be different for everyone under the sun. Therefore, it is the conclusion of this research that the QOL concept is simply too far abstracted from

"reality" to be useful in migration analysis, and continued use of the concept may result in more effort being directed at defining QOL than understanding the phenomenon it is suppose to be explaining.

By abandoning the QOL concept, social scientists are left with the task of reconceptualizing the noneconomic causation which is undoubtedly a part of turnaround migration. Data from this research, and the accompanying theoretical base (Adamchak and Flint, 1982), may be helpful in determining an alternative to QOL. First, a strong argument can be made for the fact that much of what the QOL concept was probably intended to capture was, in fact, the issue of values. After all, quality itself implies a value judgment. From this research, it is apparent that values, or the things which people saw as being important and having meaning in their lives were some of the most important factors in determining a subject's migration to rural areas.

While some might argue that QOL is little more than a measurement and conglomeration of values, this research would indicate that it is simply too abstract to be meaningful. Values, and their resultant impact on lifestyles, on the other hand, would seem to provide a great deal of insight into the topic. This would also seem to be the most natural line of analysis that would allow the reconciliation of the findings of this research with the Adamchak and Flint (1982) theoretical position of which this research was intended to be a test. It would also be a convenient way of reconciling some of the apparent ambiguities of other research on migration.

For example, the research on residential preference becomes much more understandable when one realizes that residential location is more often than not a means to an end rather than an end in itself. An individual or family lives in an area that provides the greatest opportunities for attaining what is felt to be important and have meaning in life to those individuals. It would be nice if everyone could attain their goals in the "serenity and calm of the country" (an idealization), but the rural lifestyle is associated with only certain values and cannot accommodate the individual who is looking for multiple opportunities and a wide diversity of economic and cultural events. That is why research on residential preferences always tends to show a strong pro-rural sentiment yet is not matched in actual behavior. DeJong's research (1977) substantiates this when he states, "our data indicates no correlation between residential preference and actual migration for those who prefer a smaller-sized place or rural environment" (p. 176). This approach emphasizing values and lifestyles would also go a long way in explaining why rural areas close to metro areas are one of the most desired locations (DeJong, 1977; Fuguitt and Zuiches, 1975).

Christenson (1979) pursued this idea of value orientation in his analysis of potential movers and non-movers in North Carolina. Part of his conclusions was that there was an absence of significant value differences between metro movers to nonmetro areas and the people already in those nonmetro areas. The conclusions drawn from the research being presented here would concur with Christenson to a great extent, and even offer an

explanation of this phenomenon. A most salient feature of the small, rural community is the social control mechanism whereby, through social networking, it becomes nearly impossible to maintain anonymity, unlike the case in large urban settings. Individuals and families who possess and maintain values substantially different from their neighbors will often be subject to sanctions, be they formal or informal, in proportion to the perceived threat that the community senses in these differences.

This issue of values and social control was prevalent in several of the interviews conducted for this research. The most prominent case was the young, married female whose husband had been drawn to the rural area by a job. She maintained many urban values (as reflected in her selection of Boston as the ideal place to live), and disliked her experience in the small community intensely. She even went as far as to say that her foreign birth (France) was perceived by local residents as an issue (of gossip). Clearly, it appeared that these sort of issues masked the overriding value orientation difference. The question from the scaling measures on privacy is where several comments on this element of social control were most prominent. It is also reflected in the dichotomous evaluations of privacy between remote rural migrants, and migrants to small towns. For example, one subject when questioned about the social control of small towns, responded by noting that, yes, it was there, but it was only a problem for those who "rocked the boat," and he believed that he was not that way.

If the conclusions being presented here are valid, then it will be imperative to establish that there is, indeed, different value hierarchies operating in the rural and urban spheres. It will also be important to establish that the social structure and organization of rural areas are substantially different in the opportunities they offer. (In many respects this counters Wardwell's (1980) economic-structural convergence with a social-structural divergence.) Research conducted on community satisfaction may provide one avenue of pursuit in this area. Miller and Crader's (1979) research on urban-rural differences in community satisfaction suggests that a difference does indeed exist in structure and opportunities between urban and rural areas. Their research found that rural people tend to have the highest levels of interpersonal satisfaction, whereas urban people tend to have the lowest. On the other hand, urban people tend to be more economically satisfied whereas rural people are least satisfied. In many respects, this research is highly pertinent to turnaround migration and becomes even more relevant if the Adamchak and Flint theory serves as our starting point.

