

THE MOTIVATION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERNAL MIGRANTS

A SOCIO-MEDICAL STUDY OF YOUNG MIGRANTS
IN SCOTLAND

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PART I

IMMIGRATION control has been a boon to international demographers. For students of internal migration the periodic census has provided a partial substitute, especially for those concerned with the volume and direction of movement. For those, however, who are interested in the motives and characteristics of migrants, or in the effect of migration on the individual or community, the census provides only a numerical framework and a set of hypotheses. The very mobility of the migrants makes them hard to study. It is difficult in any community to identify in advance those who are likely to migrate from it and, hence, to determine their motives and characteristics prior to migration. Identification of people who have migrated to a given area is much easier, but in the meantime the very process of migration may have changed

their socio-economic position, their family life, their habits and health and even their own view of why they migrated.

In 1938 Thomas (21), in a comprehensive review of earlier work, concluded: "Our examination of researches bearing on these differentials led us to almost no acceptable generalizations about the strength and direction of selective internal migration." The scope of migration research has widened considerably since then. The United States, no longer preoccupied with the effect of mass immigration, has turned its attention increasingly to other aspects of population movement—the migration of Negroes from the southern states (11, 12, 13, 15), the growth of conurbations (2, 8, 22), the continuous flow of inter-state migration (3), the relationship of migration to industrial and occupational redistribution (13), and the effect of residential movement on family and social relationships (7).

In Britain, apart from census analysis, inquiry has been limited to a few studies of the volume of local movement (14, 16) of rural depopulation (5, 17, 19), and of the social effects of housing programs (23).

Lee (13), in a preliminary revision of Thomas' 1938 review, was able to conclude, "Many gaps have been noted in the existing knowledge of mobility differentials, but it has been possible to arrive at a few generalizations which may have more than temporary validity." These generalizations, however, referred largely to such variables as age, sex and marital status and hardly at all to motivation and personal characteristics. Very little information yet exists about the characteristics of migrants—the varied motives which prompt them to move, the number of moves they make, or the respects in which they differ from their static friends and relatives. It has long been assumed that migrants are superior in intelligence and physical health, but the evidence, with the exception of that on anthropometric measurements, is far from satisfactory (21) and very little attempt has been made to relate the characteristics of migrants to the social context in which the migration occurred.

This paper documents the movement of young adults into and out of the city of Aberdeen in the post-war years. In Part I an attempt is made to distinguish sub-categories of migrants differing from each other in occupation, area of origin and reasons for migration; in Part II data are presented on stature and reproductive morbidity; and these "biological" characteristics are related back to the original social processes leading to migration. The analysis reveals a complex composition of migrant groups ranging from the professional man following his career round the country, through the rural-urban migrant, to the restless wandering of the socially unsettled. These groups differ systematically in their other characteristics.

METHOD

(a) *Sources of Information*

The data on migration into Aberdeen were collected as part of a joint socio-medical study of reproduction in the city (9). All primiparous women booked for confinement in the Maternity Hospital in the years 1951-59 (95 per cent of all first pregnancies to married Aberdeen residents) were interviewed by a hospital almoner who, as part of the social history of the patient, took details of her place(s) of upbringing and, in particular, her place of residence at the time she left school. Similar details were collected for 75 per cent of the remaining primiparae delivered in private nursing homes or in their own homes.

This information was supplemented during the years 1951-54 by detailed histories of a random sample of 430 married primiparae, who were studied intensively during the course of their first pregnancy by a team which included physicians, psychologist and sociologists. The sample (every sixth patient booking for hospital or nursing home confinement) comprised women from all social classes, the only exclusions being women who delivered in their own homes (0.4 per cent of married primiparae). Fuller data were collected from these sample

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patients, including data on the social and residential background of their husbands. The study was undertaken with the primary aim of discovering the interrelation between social factors and reproductive "efficiency;" migration was only one of many social, psychological and medical variables considered relevant to the study. The design of the study makes it possible therefore to compare migrants and non-migrants over a wide range of phenomena.

Migration from the city is less comprehensively documented, being derived from two sources:

1. a 5-year follow-up of the intensively studied sample of primiparae described above.
2. a 5-year follow-up of all Aberdeen primiparae delivered in the year 1949, whether confined at home or in hospital.

Out-migration in this study relates therefore to couples at a later stage of family life.

(b) *Definitions*

Certain terms used throughout the paper require definition:

- (1) *in-migrants* are those who, having resided outside Aberdeen at the age of 14, resided in Aberdeen at the birth of their first baby.
- (2) *out-migrants* are those who, having resided in Aberdeen at the birth of their first baby, left the city during the subsequent 5 years.
- (3) *areas* to or from which people migrated are classified as follows:
 - (a) *North of Scotland*—the counties of Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Nairn, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland.
 - (b) *South of Scotland*—all other areas of Scotland.
 - (c) *Elsewhere*—places outside Scotland.

(4) *Social class* is based on the occupation of the husband classified according to the system used by the General Register Office (1950):

Class I. —Professional

Class II. —Intermediate, including managers, proprietors, and highly qualified technical workers

Class III. —Skilled manual and clerical workers

Class IV. —Partly skilled

Class V. —Unskilled

RESULTS

A. IN-MIGRATION

Geographical Origin

Of the 7,643 married primiparous women resident and delivered in the city in the years 1951–59 whose place of origin was known,* 5,907 (77 per cent) were resident in Aberdeen

* In the period 1951–1959 the number of Aberdeen women having a first pregnancy totaled 9,203. Place of upbringing was known in 7,643 cases (83 per cent). Two reasons exist for lack of information about upbringing in the remaining cases:

(i) for a period of about a year, in the middle years of the survey, it was decided, for administrative reasons, to omit the question about place of upbringing from the interview with hospital patients. There is no reason to suppose that in this period the social background of patients differed from other years. Their omission is therefore of little statistical or interpretative significance. These constitute the great bulk of the excluded cases.

