

Another capture is that of the head of ancient Bear Creek near Goldson by a tributary of the present Long Tom. The stream which is now called Bear Creek drops rapidly to the Willamette Valley by way of Goldson. The creek drops 150 feet in a half mile at Goldson, which distinctly shows that headward erosion has only recently intercepted ancient Bear Creek. The streamless continuation of the former Bear Creek Valley likewise points to recent desertion by the creek.

Down-cutting by the newly integrated Long Tom River is more apparent near the center of the Coast Range where it flows on bedrock, for the broad and still deeply filled portion of the system east of Noti a high base level has prevented its incision and stripping of the soft sediments to bedrock. In this portion of its course it meanders across the old fill which its lateral erosion has kept planed down to near stream level. The present gradient of the Long Tom River east of Noti is not steep enough to cause rapid down-cutting, as is shown by its readiness to overflow the valley during winter floods. Although accurate means of dating the time of diversion is not at hand, the amount of uplift in the center of the range, and down-cutting in the fill and underlying bedrock in Elk and Wildcat creeks, indicates that it could have occurred during the late Pleistocene. Some of the adjustments within the present Long Tom drainage system could be uppermost Pleistocene or Recent.

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Factors in Social Mobility

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FOR THE PURPOSE of this paper, the term "mobility" has been limited in its meaning to the movement of households from one address to another. This includes "migration," which places emphasis upon the general movement of large numbers of people over considerable distances, but it excludes the vertical mobility up and down the social ladder, as employed by Sorokin and others.

The free movement of people over this continent has ever been a characteristic of American life. Migration helped create the frontier, populate territories, and bring new states into the Union. It has been connected with most of the great historical events in our country for more than three centuries and it still plays an important role on the national stage. The motives for migration have changed; the movement has taken different forms; and the total volume has fluctuated with conditions; but millions of Americans are perennially on the move, and there is no indication that they will soon settle down.

ACCESS ACROSS STATE LINES A VITAL FREEDOM

HISTORIANS LIKE FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER have given migration prominent place in the American scene. It was a prerequisite to national expansion. It called for the building of homes, communities, industries, states, all of which built a nation. The westward movement, characterized as it was by prairie schooners, Indian wars, cowboys, and pioneers, has contributed enough

romance to make a proud chapter in the history of our national life. Travel enhanced status: people boasted of their trip across the country in a covered wagon. Migration had also its idealistic sanctions: the principle of unlimited access across state boundaries has worked its way deep into our mores, and is generally viewed as a symbol of freedom.

With the exhaustion of free land, internal migration lost much of its romance and prestige. Long ago the last lucrative spots were pre-empted, and today large numbers of newcomers are viewed as trespassers and potential competitors. The cool receptions given migrant workers, the unemployed and homeless during the depression, Negroes from the South, and farmers from the Dust Bowl, were a far cry from the warm welcome generally extended new arrivals on the early American frontier.

Mobility has tremendous social and psychological significance. Outside of nomadic societies, settled residence is a concomitant of institutional stability, while considerable spatial movement of people is generally viewed as one of the accompaniments of a dynamic culture. As an important element in diffusion, such movement carries implications for cultural progress. On the other hand, the relation of excessive mobility which marks hoboes, migrant workers, and others who are intermittently or continuously on the move, to social disorganization, cannot be ignored. Migration may serve a useful function in helping keep a culture young and vigorous, but it cannot be relied upon to build enduring communities.

CONTINUOUS MOVING HARMFUL

SMITH EMPHASIZES the destructive effects of continuous moving upon the personality of the mover (1). The habitual migrant belongs to that category which sociologists have labelled "marginal man." Cut adrift from community attachments, he has little interest in local institutions, nor does he accept responsibility for their support. Frequent moving stifles primary group relationships, which are generally regarded as vital to balanced personality growth. The social contacts of people on the move are of the touch-and-go variety. It is difficult for them to make deep and lasting friendships. The job of living is often reduced to the task of meeting immediate needs and making the most of the few ephemeral enjoyments that come their way. From the standpoint of total life organization, habitual migrants appear to lead a more or less purposeless existence.

During the last fifteen or twenty years, fiction, as well as governmental fact-finding groups such as the Tolan Committee, has turned the national spotlight on these types of migrants, i.e., on people disadvantaged in some way and characterized by some degree of personality disorganization. It is not unlikely that such accentuation may have led many students to identify mobility with maladjustment generally, a false conclusion as revealed by a broader study of the subject.

