

The University of Maine
DigitalCommons@UMaine

Bulletins

Maine Agricultural and Forest Experiment Station

2-1988

B820: Immigration to Maine: 1975-1983

Louis A. Ploch

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/aes_bulletin



Part of the [Agricultural and Resource Economics Commons](#), and the [Rural Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ploch, L.A. 1988. Immigration to Maine: 1975-1983. Maine Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 820.

This Report is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@UMaine. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bulletins by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UMaine. For more information, please contact um.library.technical.services@maine.edu.

Inmigration to Maine 1975-1983

Louis A. Ploch

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
ORONO, ME 04469

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In any relatively large scale and multi year project the numbers of persons to whom a researcher/author is indebted are many. To list them all would be impossible. I apologize in advance to those persons and agencies that merit acknowledgment, but who are not listed.

The major source of funding for the three studies involved in this summary was the Regular Hatch Fund. Other funding sources were the Economic Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, Committee on Maine's Future, and through the office of the University of Maine Vice President for Research, several Maine business corporations.

Among the individuals who provided insight, advice, or just plain labor in various capacities were: Mark Anderson, Joyce Benson, Larry Brewerton, Jill Buck, Louise Chamberland, Vance Dearborn, Johannes Delphendahl, Wallace Dunham, Barbara Hermes, Frederick Hutchinson, Edward Piper, E. Jean Ploch, Charles Roundy, Richard Sherwood, and Geddes Simpson.

Especial appreciation is accorded to Christanna M Cook, who did the statistical work and provided many sharp insights and to Joan Bouchard, who, as always, provided invaluable assistance for many phases of the project including typing of the manuscript for this publication.

The project would not have been possible if it were not for the 2,839 respondents. My thanks to you wherever you may have migrated.

INMIGRATION TO MAINE
1975 - 1983

By

Louis A. Ploch

Professor Emeritus of Rural Sociology,
Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics,
University of Maine, Orono, Maine

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

Bulletin 820

February 1988

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
THE THREE STUDIES	3
The Findings	9
Migrant Origins	10
Age Composition	12
Education	14
OCCUPATIONAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INMIGRATION TO MAINE	17
Changes in Income Levels	17
A Noneconomic Migration	18
Occupational Choices	20
Why Move to Maine?	21
Improvement in Living Style	26
Levels of Satisfaction	26
Economic Satisfactions	27
Satisfaction with Environmental, Ecological Factors	29
Satisfactions with Community Functions and Services	29
Satisfactions with Community Life	29
THE 1980 RESPONDENTS	31
Local Services and Conditions	31
Changes in Seeking Advice, Aid	32
Changes in Family Interactions	33
Changes in Activities	34
Planned, Preferred Changes in Activities	35
COMPARISON OF THE "1980" AND "1983" RESPONDENTS	38
Demographic Comparisons	39
SUMMARY	41
CONCLUSIONS	42
REFERENCES	48

PREFACE

This publication is intended to be the capstone report of a series of research studies begun, in 1976, of immigration to Maine. During the 1976-1984 period three separate, but coordinated, studies were conducted by the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, Maine Agricultural Experiment Station. The major publications based on the studies are included in the bibliography which follows the text of this bulletin.

The impetus for the studies was the release in 1974 and 1975 of a series of population estimates by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. These data, and especially their analysis by Calvin Beale of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, were confirmation that rural areas throughout the United States were growing as a result of immigration from urban areas. Moreover, Maine, which had endured net outmigration and slow population growth for many decades, was one of the northern states that was gaining population most rapidly.

This knowledge became the basis for the subsequent research. In it we attempted to determine who the migrants were, where they were coming from, and what the consequences were of their movement to Maine, particularly to its rural and small town communities.

One of the important aspects of the three studies was the similarity of results. Although the studies covered a nine-year period, and each one utilized different samples of immigrants to Maine, the data pertaining to the respondent's demographic characteristics, their motivations for moving to the state, their patterns of settlement, their reactions to Maine lifeways, and their participation patterns in their communities were remarkably consistent. It was as if we had interviewed the same persons three times. Thus, instead of having 1,373 respondents in the 1976 study, 1,139 in the 1980 study, and 417 in the 1985 study, we had, in effect, a sample of 2,839 persons.

The fact that relatively high rates of net immigration to Maine continued for at least a nine-year period, and that the immigrants were so similar in their demographic characteristics and their perceptions of, and involvement in Maine life, provides substance for several conclusions. Maine communities will be affected for years to come by this influx of primarily young adults, with high levels of

managerial and professional training and experience. In addition to presenting the data from the three studies, the body of this report also explores the consequences of immigration to Maine.