(ii) a small proportion of patients (approximately 270) “slipped through” the routine administrative machinery. Since they amount to only 2.9 per cent of the population their exclusion does not materially affect the results. Moreover subsequent identification of migration among 162 of these patients showed that, within each class, they did not differ from the population used in the study. On the other hand since the not-stated group was drawn disproportionately from the professional classes, who have the highest rate of migration, their exclusion will slightly understate the overall rate of migration and the proportion of the total volume contributed by the professional classes.

Data on the occupations of the wife or her father (Part II) were not known or not classifiable in a further 3.2 per cent of cases. Again the percentage of not stated was rather higher in the upper social groups. Information on education (Part II) refers only to the hospital population in which the professional groups are under-represented.

None of these exclusions apply to the sample population which is a strict random sample or to the data on out-migration where 100 per cent of the population was investigated.

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at the age of 14. These include a small number (approximately 5–6 per cent) who had spent some at least of their earlier years outside the city and had moved into Aberdeen some time during childhood. For the purpose of this paper, which is concerned with adolescent and adult migration they are regarded as native Aberdonians. Of the remainder, 952 (12 per cent) were brought up in the north of Scotland, 415 (5 per cent) in the south of Scotland and 369 (5 per cent) outside Scotland.

For many years the northern counties of Scotland have been the major source of migrants to Aberdeen which is the only large industrial city (population 189,000) in this scattered and sparsely populated rural area. Apart from its major industries—fish, granite, shipbuilding, engineering, paper and textiles—Aberdeen has important docks and is the commercial and transport center of the North-East. In addition to the university and several institutions concerned with research or vocational training, it also contains regional and local government offices and the only teaching and specialist hospitals in the area. For all these reasons it is the first natural focus for rural out-migrants looking for occupational opportunities and the amenities of urban life. Moreover, for many decades, these rural northern counties have exported their population either to overseas countries or to more southerly areas of Britain. Banff County for example, lost 14.5 per cent of its 1911 population by net migration in the decade 1911–1920, an additional 13 per cent between 1921 and 1930 and another 10 per cent in each of the two decades from 1931 to 1950. Most of the other northern counties had a similar experience. Many of these rural migrants passed through Aberdeen on their way south, but others stayed and provided a substantial proportion of the city's growing population. Their numbers have, however, been falling in recent years. In 1931, one quarter of Aberdeen's population had been born in the eleven northern counties; by 1951 this proportion had fallen to 21 per cent. The rate of 12 per cent among young married women in our

sample population reflects a continuing decrease in rural migrants to the city.

Class Composition. Compared with the northern rural migrants, the increasing number of in-migrants from southern Scotland and elsewhere represent a quite different type of migration in that they have moved against the familiar north-south current. This difference is clearly reflected in their social class distribution.

Table I shows that, compared with native Aberdonians, in-migrants from all three areas contained a higher proportion of non-manual workers and a lower proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Sharper, however, than the contrast between in-migrants and *sedentes* is the difference between long distance migrants from southern Scotland and elsewhere, taken together, and the remainder of the population, whether rural in-migrants or Aberdeen natives. The preponderance of non-manual, and particularly of professional, occupations among the long distance migrants conforms to previous findings (1) on the relationship between social class and distance of migration.

Stage of Migration: Sex, Age and Marital Status. Previous

Table 1. Social class distribution (per cent) of in-migrants and natives by area of origin.

| WIFE'S AREA OF ORIGIN | HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASS* | | | | | | ALL CLASSES |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|----|----------------|------------|----|----|---------------|
| | I | II | III Non-manual | III Manual | IV | V | |
| Aberdeen | 3 | 8 | 15 | 51 | 11 | 12 | 100 (5907) |
| Northern Scotland | 4 | 12 | 17 | 51 | 8 | 8 | 100 (952) |
| Southern Scotland | 13 | 26 | 19 | 30 | 5 | 7 | 100 (415) |
| Elsewhere | 15 | 21 | 15 | 36 | 6 | 7 | 100 (369) |
| All Areas | 4 | 10 | 16 | 49 | 10 | 11 | 100 (7643) |

* See definitions on page 119.

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demographic research has demonstrated convincingly the comparative youth of migrant populations and the preponderance of females, particularly from rural areas. Less is known about the various stages, in their careers and in the growth of their families, at which people become migrants, and about the motives prompting migration at different stages. The detailed information available for the 430 couples who form our random sample is appropriate for the study of some of these problems, and, although single persons and couples who remained childless are, of course, excluded by the nature of the sample, the data on the sample couples include retrospective material on moves made when they were single and childless.