That there is a positive side to the picture was pointed out a few years ago by Paul Landis (2). Through occasional change in environment people are often able to improve their economic status and take advantage of business opportunities, locate on better farms, or get higher paying or more congenial employment. Many times they find better homes, more pleasant neighborhoods and communities, superior schools, churches, and recreational and cultural facilities. Location in new surroundings may relieve emotional tensions; a change in climate often helps to improve health. As indicated above, mobility may be viewed as a dynamic agent in society; it keeps a culture fluid and prevents provincialism and stifling conservatism. But whatever the advantages or disadvantages of mobility may be to the individual or society, a tremendous amount of moving may be expected to continue, for it is inherent in the economic, political, and social organization of the United States. An enormous volume of voluntary relocation motivated by the hope of improving status is a phenomenon which may be viewed as a natural characteristic of a free, competitive society. On the other hand, much mobility is required in certain lines of work, and is more or less involuntary. Military personnel, certain types of federal and state employees, managers, supervisors, district agents, as well as ministers of some denominations, are examples of individuals who are regularly shifted from pillar to post as occasion demands.

The fact that mobility occurs on such a vast scale seems to carry challenging implications for social research. So far in this paper we have reflected the popular and logical assumption that a large amount of residence changing takes place. How much occurs we do not know, for no specific information is available as yet, although some attempts for obtaining it have been made. From 1940 data, the Census Bureau found that more than 15,000,000 citizens or 12 per cent of the population, lived in a different county or large city than the one in which they resided in 1935 (3). The usefulness of these data is somewhat limited by the fact they count only the terminal addresses of the five-year period and give no record of intermediate moves. Various studie

have also been made of mobility among specific population categories. Thus, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has gathered valuable information concerning farm-to-city movement. Galpin and Manny have made extensive studies on interstate migration from 1870 to 1930. The 1940 Census of Agriculture accumulated data relating to the length of farm occupancy in the United States. There still exists, however, large gaps in mobility research not covered by any current studies. For instance, very little research has been directed toward the movement of population within states and local communities. We have few or no figures correlating mobility rates with occupation and levels of living. No comprehensive study has tried to get at the individual reasons for moving.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS QUESTIONED FOR MOBILITY FIGURES

THE REMAINDER OF THIS PAPER will be devoted to a discussion of a very modest approach to this problem which the author has been making at intervals over the last two years. The study deals with the residential status of the parental families of 516 University of Idaho students. Each respondent was asked to list (*a*) places where his parents had lived during his, i.e., the student's, lifetime; (*b*) dates marking their period of residence at each place; (*c*) reasons for moving; (*d*) dominant occupation of the family; (*e*) birth-date of the respondents. The average age of the students was 23.6 years, therefore this became the average period of time covered by the study.

Occupationally classified, 168, or 32.5 per cent, of these families were engaged in agriculture; 142, or 27.5 per cent, in business; 74, or 14.3 per cent, in professional or managerial positions; 46, or 8.2 per cent, in skilled occupations; 38, or 7.4 per cent, in industrial jobs of semi-skilled or unskilled nature; 32, or 7.4 per cent, in white collar positions; 6, or 1.2 per cent, in military service (almost all officers in the army or navy); and 10, or 1.9 per cent, unclassified. During the residential period under study, these 516 families had made a total of 1346 moves, or an average of 2.6 moves per family. A little over a fifth—21.2 per cent—of these were intra-community moves, i.e., changes of dwelling places within the same locality. Thirty-six per cent were inter-community moves within the state; 23 per cent were moves from states adjoining Idaho; while 1.2 per cent were from foreign countries. Thus, we see that over half, or 57.2 per cent, of the address changes were within the state, and four-fifths were within Idaho and adjoining states. In other

words, in the preponderant majority of relocations the movers did not travel more than a few hundred miles from their former homes.

Some variations were noted regarding the frequencies of moves, year by year. The periods 1929 to 1932 and 1939 to 1943, inclusive, were marked respectively by 24 per cent and 28.7 per cent greater mobility than the average for the entire time under study. The first period ushered in the depression, and the data relating to reasons for moving revealed that a considerable number of the family heads had lost their farms or businesses, and were seeking employment elsewhere. In all probability, the figures for the latter period were influenced by wartime mobility. The study deals only with residence change by the parental families of the students, not the students as individuals, many of whom are married and have children of their own. This limitation eliminates to a great extent the influence of military moves, which often are frequent and far, although the study did include a few army and navy personnel who were parents of students answering the questionnaire. Nevertheless, the increased frequencies during this latter period may be interpreted as reflecting how the dynamic life of the nation during the war years penetrated areas rather remote from war centers.

Of considerable interest is the grouping of the families on the basis of the number of times they had moved. One-fourth had never changed residence during the lifetime of the son or daughter furnishing the information, 17.5 per cent had moved twice, and nearly half—43 per cent—had relocated three times or more. Thus more than half, or 57 per cent, had never moved more than twice in an average period of 23.6 years, while the remainder had shifted residence anywhere from three to fifteen times.