Further evidence from community satisfaction research to support this values/lifestyle orientation is found in the work of Fried (1982) who conducted research in 42 municipalities in ten different SMSAs. Fried discovered that local social interaction played a relatively minor role in explaining residential attachment. In fact, its effects were limited to that modest proportion of the population for whom such neighborhood and community relationships were highly valued (my emphasis). From what the interviews in the present research suggest, Fried's

findings would seem to support the obvious, because people who place local social interaction high on their value hierarchy have probably already left the SMSA to seek more opportunities to attain their significant values in rural areas. While it is recognized that this argument tends toward teleology, research would suggest a consistent logic therein.

The community satisfaction issue is also part of the Adamchak and Flint (1982) theory, and if the QOL dimension in this model is in fact intended as some sort of value/lifestyle orientation, then a strong case can be made for the present research at least partially supporting this model. Wholesale acceptance will have to be tentative because of the necessity of separating out the different levels of values concerned. That is to say that the Adamchak and Flint model implies a shift in macro-social values such that people may be turning away from the contemporary economic materialist ideology. Results from these interviews suggest that there is an almost complete lack of rejection of these values and beliefs. The question on consumption patterns revealed that a large majority of migrants are not attempting any sort of voluntary simplicity, and would even enjoy having more of some creature comforts. There was also a near total support of the science and technology which spurs economic growth, yet the large majority who saw America's future as positive stands in contrast to the majority of subjects who saw worse economic times ahead and were threatened by uncontrollable nuclear disaster.

This lack of any kind of radical consciousness is really not surprising, especially when one considers the previously

mentioned social control in rural areas. However, the social scarcity issue which is at the heart of the Adamchak and Flint model provides a great deal of insight into the apparent contradictions which appeared in these interviews. It can be argued that many of the social upheavals in the late 1960's and early 1970's were signals of an ever-encroaching world of scarcity. Overpopulation, pollution, resource depletion, and the threat of nuclear annihilation were all examples of social problems which emerged during this radical period, and it did not require active participation in any radical activity to be effected by the apparent contradictions that these issues raised.

In fact, research on migration, and particularly theoretical approaches to migration, have been biased towards a world view of abundance. This assumption results in a heavy reliance on micro causation since social structure is viewed as ever progressing and the individual is seen as a free-willed, choice-making being in a world of open possibilities. What will happen if we begin to view most migration as the result of scarcity, or the reactions of individuals to scarcity. Research on other forms of migration other than the turnaround will be necessary to see if a scarcity paradigm is applicable as a theoretical base for migration.

Turnaround migrants, especially in non-amenity areas, appear to be people who are very much aware of the problems in the system and a sense of emerging scarcity (i.e., economic decline, the threat of nuclear weapons, unstable relations with the environment), but rather than seeking the solution to the problems by changing the system, they have chosen to remain part

of that system, yet have devalued many of the values professed by that system. This is being achieved by the process of rearranging their personal values and lifestyles. These individuals have recognized that the opportunities and promise of the 1950's and early 1960's has faded. The dream of moving to the city and "making it big" has become increasingly difficult to achieve, though these stories still exist. However, the demonstrated limitations of our present world view (and resultant value structure) have reached a level where now, for many, what was once a dream is now a nightmare.

As a result of this emerging period of social scarcity, individuals are recognizing that values which spurred the dramatic growth of urban life are becoming more difficult to attain. So the question arises, why live in the city (with its disamenities) and only survive when one can deemphasize the values which brought them to the city, rearrange their values and find that these new, significant values are attainable and not so nearly dependent on a decaying system. In the case of the turnaround migrants in this research it would appear that this may be what is happening. First, there is the fear or sense of helplessness associated with events presently occurring "within the system" such as economic decline and the uncontrollable nature of nuclear weaponry. Second, when one takes into consideration the potential of raising a garden and relying more on alernative energy (as many of these migrants are doing), and couple this with cheaper housing, then we are talking about individuals who have reduced their dependence on a vast majority of the American market place. This reduced dependence on the

market place is even reflected in the leisure time activities which, as has been noted, are more centered around the home and community rather than going off to some location to "consume" some form of culturally defined "fun".