Table 2 shows that in 275 couples (64 per cent) both husbands and wives were native to Aberdeen. In 42 cases (10 per cent) both spouses were in-migrants. Among the remaining 113 couples an Aberdeen husband married an in-migrant wife in 61 instances and an Aberdeen woman married an immigrant husband in 52. The preponderance of 9 female in-migrants occurred as a result of the movements of wives to Aberdeen to join their husbands on marriage, 40 wives but only 14 husbands arriving in Aberdeen at the time of marriage. On the other hand 59 husbands migrated to the city before

Table 2. Internal migration: Stage of migration.

| HUSBAND'S PLACE OF UPBRINGING | WIFE'S PLACE OF UPBRINGING | | | | ALL PLACES |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | Aberdeen | Elsewhere | | | |
| | | Settled in Aberdeen: | | | |
| | | Before Marriage | On Marriage | After Marriage | |
| Aberdeen | 275 | 32 | 27 | 2 | 336 |
| Elsewhere | | | | | |
| Settled Before Marriage | 34 | 12 | 13 | — | 59 |
| On Marriage | 12 | 2 | — | — | 14 |
| After Marriage | 6 | — | — | 15 | 21 |
| All Places | 327 | 46 | 40 | 17 | 430 |

marriage compared with 46 wives. In eight cases the move to Aberdeen after marriage was a return to the native city for one of the spouses. The various stages at which migration took place and the characteristics of the migrants at each stage are considered in detail below.

Women Migrants

Migration before Marriage. Nearly half the women migrants (46 out of 103) came to the city between the age of 14 and marriage. Three main groups may be distinguished: those who accompanied their parents when the family moved, those who came independently as adolescents or young adults to take a job, and those who first came to the city to take a professional training. The great majority in all three categories were short-distance migrants—39 out of the 46 came from the rural northern counties surrounding Aberdeen. Because of its nearness, these girls already had some knowledge of the city; some had friends or relatives living there, and in a few instances, the family or one of its members had lived there at an earlier stage.

Twelve girls came when their families settled in the city. For a few of these a change in the father's job had prompted the move, but in eight cases the move represented the resettlement of the family after the father's death; his job no longer anchored the family in the countryside where jobs were few and limited in both variety and prospects, particularly for women and girls.

Eighteen girls came to enter employment in the city, two motives predominating. For many of the girls the move meant escape from uncongenial features of their home life; they wanted to leave a broken or insecure home, to achieve independence after having been brought up by a sister or a guardian or to relieve congestion in an overcrowded and unproductive croft. Much of this movement was of a drifting rather than a purposeful character. A history typical of many was given by Mrs. X.—

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She had had a hard life at home as one of a large family brought up on a small croft by a stern father who expected a good deal of heavy work from his children. In her early teens she went to work as a shop assistant—cum-domestic servant at a shop in a small local town where wages were low and the hours long; she left to become a resident domestic and her later history shows a series of job changes bringing her gradually nearer to the city; eventually she arrived there as a resident ward maid and shortly afterwards, having settled in the city, began work at the woollen mills, became pregnant and married a laborer of rural origin.

For all eighteen, however, whether happy or unhappy in their home backgrounds, an important factor was the lack of suitable local employment in a sparsely settled agricultural region with few towns and not many large villages. Apart from a strictly limited demand for such professionally qualified persons as teachers and nurses and a rather greater demand for shop assistants, the majority of local jobs for girls involve some form of domestic work. Many parents look to the nearest city for alternative jobs for their children and there they must find not only a job but accommodation suitable for an adolescent girl. Against a city background, domestic work often seems more attractive, especially when residence is provided. Thirteen of the eighteen took resident jobs in the catering and domestic trades and whilst a few transferred later to factory work, the majority remained in these trades until marriage.

Training facilities, as well as jobs, are concentrated in the large cities and five girls came to train in nursing, a much respected profession in which the provision of residential accommodation generally counts as an attraction for country girls. The remaining 11 out of the 46 girls who came to the city before marriage came originally as students to the university, the teachers' training college or the commercial college. Before they married eight became teachers, two clerical workers and one a physiotherapist.

In general, therefore, the main features of this pre-marital

migration are its predominantly short distance rural-urban nature, discontent with occupational opportunities and social life in rural areas, and the attractive power either of relatively light and clean town jobs, mainly residential, or of facilities for higher education and vocational training. Behind these features which form part of the structure of the rural urban relationship, there lie, of course, individual differences in personality and family cohesion which tend to make the city appear more attractive for some individuals than for others and among these, one major influence is the disturbing effect of parental loss or of a broken home.

Migration on Marriage. There were four different ways in which marriage brought women as in-migrants to Aberdeen: country women who had previously commuted daily to the city met and married Aberdeen men there; other country-women married men whom they had known in their home area before the latter had migrated to Aberdeen; women from a greater distance married professional men who had already migrated to Aberdeen or who were about to take up an appointment there; the largest single category consisted of women who had met and married Aberdeen men outside Aberdeen, mainly during service with the forces.

Of the 40 women comprising these four groups, eleven had previously lived within a 15 mile radius of the city and had travelled daily to work. Marriage to Aberdeen men caused no great change in their mode of life or in their social or family circle.

For the second group of seven rural in-migrants the motivation and the character of the move were rather different. The husbands, (all but one of whom were craftsmen) had themselves migrated to Aberdeen to obtain work or to take a better job and after an interval had married girls from their home area and brought them to the city. Both partners were now out of daily contact with their families and former friends.

The third group of six in-migrants resembled the second in that the move meant that both spouses were now out of daily

contact with their families and friends; they differed from the previous group, however, in coming from long distances and in the fact that the husbands were all professional men—lawyers, administrators and students whose entry into and progress up the professional hierarchy often entails distant and sometimes repeated movement.