IMMIGRATION TO MAINE -- 1975 - 1983

Louis A. Ploch

INTRODUCTION

Compared to many other states, the dynamics of Maine's population growth have been relatively unspectacular. Maine has experienced, however, several periods of both rapid and slow population growth. The changes in rates of growth and decline in Maine have not been uniform for all sections of the state nor for all segments of the population. For example, the 1850-1900 period was one of growth for Maine's industrial cities. It was during this same period when, for the first time, the majority of the nonsuburban and rural towns were either losing population or remaining relatively static.¹

Slow rates of growth prevailed for most Maine towns, particularly the nonsuburban ones, until after World War II. For many towns it was not until the late 1960's and the 1970's that real growth occurred -largely through net immigration.²

The period from approximately 1960 to the present has been one in which Maine's population dynamics were almost the opposite of those prevailing in the 1850-1900 era. In the preceding period cities were gaining population, but the outlying areas were losing people to cities both in and out of Maine. In more recent years most Maine cities lost

¹ A major exception to this statement is the growth pattern of towns in Aroostook County, most of which were organized or incorporated after 1850.

² Net migration is the net mathematical difference between two, two-phased population components for a specific period. The components are: (a) the difference between the number of births and deaths and, (b) the difference between the number of immigrants and outmigrants. Example: For County A, if between January 1, 1980 and December 31, 1980, there were 1,000 more births than deaths, but the population increase for the period was 2,500 net immigration would be 1,500 (2,500 - 1,000). This procedure can, and often does, mask high rates of population movement. The 1,500 net migration for County A could have resulted from many combinations of the balance between births and deaths and the numbers of persons moving in and out of the county. For example, if the same balance existed between births and deaths (1,000 more births), but there were 5,000 outmigrants and 6,500 immigrants, the county population increase would also be 2,500: $1,000 + (6,500 - 5,000) = 2,500$. During the 1970's and early 1980's Maine's rate of outmigration was high but it was counterbalanced by the combined effects of natural increase and continued high rates of immigration.

population while their suburbs and the more rural areas surrounding them gained population. In some cases the rural/small town rates of growth have been extremely rapid. Growth rates of 25 percent to 75 percent in a 10-year period became quite common. Because the balance of birth rates over death rates rarely exceeds 20 percent for a decade, rates of growth of this magnitude are related primarily to net immigration.

Rapid population growth has many consequences. In the long run the community (town) may prosper because of the expansion in population numbers. In the short run there are often negative consequences. To meet increased demands, local services tend to be expanded rapidly with little attention paid to possible long-run consequences. Demand for commercial services often, without adequate planning, leads to noxious strip development dominated by fast food restaurants, automobile rows, and shopping malls. Large population influx can also cause property values to rise sharply. Local persons, particularly young people, can be priced out of the private home market.

Rapid population growth is often accompanied by disruptions in the provision of public services. It takes time and money before the town can catch up with increased demands in education, police and fire protection, refuse collection, sewage disposal, etc. Under these conditions social conflicts often occur. Verbal battles accompany meetings of planning boards and zoning boards of appeal. Newcomers are accused of attempting to force "their" ways on their new communities. In turn, long-time residents are charged with foot dragging and unreasonableness. Feuds may occur; legal challenges become a common practice.

Despite rapid growth in suburban and rural towns, and the periodic problems coincidental with it, the consequences of population growth in Maine communities are, for the most part, manageable.³

3 In the late 1980's a problem is occurring which is related in part to the upsurge in migration to Maine. Property values are skyrocketing in the most favorable locations. For the 1986-1987 period it was not uncommon for land values in some coastal and other scenic areas to double. Associated with this rise in property value is the buying up of large tracts of developable land by real estate corporations and speculators.

Despite its image as "vacationland," Maine, as compared to the United States as a whole, has a relatively high proportion of its population employed in industrial/blue collar and resource based industries.

Consequently the proportions of persons employed in professional, managerial, and other white collar occupations have been considerably below average. A concomitant of this occupational distribution, particularly for the smaller communities, was a relatively low income and educational structure. The influx of immigrants to Maine from at least the early 1970's has been one of the forces which, as documented in the studies to be analyzed below, has improved the situation.⁴ Comparisons between data for the state as a whole and that for recent immigrants document this assumption.

THE THREE STUDIES

Early analysis of the 1970 U.S. Census of Population data appeared to confirm the continued existence of several trends - some of fairly recent origin, others with a longer history. The "baby-boom" cycle of the late 1940's and 1950's had moderated to a great extent. Overall U.S. population was growing at a moderate rate and people were living longer. The proportion of the population 65 and over increased from 8.1 percent in 1950 to 9.8 percent in 1970. Many of the older persons, and some who were 10 or 12 years younger, were moving from the northern and eastern states to the "Sun Belt" areas of the South and West.