Despite the argument of Wardwell (1980) and others (Beale and Fuguitt, 1981) that the turnaround is occurring as a result of the convergence between the urban and rural worlds and that this shift in migration patterns is simply part of an ongoing evolution on contemporary society, this research suggests that the turnaround is occurring because of the differences between the two worlds and that this difference provides the basis for many individuals to break away from the prescribed "evolutionary" path that the macro society is on. Rural areas provide the kind of social organization and structure that allow individuals to pursue certain activities and lifestyles that are not available to most in the highly urbanized area. The desire to pursue these alternative activities and lifestyles are occurring because people are rearranging their personal value structures and this rearrangement is away from the economic materialist ideology that has dominated Western society for the past 30 years.

It may be argued, then, that the turnaround is a relatively transient phenomenon because it was occurring during a period when the social structure was still fairly resilient and enough abundance existed to allow these individuals to "live out their preferences". Others might argue that this is little more than a fad spurred on by feelings of nostalgia from simpler times. There may also be a resurgence of "traditional" values due to a more conservative political climate. However, while these more

traditional values are associated with a lifestyle that was prevalent 30 years ago, and there might be a sense of nostalgia involved, these migrants from this research seem to be acutely aware that their move was not a step backwards in time. The irony of the two subjects who saw urban life as backwards reveals an awareness in these individuals that progress does not necessarily imply a unilinear-unidirectional path.

It should be emphasized at this point that the preceding discussion is based on generalities from all interviews. It is not intended to ignore the fact that 10 percent of the sample were not happier in the rural area, or that several "worst aspects" of rural life exist. It is also not intended to suggest that these individuals spoke as a unified body, for their reasons and understandings of their migration were quite diverse. However, the data and assertions made here were attempts to address whether underlying dimensions related to macro-social structure and value shifts were part of the reason for turnaround migration. As noted, this research is exploratory, however, a strong case can be made in the argument that perceptions and an awareness of social scarcity have impacted on these individuals and resulted in a reorganization of their value hierarchies. This value shift is resulting in lifestyle alterations that are: 1) more associated with, and attainable in, rural areas; 2) more attainable to more people, proportionally (i.e., not governed as greatly by a "scarcity" paradigm); and 3) less dependent on a decaying and faltering world view.

As one subject put it, "I think we're seeing, in a good number of segments of society, a return to basic values....a

basic caring about people. A good example of that would be going from the "freedom to do anything" of the 60's, to suddenly realizing....that (that) isn't really where it's at. People need the dependency of love, that caring, that mutualism that comes from a loving relationship."

These are value judgments and statements. While no on was arguing that people who left rural areas for the cities were rejecting these values, it would seem quite defensible to argue that different value hierarchies were in operation. The same is true for this research. Clearly, people are not rejecting America, or most of American ideology, outwardly. However, on their value hierarchies some issues have been significantly reduced in importance. As the wife of one subject put it, "With economics, I think you see less of an emphasis on it, not that people are rejecting capitalism totally, but just rejecting the fact that you have to have all this money. You need enough to be happy with, but family (and friendships) is more important....and life is a little slower."

Whether or not this constitutes a "silent revolution" is questionable. Recent data (Engels and Forstall, 1985) reveals that metropolitan areas have once again surpassed rural areas in growth. However, this does not mean that the turnaround has ended, it has simply slowed, in most areas, from the dramatic growth which occured in the 1970's. Continued research along this line is necessary to determine whether or not these exploratory findings can be substantiated in other areas, with other migrants. A wealth of information awaits the researcher who is willing to leave the laboratory and venture into these

communities where the art of living is practiced on a day-to-day basis. If the subjects in this research are at all correct, then we, as sociologists, must also begin to focus on people and their relationships as they exist in the real world and emphasize aligning social research with social reality. Trends such as the turnaround may be part of the greater evolutionary scheme of contemporary Western society, or they may be signs of a potentially radical break from the prescribed scheme. Future research should attempt to address these issues so that we are not constantly "surprised" by events occurring in our world.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Review initial mail-in questionnaire to acquaint self with subjects. Use initial greetings and introduction time to verify information from questionnaire.