The last group consisted of 16 long distance migrants most of whom met their Aberdonian husbands while the latter (and occasionally the women themselves) were serving in the armed forces; this is reflected in the widespread of their pre-marital homes—Malta, Danzig, Aldershot, Warrington, etc. The husbands who married on their travels and brought their wives back to the city were drawn disproportionately from the upper social groups. It is an interesting commentary on the city's relatively isolated position that these were the only Aberdonian men in the sample who met their wives outside the city and its immediate countryside; and this was largely the result of wartime and conscription conditions. As Table 2 shows, a total of 61 Aberdonian men married non-Aberdonian women but, except for the 16 mentioned above, the meetings took place after the wives had arrived in Aberdeen either with their parents or independently.

Male Migrants

Migration before Marriage. Fifty-nine husbands had come to Aberdeen before marriage. Of these, ten came with their parental families as dependent adolescents. As with the pre-marital migration of women two distinct reasons are discernible: (1) the father's promotion, change of job or retirement; (2) family migration consequent on parental death or marital breakdown.

Most of the others came to Aberdeen independently as adolescents or young adults. Four came to study at the university and afterwards took work locally; the others came straight to a job, but for some of these young men, particularly those in technical and highly skilled occupations (e.g., pharmacist,

agricultural engineer, nursing assistant) the availability of training facilities in the city was a major attraction.

The composition of this group of young job-migrants clearly reflects the relation between migration and the structure of professional and managerial careers. For example, 32 per cent of this group of pre-marital in-migrants had Class I or II occupations (i.e., professional or managerial), compared with 13 per cent in the whole sample. Two promotion mechanisms are apparent, each involving migration and each of roughly equal importance. On the one hand are those who move within the same organization: bankers, insurance officials, industrial managers, salaried employees of large-scale organizations with many branches, for whom promotion means a larger branch, often in another town; unwillingness to move in these circumstances is often tantamount to withdrawal from the promotion race. For the other group, promotion is obtained by a move from one organization to another, each move representing a step up the professional ladder. In our sample this group included university lecturers, teachers, local government officials, newspaper reporters, lawyers and some industrial and commercial managers. It might be said that since migration for these men generally involves formal application for a job, it has more of the character of a voluntary act than it has for those who move within an organization; nevertheless, disinclination to move often means losing opportunities of promotion and, consequently, migration has become a generally accepted part of the way of life for many in these professions.

There are notable exceptions where the son follows the father in the business or practice and where 'promotion' is obtained by building up a successful enterprise in one place; examples are found in industry, commerce, law, medicine, finance; but they represent a diminishing aspect of modern business and professional life. The way in which migration is built into the structure of the professions in contemporary society is also evident if we look at the migration status of the 19 men out of the 430 in the sample who had occupations in Class I. Of

these only 4 were born and brought up in Aberdeen and one of the latter had already left the city 5 years later. The remaining 15 were in-migrants and of these 8 had left the city within 5 years.

Thirty of the pre-marital in-migrants were routine non-manual or manual workers. For these occupations transference within an organization is less common and only six men followed this pattern; they were all working in rail and road transport or civil engineering, enterprises which, by definition, are regional or even national in their scale of operation. Eighteen others came from the surrounding counties to look for a job in the town and their migration reflected either dissatisfaction with rural conditions and opportunities or the positive attraction of urban facilities. The remaining six came from longer distances. One, an Irishman, came to Britain to look for work, as did also his father and brothers, although the mother maintained the family home in southern Ireland. The remainder were motivated by personal factors rather than work. One, who had some association with Aberdeen in childhood had returned here after a nervous breakdown and a crisis in his career; his stay was temporary, a respite from a distressing experience. The general impression in the other four cases is of rootless men, often without parents, not anchored to one place by home and family, drifting to Aberdeen and settling there because they found a substitute home to which they could attach themselves. Mrs. Y, for example, told the story that her husband had lived in lodgings on his first arrival in Aberdeen to work at the shipyards and "once he started coming to our house, we all (the family) liked him so much that he used to come over every night."

The impulse towards migration is regulated by two factors, the pulling power of the new place of residence and the strength of ties with the old. In this type of survey and analysis the positive element is easy to detect; men say "I came here because I was transferred by my office," "because I was appointed as a lecturer," or "because there were plenty of jobs in my line

in Aberdeen." Very rarely, however, do they put it negatively e.g., "because I was unhappy or unsettled with my family," "because my parents were dead," "because I had a broken home and unhappy childhood and felt no love for my place of upbringing." It comes to the surface occasionally—as with these men—when compelling motives for migrating to Aberdeen are absent ("I came to Aberdeen on a holiday and liked it, and when my mother died I came to live here"), but personal and family factors which weaken the tie with the home town also underlie many other instances in which there is at the same time a good and sufficient reason for migration. These factors cannot adequately be studied in a retrospective inquiry carried out in the place to which migrants have moved, since the home background, the cultural setting and the events and sentiments leading up to migration cannot be examined. Whilst such personal or negative factors receive little direct attention in this study it should be remembered that they, as much as the positive attractions of training, a job, or a spouse, contribute towards the decision to move.