Cities, particularly the older ones in the East and Mid West, were losing population. The so-called "rust belt" was beginning to develop in western Pennsylvania and the Mid West. In contrast, suburbs of most cities including those in Maine, were gaining residents, often at rapid rates. It was recognized that a large share of the growth was related to population increases in metropolitan areas -- large cities surrounded by

⁴ Data pertaining to immigrants to Maine in the 1970's and 1980's were extracted from one of three studies by Louis A. Ploch. See the bibliography for sources of specific citations. The phrase "immigrants to Maine" refers to the respondents in one or more of these studies.

a series of suburbs. With exceptions (e.g. retirement communities in the South and Southwest) smaller and rural towns outside metropolitan areas were remaining stagnant or were gaining population at relatively low rates.

As an aspect of the federal government's revenue sharing program instituted in the early 1970's, the Bureau of the Census began to make yearly estimates of the population on a town-by-town basis. Calvin Beale, chief demographer of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, made an intensive study of these new data. It was Beale who first published a comprehensive analysis of the 1973 estimates (Beale, 1975). To the surprise of most other demographers, he documented that the great majority of rural towns, including those outside the orbits of growing metropolitan areas, were gaining population.

At first the figures for 1973 were generally considered to be some sort of statistical aberration -- a short term trend that would not continue. The 1974 and 1975 town-by-town population estimates, however, confirmed the existence of the trends.⁵ Several terms to describe what was happening became popular -- "rural renaissance," "return migration" and "population turn around." By what ever phrase, by 1975/1976 it had become abundantly evident that nonsuburban rural communities in all sections of the country were growing -- many at record rates.

The 1973 population estimates for Maine municipalities were consistent with those for the U.S. as a whole. Larger cities were losing population or remaining static. Smaller towns, even many in relatively unpopulated areas, were gaining population. Coastal communities, in particular, were experiencing rapid rates of growth.

The U.S. Bureau of Census yearly population estimates were invaluable in tracking the rate and selectivity of the population

5 The growth trends which Beale noted for the 1970-1973 period continued more or less unabated through the 1970's. In a U.S. Department of Agriculture release entitled Rural and Small Town Population Change, 1970-1980 (ESS-5-Feb. 1981) Beale stated: "For the first time in 160 years, the population growth rate in the United States was higher in rural and small town communities than in metropolitan areas."

turnaround in Maine. They were, however, sparse statistics. They provided no clues about who the new people were, where they came from, and why they were choosing Maine, especially rural and small town Maine. Town, regional, and state government officials among others, were anxious to know the answers to these and other questions such as: (1) Are they retirees or young back-to-the landers? (2) Were they former Mainers? (3) Were they going to inundate our schools with new students? (4) Did they come here because they were "pushed" out of the cities or were they "pulled" to Maine because of its natural amenities? (5) Did they come to Maine because it was convenient, or were they coming to Maine because they *really* wanted to make the move? (6) How would they affect their new communities?

In 1974 at the time of the release of Beale's analysis of the 1970-1973 population shifts there were no readily available sources on which educated guesses could be based. The lack of precise, up-to-date demographic data is one of the dilemmas of our free society. Socialist nations tend to keep information on citizens in centralized files. One western nation, Sweden, does maintain excellent demographic information which provides data for economic and social planning. The U.S. collects only minimal information on residential moves and this is done only once every ten years. The usual U.S. Census questions are, "In what place did you (the respondent) live on April 1, 19__" (5 years ago) and "In what place did you live on April 1, 19__ (1 year ago).

The lack of accurate, timely, available migration data was a factor in the reaction of surprise when Beale's analysis of the 1973 population estimates was published. His work provided evidence that a major redistribution of the U.S. population was in progress.

The 1973 data documented that Maine, which had lagged behind U.S. growth rates for many years, was one of the leading states in the population turnaround. For the first time in decades more people were moving to Maine than migrating from it. For the 1970-1973 period Maine experienced a population increase of 4.4 percent. The comparable figure for the United States was 3.2 percent. Maine rated second to New

Hampshire in percent of population gain for all states north of Virginia and east of Colorado.

Study of the 1973 population estimates indicated clearly that much of the migration surge to Maine was occurring outside the larger cities. Small towns, even quite remote ones, for the first time in decades (up to 100 years) were gaining population through net migration. While it was evident that coastal towns were growing at particularly high rates, the population spurt was not confined to them. All Maine counties, except Aroostook, gained population between 1970 and 1980. The following distribution presents the percent change in population between 1970 and 1980 for each Maine County and for a representative town in each county.