2. Take a few moments to think back to when you were living in (urban area). As you reflect on your life there, briefly describe your living circumstances as they were then (i.e. description of home, neighborhood, occupation, etc.).
   A. Inside city limits - kind of neighborhood?
      Outside city limits - distance from work, shopping, etc.?
   B. What were the best aspects of living in (urban area)?
   C . What were the worse aspects of living in (urban area)?

3. What was the single most important factor in your decision to move to (rural area)?
   A. What was this factor so important?
   B. Has (most important factor) always been an important factor in the making of decisions about where you live?

4. Were there other considerations in your decision to move to (rural area)?
   A. Why were these important?
   B. Have they always been important?

5. How has the move from (urban area) to (rural area) effected your family income?

6. How has the move effected your (and spouse) employment situation?
   A. Change of job? Job opportunities?
   B. Same job - advancement? Future advancements?

7. Stop for a moment now, and shift to your present situation here in (rural area). Speaking in general terms, would you say that you are happier living in (rural area) than (urban area)?
   A. Why is this so?
   B. Are these the most important factors?
   C. What are some of the best aspects of living here?
   D. What are some of the worse aspects?

8. Take a moment now to think about what you would consider to be the ideal community to live in. Can you briefly describe the qualities that this "ideal" community would present to its residents?
   A. How big would it be?
   B. Access to material things (i.e., shopping, commerce)?
   C. Access to nature?
   D. Employment?

I am going to ask you a series of questions that ask you to compare certain aspects of your life in (urban area) to your life in (rural area). When you think of your life in (urban area) please try to remember your feelings while you were living there. After we have discussed your feelings about your life in (urban area), I am going to present you with a scale ranging from zero to ten, with zero representing the worst possible case for the respective question, and ten representing the best possible case. Please place an "T" over the number which you feel comes closest to describing your feelings about the item in question while you were living in (urban area). We will then discuss the same question with regards to your feelings since you have moved to (rural area), and again, I will ask you to rate yourself of the same scale as before using a "H" to represent your present attitude towards the matter in question. Do you have any questions?

9. How friendly are/were your neighbors?
   - A. Why is this so?
   - B. What are the biggest differences?
   - C. Have your ideas of what a neighbor is changed since your move?

10. How safe do/did you feel where you live(d)?
   - A. Is this because you've become a more/less safety conscious person?
   - B. Have your ideas about safety (i.e., locked doors, police protection, etc.,) changed since your move?

11. How close (distance) are/were you to family?
   - A. Emotionally, socially closer?
   - B. Is this better/worse?

12. Did you have more friends here than in (urban area)?
   - A. What are the reasons for this?
   - B. How about acquaintances? (people you know by name but don't consider friends)
   - C. Have the nature of your friendships changed since your move?

13. What level of privacy do/did you have?
   - A. Is this good?
   - B. How does this effect your life?

14. How good were the environmental conditions?
   - A. Do you spend more time out-of-doors? (out-door activities?)
   - B. Have your attitudes about your relationship with the environment changed since your move?

15. What is/was (urban) like to raise children?
   - A. Why is this so?
   - B. Is this similar/different from how/where you (adult) were raised?
   - C. Have your ideas on this subject changed since your move?

16. How good are/were the schools in (urban area) (rural area)?
    A. What makes a "good" school system?
    B. Do you interact more with the school system?

17. What is/was the cost of living like in (urban area) (rural area)?
    A. What were the major costs here/there?
    B. What were the major benefits here/there?

Thank you for struggling through those questions with me. Now, before we end I would like to ask you a few more questions regarding the move you have made.

18. What has been the single biggest change in your lifestyle since your move?
    A. Why has this changed?
    B. Was it a conscious change? (i.e. purposeful/ associated with your move?)

19. Have your consumptions patterns changed because of your move?
    A. Spending more/less? Reasons?
    B. Have your ideas about spending/owing things changed?

20. Are you involved in gardening?
    A. Were you in (urban area)?
    B. How big of garden?
    C. How much reliance on it for food?

(For those living outside city limits)

21. Are you engaged in any farming activities?
    A. Is this a new activity for you?
    B. What percent of your income comes from farming?
    C. How many acres of land do you own?

22. Do you rely on any alternative energy sources such as firewood or solar energy?
    A. Does this play a major/minor role in your lifestyle?
    B. Why have you turned to these alternate sources?

23. Are you actively involved in any of the new trends towards health and fitness?
    A. Diet change?
    B. Running/exercise?
    C. When did these changes occur?