Migration on Marriage. It is customary, largely because of occupational reasons, for the wife to join her husband at his place of residence at marriage. In the present sample 40 wives came to join husbands in Aberdeen while only 14 husbands took up residence with their Aberdeen wives. In these 14 marriages many factors might contribute to this reversal of customary behavior, for example, family ties so strong as to make the wife more than usually reluctant to leave home, lack of an adventurous spirit on her part, poor employment prospects or housing difficulty in the husband's home town, or, more negatively, lack of any family or other emotional ties binding the husband to his place of origin. Our data are not sufficiently rich or immediate to investigate many of these hypotheses; certainly the wife's reluctance to leave Aberdeen and her initiative in obtaining a flat in the city dictated the decision in one case. On the whole, however, the wives in this group were neither unadventurous (after all, they did marry a "foreigner")

nor reluctant to move. A high proportion of these women met their future husbands when they were working in other parts of the country or serving in the women's forces.

The major factor in most of these cases seems to have been the unsettled nature of the husband's work. Five of the 14 husbands had jobs which took them from one place to another; before marriage they had based themselves on their parental home, but the nature of their occupations (merchant seamen, regular soldiers, commercial traveller, itinerant boxer) weakened their ties with home; it was simpler, after marriage, to base themselves on the wife's parental home, thus avoiding her isolation in a strange place, with a strange family and a new job. In a further five cases the marriage occurred while the husband was in the forces and the wife continued to live in her parental home and to work at her usual job. Again, this was the arrangement which caused least inconvenience. The willingness of the husband, after demobilization, to continue this arrangement depended largely on his civilian job. Most of these men had jobs which were as readily available in Aberdeen as elsewhere (craftsmen, laborers); none were in Social Classes I and II.

The general factor common to these cases was the absence of a compelling occupational reason for basing a home in one place rather than another. In such cases the choice of a home base can be determined on other grounds, such as the wife's job, family and social ties and personal preferences.

Migration after Marriage. For 75 per cent of the population the interval between marriage and birth of the first child is less than one year. Thus only a small number of couples move into the city during this time and out of 93 in-migrant husbands in our sample only 21 came in then. To understand the motivation and characteristics of post-marriage migrants on a larger scale it is necessary to analyze the couples who left Aberdeen after their first baby (see below, section on out-migration); in the meantime, however, certain informative conclusions may be drawn from this small group of 21 cou-

ples in which the husband was a post-marriage in-migrant.

They fall into two groups: thirteen couples in which neither spouse had any previous connection with the city, and eight in which the move was, for one partner at least a return to a previous home and often to their family of origin.

Husbands in the first group were primarily professional or business men who, like the pre-marital migrants in these occupations, came in pursuance of their careers. Of the four men not classifiable to Social Classes I and II, three were non-manual workers (commercial traveller, composers) and the other a railway worker, and all were transferred within their organization.

In the other group the wife had either been brought up in Aberdeen or had worked there previously. The move to Aberdeen brought her back to familiar associations and in most cases occurred at her insistence or as a result of her unhappiness away from Aberdeen. Only two of these husbands were in Social Class I and II occupations; both had jobs involving much travelling and residence away from home (army officer, time and motion engineer) and the wife came to Aberdeen during pregnancy because it represented a firm base and sure support during a difficult period; both left again and rejoined their husbands elsewhere shortly after delivery.

B. OUT-MIGRATION

Migrants out of an urban area differ in many ways from in-migrants. In-migrants include rural residents as well as inter-city migrants; few out-migrants go to live in rural areas, the majority being inter-city migrants and people following the main migration current to growing urban areas. At the 1951 census the Aberdeen population included 39,000 people born in the northern Scottish counties: these counties, however, contained only 18,600 born Aberdonians. Slightly more Aberdonians by birth lived in the rest of Scotland, particularly the cities, than such areas contributed to the Aberdeen resident population (15,600 against 13,200). A total of 10,000 Aber-

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deen residents were born outside Scotland; the corresponding number of Aberdonians living outside Scotland cannot be enumerated but estimates based on the city's natural increase and net migration statistics suggests a figure of 30,000 or more. Aberdeen, therefore, receives population from the rural North and exports population to England and countries overseas.

These movements of population are clearly reflected in our own data, which also point to important social differences between in-migrant and out-migrant groups. The findings are based on a five-year follow-up of two populations (described above).

In both series we know whether the couple was in the city 5 years after the birth of their first child. In the smaller, intensively studied series we also know whether the out-migrants were originally in-migrants, and what their destination was on leaving the city. As in the earlier part of the paper, the detailed information available on the sample population will be used to illustrate trends revealed in the larger population.

Volume and Destination of Out-Migration. Out of a total of 1,500 couples, 305 (20.3 per cent) had left the city within 5 years of the birth of their first child. The destination of out-migrants from the sample population is compared in Table 3 with the area of origin of in-migrants. The main differences between in- and out-migrants are similar to those revealed by

Table 3. Origin and destination of migrants.

| AREA | ORIGIN OF IN-MIGRANTS | | | | DESTINATION OF OUT-MIGRANTS (COUPLES) | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----------|--------|----------|---------------------------------------|----------|---------|----------|-------|----------|
| | Male | | Female | | Previous In-migrants | | Natives | | Total | |
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| North of Scotland | 46 | 49 | 62 | 60 | 12 | 34 | 5 | 19 | 17 | 28 |
| Southern Scotland | 28 | 30 | 21 | 20 | 11 | 31 | 2 | 8 | 13 | 21 |
| England and Wales | 17 | 18 | 15 | 15 | 9 | 26 | 7 | 27 | 16 | 26 |
| Overseas | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 12 | 46 | 15 | 24 |
| | 94 | 100 | 103 | 100 | 35 | 100 | 26 | 100 | 61 | 99 |

the census data described above. The in-migrants came predominantly from other parts of Scotland, particularly the rural northern counties; only 16 per cent came from England and Wales and 4 per cent from overseas, whereas these areas attracted 26 per cent and 24 per cent respectively of out-migrants. Aberdeen in this respect conforms to the classic pattern of an urban area in a declining rural setting—a receiver of rural migrants and an exporter to more distant, predominantly urban, centers.