OCCUPATION AND MOBILITY CORRELATED

SOME LIGHT MAY BE THROWN on the above groupings by studying moving frequencies in relation to occupation. As might be expected, it was the army and naval officers who changed residence most frequently. They had acquired new addresses on an average of 13.67 times. However, the number of military personnel was too small for statistical significance. At the other end of the scale were the farmers, who had moved an average of 1.86 times. The remaining occupations, in order of least frequency of moves, were white-collar, business, skilled industrial, and professional. When comparisons are made from

the standpoint of residence at the same place, whitecollar workers proved to be the most stable dwellers, with an average of 7.8 years per address; next in order were: industrial workers, 7.35; farmers, 7.26; skilled workers, 6.91; business men, 6.59; professional and managerial, 5.53; and military, 1.87 years per address. In almost every occupational group, some individuals, often a relatively large number, enjoyed long residential tenure. The average for the group as a whole was lowered by those who relocated frequently. Thus, in the professional and managerial group, physicians, dentists, lawyers, and accountants were characterized by residential stability, while the locations of company managers, superintendents, and supervisors were apt to be changed frequently. Among the farmers, approximately one-third of the addresses listed covered from 10 to 28 years, the second third were from 3 to 9 years inclusive, while the remaining third extended for no longer than 2 years. In fact, 7.2 per cent of farm residential periods were for less than one year, 14 per cent for one year, and 12.3 per cent for a 2-year period. From the standpoint of residential tenure, it seems that almost every occupation studied might be divided into a stable and an unstable group.

Nearly two-thirds, or 63.2 per cent, of the students answering the questionnaire were born in Idaho. Of the students' parental families 37 per cent were still living in the same locality they resided in when the students were born, although, as we have seen before, a little over a fifth had shifted residence within the community.

REASONS FOR MOVING

THE RESPONDENTS ADVANCED numerous and varied reasons to explain why their families had moved. On the basis of frequency, these reasons were assembled under five headings: employment, business, housing, educational, and miscellaneous. Of all the reasons advanced 40 per cent had to do with employment. This included breadwinners who had lost their jobs and were looking for work, those who were employed and were trying to secure better jobs, and those who were shifted about as a part of their work. The moves of 24 per cent were for financial and business reasons. About a tenth of this group had lost their farms or businesses. The remaining nine-tenths moved to take advantage of opportunities. Practically all of the intra-community moves were in quest of better housing, which accounted for 19 per cent of all of the reasons for

moving. Sixty-seven moves, or nearly 5 per cent of the total, were for educational purposes, i.e., whole families going to some town or city to gain access to better schools. A few families had moved to Moscow, so that their sons and daughters could live at home while attending the state university. The remaining 12 per cent of the moves were for miscellaneous reasons, such as to improve health, to be near relatives, to locate in a better neighborhood, or because of death, divorce, inheritance, home sickness, fire, or birth of a child. One honest student admitted that he did not know why his parents had moved.

In looking over the data covering reasons for moving, attention is immediately drawn to the importance of economic factors in determining whether or not people will move or stay put. Nearly two-thirds of the total number of moves were for employment or business reasons.

In an over-all evaluation of the study, it would indeed be presumptuous not to take cognizance of its shortcomings. First, the number of cases, 516, is much too small to give the findings much scientific value. In continuing the research, it is hoped that additional cases will help reduce the margin of error. Second, the study deals only with families who send their children to the University of Idaho. It is extremely doubtful that they constitute a representative sample of the families throughout the state. Third, this is a one-way study, since it includes only those families who have moved to and remained in Idaho. It does not include those people who have moved from and remained out of the state. And fourth, only families have been considered, never single persons who, I am told, also move.

These gaps, however, suggest further research possibilities. Building up a body of scientific knowledge in any field is often a slow, laborious, and painstaking process. It calls for cooperation, criticism, and collaboration among qualified students, each of whom is always endeavoring to improve on the imperfections of the others. The social value of mobility studies is apparent. Business men, city and regional planners, ministers, educators, directors of social welfare, and especially politicians, are among the many whose work would be rendered easier and more efficient if they had accurate information regarding the extent to which people move from one place to another, what kinds of people move, where they go, how long they stay, and why they ever move at all.

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*Social Processes and Social Change Among
Northwest Basques**

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IN AN EXTENSIVE REGION of northern Nevada, southeastern Oregon, and southwestern Idaho, which the writer designates in this paper as the Jordan Valley area, dwell the Basques, known locally as "Bascos." It has been the purpose of this investigation to discover who these people are; to inquire into their ethnic and ecological origins and backgrounds; to study their present culture, groups, and institutions; to interpret the facts, as far as their nature permits, in terms of social process and change; and to evaluate their contributions to American culture.

The following procedures were used in gathering data for this study: survey of the geography and ecology of the Jordan Valley area, personal interview, compilation of life histories, nonparticipant observation, participant observation, and study of available secondary sources, including histories, reference works, and school, city, and county records.

A brief consideration of the Old-World backgrounds of the Basques is necessary to an understanding of the social processes and changes through which these people passed in their new Pacific Northwest environment.

The origin of the Basques and their non-Indo-European language remains an ethnological mystery. From ancient times the Basques fought to maintain their identity and freedom against would-be conquerors, developing in the struggle a strong sense of racial, linguistic, and historic group solidarity. By

* A summary of parts of an extension field study undertaken from 1939 to 1948.