24. Would you say that the quality of your life has improved since your move from (urban area)?
    A. Why so?
    B. Has your idea about quality in your life changed?

25. The term quality-of-life has been used by researchers and policy-makers to explain such things as migration, yet this

term has no clear definition. What does the term "quality-of-life" mean to you?

A. Who do you feel these factors to be important?
B. Has the meanig of "quality-of-life" changed for you since your move?

26. How do you consider yourself politically?
    A. Democrat, Republican, Independent?
    B. Do you vote? (Level of involvement?)
    C. Reagan-Mondale? Why?

27. Recently the American economy has been improving. Do you feel that there are better or worse times ahead with regards to economic issues?
    A. Was your move at all motivated by your feelings towards our economic future?
    B. Do you expect your children to have as "good" a life as you?

28. When it comes to allocating social resources, many people feel that Reagan's military build-up is good, while others would like to see more spent on social programs. If you had a direct say in these matters, what areas would you emphasize when allocating social resources?
    A. Is the military build-up necessary?
    B. Have your attitudes on governmental spending and taxes changed since your move?

29. One of the prerequisites of a healthy national economy is economic growth, which is often brought about by technological advances. How do you feel about the continuing advance of science and technology with regards to social progress?
    A. Medical advances? Necessary or too expensive?
    B. Space shuttle? A good way to spend money?
    C. Do you consider your move a step "backwards". (i.e., as a move aimed at altering the importance of science and technology in your life?)

30. With regards to international affairs, there appears to be more tension in recent years between the Soviet Union and ourselves. How do you feel about our government's relations with the Soviets?
    A. Is the "Soviet Threat" real?
    B. Did international tensions play a role in your move?
    C. Is a nuclear confrontation inevitable?

31. Speaking in general terms, looking down the road 15 years, how do you feel about the future of America?
    A. Positive/negative? Why?
    B. What will be the biggest change ahead?
    C. Did your feelings about the future play a role in your move?

This is the end of the questions I have for you. However, do you have any questions or comments you would like to make regarding this interview? Anything else?

Thank you for your help in this project. Your assistance will help in understanding the cause and effects of migration in this country. If you have any questions in the future regarding this research or this interview please feel free to contact me (give 3x5 card with name, address, and telephone number). Once again, I would like to reassure you that information gathered in research such as this is help in the strictest of confidence. Thanks again for your help.

THE SEARCH FOR UNDERLYING DIMENSIONS OF TURNAROUND MIGRATION: AN ALTERNATIVE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

by

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B.S., Kansas State University, 1982

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1985

ABSTRACT

Migration is one of the three basic components of population change and in countries of the developed world it presently represents the most varied and least understood of these components. With the significant rise in urban-to-rural, or "turnaround", migration, demographers and other social scientists have been left in a quandary over the causes and effects of migration. One major problem exists because theoretical development has been weak with regards to migration and there has been a general unwillingness to couch empirical research in terms of its theoretical implications. Another problem arises out of the many assumptions that are presently held about the process of migration. These assumptions are becoming more and more problematic when applied to this new event, the population turnaround.

This research project is an attempt to deal with some of the deficiencies in the study of migration. First, it has been guided from its inception by a theoretical approach which places the causal agent of turnaround migration in a macro, sociological context. Second, the methodology used was an attempt to integrate qualitative and quantitative procedures that, hopefully, transcends the knowledge gained from secondary sources and surveys, and allows the researcher the possibility of tapping into underlying dimensions of the turnaround phenomenon. Finally, this research was conducted in a geographical setting for which limited data is available to date.

This paper presents the findings from a series of twenty interviews conducted with turnaround migrants in north east-

central Kansas. Results from these interviews reveal that nonamenity areas appear to have a younger cohort of turnaround migrants than high amenity areas, however, their motivations for moving are quite similar to those moving to high amenity areas and primarily based on noneconomic reasoning. Responses from questions regarding lifestyles and more global issues reveal that these subjects may be responding to a growing world of social scarcity and other macro-social changes associated with changing beliefs and values. These macro changes may be leading people into rural areas where the social structure and organization are more conducive for attaining these new, "traditional" values. Because of the limited subject pool and exploratory nature of this research, conclusions must be tentative until future research can substantiate or refute these findings.