Table 3 also shows that the destination of out-migrants differs according to whether they were originally in-migrants or natives. Native Aberdonian couples, when they leave the city, tend to travel long distances and thus make a sharp break with their environment; indeed, nearly three-quarters leave Scotland and almost half go overseas—for the most part to Commonwealth countries where friends and relatives have preceded them. In contrast, in-migrants to the city, when they leave, tend to return to the area from which one or both spouses came; 20 of the 35 in-migrant couples who left the city returned to the town or area with which at least one spouse had been previously associated.

We have seen that some of the in-migrants to Aberdeen later became out-migrants, thus swelling total migration statistics. In 155 couples of our sample population, one or both spouses was an in-migrant. The rate of out-migration in these couples was particularly high—16 per cent where the wife alone was an in-migrant, 25 per cent where the husband was an in-migrant and 45 per cent where both were in-migrants. The equivalent rate among Aberdeen-born couples was 11 per cent. The rate of out-migration is therefore closely tied to the rate of in-migration.

Turning now to the origin of these repeat migrants, the rate of out-migration was least (13 per cent) where both spouses came from the rural North or one spouse came from Aberdeen and the other from the North. A higher rate (22 per cent) occurred where the husband was from Aberdeen or the North

and where the wife came from further afield, but this in turn was lower than the converse situation where the husband came from further afield (41 per cent). The highest rate occurred where both spouses came from the south of Scotland or elsewhere (72 per cent).

It emerges from these findings that a considerable part of the movement at this age and family stage is not movement to new territory but return to the familiar. If this is general, it suggests that true migration, in the sense of the move to unfamiliar settings, is even more restricted to very young people than present statistics suggest.

The findings also reveal differences between repeat migrants (i.e., those in-migrants to Aberdeen who then moved out again) and migrants who settled in Aberdeen. Both groups, it should be remembered, originally migrated from their community of origin and it is in their role as out-migrants that we are now considering them. It seems that:—

(1) The initial movement is most stable where either:

(a) only one spouse is an in-migrant (20 per cent out-migrants). In these circumstances one spouse at least has roots in the local community, local kinship ties and, in the case of the husband, a job. Out-migration for these couples means that only one spouse has to cut his or her link with a life-time environment.

Or (b) one or both spouses arrived with the migration current from the rural hinterland (17 per cent out-migrants). For these people the original incentive to migrate sprang largely from lack of social and occupational opportunities, re-inforced by poor living conditions. The move to Aberdeen for the most part achieved these limited objectives. Further movement would entail return to the conditions which gave rise to discontent or the expansion of their original objectives by movement away from the northern region.

Apart from the cutting of emotional ties, this presents practical difficulties as most such couples have limited knowledge of and few connections in, other regions. The great majority therefore stay in Aberdeen, and the few who migrate return to their place of origin.

- (2) The initial movement is least stable where both partners have arrived together or separately, against the migration stream, from areas further south (72 per cent). Emotional and cultural factors are again involved, for most of these out-migrants return to the general area from which they came, but the major influence seems to be occupational. They moved to Aberdeen for promotion, and for the same reason they left. All the husbands, both those who stayed and those who left, were non-manual workers, the great majority being professional men, in contrast with the more settled group discussed above which contained only 29 per cent non-manual workers and only 5 per cent who were professionally qualified.
- (3) Where the husband is local (Aberdeen or North) and the wife a distant migrant, the couple is more likely to remain than in the reverse situation of an in-migrant husband and a local wife. Again, this seems to have an occupational basis because the in-migrant husband is likely to be a professional man whose career may demand repeated movement.

With out-migration, as with in-migration, the motives are complex and we are aware that a broad sociological analysis gives only part of the picture. The factors, however, which emerge as important at this level of analysis are: the social and industrial geography of the area; the places of origin of husband and wife; and the husband's occupation. This last factor is discussed more fully below.

Occupation and the Rate of Out-migration. The data on out-

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migration in this study refer to the 5-year period following the birth of the first child. At this stage most wives are not employed outside the home and the wife's job or career has little bearing on family decisions. The husband's occupation automatically assumes greater importance in that he is the sole wage-earner and the family's standard of living is directly dependent upon him. Many young middle-class men are still at the beginning of a career which may entail further geographical and hierarchical moves; most manual workers, on the other hand, have reached the peak of earnings in their occupation and further advance may be obtained only by change of occupation or by moving to an area with higher wages. The occupational basis of migration was still very evident in our population at this stage. The highest rate of out-migration occurred in Social Class I—63 per cent within the 5 years; the rate fell sharply with decreasing status—to 33 per cent in Class II, 19 per cent in Class III and 10 per cent in Classes IV and V. Broad class differences, however, conceal some of the most interesting industrial and occupational differences which are detailed in Table 4.

Two of the highest rates occurred in 'occupational' groups which are intrinsically mobile—university students and members of the armed forces; they assume prominence in this study only because Aberdeen is a university city and because military conscription was in force at the time. The high rate among university-trained or professionally-qualified workers, however,

Table 4. Occupational and industrial differences in the rate of out-migration.

| OCCUPATIONAL GROUP | TOTAL CASES | PER CENT OUT-MIGRANT | OCCUPATIONAL GROUP | TOTAL CASES | PER CENT OUT-MIGRANT |
|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| University Students | 20 | 85 | Railway Workers | 48 | 19 |
| Professional | 72 | 54 | Other Non-manual | 94 | 18 |
| Armed Forces | 70 | 49 | Other Skilled | 254 | 13 |
| Managerial | 63 | 25 | Road Transport | 173 | 12 |
| Clerical Workers | 95 | 25 | Other Semi-skilled and Unskilled | 246 | 11 |
| Fitters and Electricians | 193 | 23 | Other Skilled Engineers | 60 | 10 |
| Shop Assistants | 54 | 19 | Fishing and Fish Handling | 63 | 8 |

has a more general relevance, for it indicates a way of life and a career structure current in a large and increasing section of society. It is in sharp distinction to the rate among men in managerial occupations, the group most similar in income and responsibilities; within this latter group the migration rate is high only among the employees of large-scale national organizations; it is lowest in the peculiarly local industries such as fishing, fish handling and granite working which require skills unprized in other centers, or in small businesses (catering, retail distribution) in which success depends on a stable clientele or a local reputation. Somewhat similar considerations apply to clerical workers whose rate of out-migration is identical, for here, too, it is the employees of large organizations (banks, insurance companies) who are most likely to move.

Among manual workers in our population the most mobile were skilled mechanics, fitters and electricians, their rate of out-migration in fact exceeding that of the remaining non-manual workers. This is probably in part a local phenomenon, stemming from the relatively limited outlets for their skill compared with the opportunities available to them in larger industrial centers in England and abroad. Educationally, socially, and physically, however, these engineers are the aristocrats of local manual work and they may be particularly susceptible to the attractions of a higher standard of living elsewhere when they find their occupational pathway blocked locally. They are very largely Aberdonian in origin, not earlier in-migrants from the countryside. They differ sharply in their rate of out-migration from other skilled engineers in the city, many of whom are employed in shipbuilding, an industry which is stationary or declining throughout the country and which is not conspicuously more prosperous in other areas than in Aberdeen. The engineering industry thus provides an excellent example of the impact of both local and national conditions on rates of migration, of the push-pull forces which have received so much attention in migration research.

The other manual-worker industry experiencing relatively

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high rates of migration in Aberdeen is transport, particularly railway transport. Here again the national character of the industry is important, for transference within the organization is possible and may be the quickest method of obtaining promotion; the habit of long-distance travel, cheaper and easier communications and familiarity with other centers may possibly help to break down resistance to geographical movement.

The lowest rate of out-migration occurs in the fishing industry, which is largely manned by local workers. Employment in the same industry or occupation is available at only a few British ports, so that the incentive to move is low. It is probably relevant that this industry has had a low status locally and has not been attractive to workers with high social and economic aspirations. In terms of education, housing, and various aspects of reproductive behavior and health, the members of this industry tend to rank lower than Social Class V and it seems likely that limited cultural outlook and aspirations heavily influence the low rate of migration.

The net occupational effect of inflow and outflow is shown in Table 5. The native population which still remained in the city at the time of follow-up contained remarkably few professional or managerial persons but a high proportion of semi-

Table 5. Occupational class of in-migrant and out-migrant males.

| MIGRATION CATEGORY | OCCUPATIONAL CLASS (PER CENT DISTRIBUTION) | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------------|--------------------------|--|----------------|
| | I & II Professional and Managerial | III Other Non-manual | III Skilled Manual | IV & V Semi-skilled and Unskilled | All Classes |
| <i>Natives</i> | | | | | |
| In City 5 Years Later | 7 | 14 | 50 | 29 | 100 (302) |
| Left City | 16 | 8 | 60 | 16 | 100 (38) |
| <i>In-migrants</i> | | | | | |
| In City 5 Years Later | 25 | 16 | 48 | 11 | 100 (64) |
| Left City | 48 | 13 | 30 | 9 | 100 (33) |

skilled and unskilled workers and in these respects differed strikingly from all other categories. Natives who left the city closely resembled in-migrants; both contained a high concentration of professional workers. The in-migrants who had left at the time of follow-up contained by far the highest proportion of professional and managerial workers; the in-migrants who stayed, largely rural in-migrants, were similar to the native-born in the high proportion of skilled workers, but they contained a relatively low percentage of semi-skilled or unskilled workers and a corresponding excess of professional persons.

The out-migration material confirms the earlier analysis based on in-migration statistics in showing that mobility is part of the way of life of young professional people. Mobility is less common in the lower white-collar occupations where skills are less specialized and where local candidates are more readily available. At lower occupational levels, the position is more complex and the volume and character of occupational migration is relatively more affected, not only by personal and family factors, but also by the relationship between opportunities at the local and national level. Knowledge of the local context is consequently crucial to an understanding of the occupational drives towards migration; analysis on a national or even regional scale may, by an averaging process, conceal motivation.

Comparison with other sources on the relation between occupation and migration is complicated by differences in the way in which migration information is collected. Douglas (6), in his sample drawn from children born throughout Great Britain in 1946, found that 4.5 per cent of the families had emigrated (i.e., left the country) during the first four years of the inquiry; in a high proportion of these the parents were overseas nationals and others were members of the armed forces. Of the professional and salaried workers' families 6 per cent emigrated compared with 1 per cent of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Excluding the emigrant families and an approximately equal proportion where children had died,

he found that 32 per cent of the remainder had made local moves which did not involve crossing administrative boundaries and 15 per cent had crossed local boundaries (although only 4 per cent had crossed regional ones). Those making local moves came more often than would be expected from among unskilled manual workers and agricultural workers and less often from the professional and salaried; the latter, however, were much more likely to move across local boundaries.

Jefferys (10), in a survey of job-changing in Battersea and Dagenham restricted to men engaged in a manual, clerical or supervisory capacity in industry, found that in all the occupations covered, job-changing most frequently involved a change of working district. "Among skilled workers, who changed their occupation only infrequently, the object of district changes would appear to have been the desire to obtain work in which acquired skills would be of use; but among semi-skilled workers and, to an even greater extent, among laborers, willingness or ability to change the industry in which they worked and the type of work on which they were employed was greater than their readiness to change their district of work." She points out, however, that changes of working district in a conurbation such as London did not necessarily mean change of residence.

A report by Social Survey on depopulation and rural life in Scotland (19) published in 1949 which covered a sample of people who wished to migrate from three rural areas, including the North-East, found a markedly higher proportion of potential migrants in professional, white collar and clerical occupations. Industrial classification revealed a rather higher than average proportion of potential migrants in national and local government, the building industry and personal service industries, and a significantly lower proportion in agriculture.

Somewhat similar findings are provided by the Eire report on vital statistics for 1959 (4) which shows that 14 per cent of the couples marrying in Eire during the year intended to live outside the state. The proportion varied from 30 per cent

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for husbands classified as higher professionals, 21 per cent for skilled manual workers, 15 per cent for clerks to 3 per cent for farmers. It is also noted that average ages for both men and women intending to migrate were appreciably lower than for all marriages.

The Effect of Age on Class Migration Rates. The more educated upper and middle-class couples postpone marriage and child-bearing several years beyond the age customary among manual workers. At the time of interview, i.e., when expecting their first child they were, therefore, older, and had had, on the average, several more years in which to migrate. Does the higher migration rate of the upper social classes in this survey merely reflect their greater age or do they in fact move more than other groups of comparable age? Table 6 demonstrates that, in all except the youngest age groups, the class gradient in the percentage of in-migrants remains steep and consistent; in other words the higher migration rate of the upper social classes is not purely a function of their greater age at interview.

Table 6. Per cent in-migrants in each social class and age-at-delivery group.

| HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASS | WIFE'S AGE AT FIRST DELIVERY | | | | ALL AGES |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| | 16-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30 and Over | |
| PER CENT IN-MIGRANT | | | | | |
| I | — | 43 | 48 | 48 | 46 (315) |
| II | — | 36 | 36 | 49 | 39 (733) |
| III Non-manual | 19 | 20 | 28 | 34 | 24 (1196) |
| III Manual | 12 | 18 | 24 | 30 | 20 (3762) |
| IV | 9 | 14 | 22 | 21 | 15 (795) |
| V | 12 | 13 | 19 | 24 | 15 (841) |
| All Classes | 13 (883) | 19 (3951) | 28 (2008) | 36 (800) | 22 (7642) |

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Within each class the percentage of in-migrants rises with age. The increase with age, however, is not due solely to the extra number of years at risk. Within each social class women having their first baby at different ages differ in other social respects so that to some extent each age-at-delivery group represents a class within a class. In each social class for example, women aged under 20 at delivery rank lowest in respect of their class of origin and educational level whilst those aged 25 or more rank highest. The effect of age *per se* is therefore over-stated to some extent in the rates given in Table 6.

The independent significance of occupational class is also demonstrated in Table 7 which shows, for each age-at-delivery group, the percentage of couples leaving the city within the subsequent five years. Again it is evident that, within each age group, the higher the social class, the greater was the rate of out-migration. Among professional workers, and to a less extent the managerial, executive and technical groups, movement continued at a high, although declining, level among women aged 30 or more at delivery (35 or more at the time of follow-up). The higher total rate of out-migration among the older women reflects, of course, the higher representation

Table 7. Per cent leaving city within 5 years of first delivery.

| HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASS | WIFE'S AGE AT FIRST DELIVERY | | | | ALL AGES |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| | 16-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30 and Over | |
| PER CENT OUT-MIGRANT | | | | | |
| I | — | 70 | 61 | 58 | 63 (75) |
| II | — | 40 | 34 | 26 | 34 (134) |
| III Non-manual | — | 18 | 22 | 20 | 19 (197) |
| III Manual | 17 | 19 | 20 | 17 | 19 (717) |
| IV & V | 8 | 13 | 6 | 13 | 10 (377) |
| All Classes | 13 (180) | 19 (730) | 23 (396) | 24 (194) | 20 (1500) |

of upper class groups at such ages. Even within the other classes, however, the rate does not fall with age despite the fact that one might expect older people to move less. It seems probable that this maintenance of the out-migration rate at a high level in Classes I and II and at a constant level in Classes III and V reflects, within each class, increasing social selection in that, as mentioned above, women having their first baby at later ages form a selected group atypical of their class.

In general, it is clear that the higher in-migration rate of the upper occupational groups does not merely reflect their older age-at-delivery, but is a true class difference. The rate of out-migration also increases with class irrespective of age.

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