County	Percent Change in County Population 1970-1980	Town	Percent Change in Town Population 1970-1980
Androscoggin	13.2	Turner	57.6
Aroostook	-2.9	Monticello	-11.4
Cumberland	12.1	Standish	90.5
Franklin	20.7	Industry	62.2
Hancock	20.8	Lamoine	55.0
Kennebec	15.3	China	57.7
Knox	13.5	Rockport	33.0
Lincoln	25.1	Waldoboro	26.7
Oxford	12.7	Fryeburg	23.0
Penobscot	9.3	Bradford	56.1
Piscataquis	8.3	Dover-Foxcroft	3.5
Sagadahoc	22.8	Bowdoinham	89.9
Somerset	10.9	Fairfield	7.5
Waldo	21.8	Lincolntonville	48.1
Washington	17.1	Harrington	55.3
York	25.2	Lyman	190.4

In 1976, faced with an increasing number of queries as to what was happening to Maine as the result of immigration, the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station launched the first of a series of three studies.⁶ Follow-up studies were made in 1981 and 1984.

⁶ See the acknowledgment section for the involvement, financial and otherwise, of the agencies, commissions, and individuals who played vital roles in making the studies possible. See the bibliography for a list of publications based on the studies.

For each of the three studies a somewhat novel data source -- driver's license registrations -- was employed. The State of Maine requires all persons holding valid out-of-state driver's licenses to relinquish them when they receive a Maine license. Driver's licenses are public records; therefore, each year the relinquished licenses provide a pool of names and addresses of persons who are recent immigrants.

For each of the studies we choose a sample, randomly stratified by county, of immigrants who, with one exception as noted in footnote 7, had received a Maine driver's license within the preceding year.⁷ If a chosen person did not return the mailed questionnaire in a seven to ten-day period, a second questionnaire with an appropriate request for its return was sent. In the first two studies if selected persons did not respond within an approximate two-week period, their names were replaced with those of other randomly chosen persons from the same county. The rate of return for the first two studies exceeded 70 percent. The response rate of the third study was 43 percent. The lowered rate of return was related in part to the fact that the sample consisted of two groups of persons (see footnote 7). Because of their remigration both in and out of state, it was difficult to locate many of the people in the 1980 sample. It was because of the problem of location related to remigration that we did not replace nonrespondents in this study.

The general design and question format of the three studies were closely comparable, but there were some variations. In each study a series of basic demographic questions was asked: age, sex, education, the former and present occupation of all family members, state and county of former residence, town and county of present residence. The questionnaires for the first two studies contained a number of open-ended (free response) questions related to reasons for moving to Maine and satisfactions with living in the state. The questionnaire for the third study varied from the other two in the replacement of open-ended

⁷ For the study conducted in 1984, there were two subsamples: one consisted of persons who exchanged licenses in 1980, the other in 1983. See preface for sample sizes.

questions with categorical ones. The phrasing of these questions was based on replies to the open-ended questions in the earlier studies. Thirty-six questions related to why the respondents moved to Maine; 19 questions related to the respondents' satisfaction with living in Maine. The respondents who received their Maine driver's license in 1980 were asked an additional 60 questions covering six areas: degree of satisfaction with local services, frequency of seeking aid and advice, family interrelationships, frequency of participating in civic duties, frequency of informal interactions, present and planned level of activity in organizations, and groups.

To date, although demographers have not established definitive reasons why the rural turnaround occurred, some tentative conclusions have been reached. The most accepted thought is that there was not one major driving force behind the accelerated population movement from urban to less urban areas. One factor appears to be that the turnaround was, in a sense, a second generation suburban movement. The belief is that people who had moved to the inner suburbs of large cities in the immediate postwar period were attempting a second migration to recapture some of the qualities of their early suburban experience which had eroded over time. A corollary assumption is that many of the immigrants were people who grew up in the suburbs and were seeking a similar but better social environment for themselves and their families, particularly their children.

Another reason for the turnaround may be connected with the aftermath of the war in Viet Nam. Many young people were disaffected with U.S. participation in the war. They wanted to divest themselves of identity with the "ruling" classes. They were seeking new directions for their lives. Their search led them to sparsely populated rural areas, a "return to nature." In renouncing established norms they became counter culturists, a term which became more or less synonymous with the more perjorative, "hippie."

Many of the counter culturists turned to the land both for an identity and a living. They farmed/gardened organically, ate "natural" (unprocessed) foods, and tended to pay little attention to conventions of

dress or hygiene. Their neighbors were, as a minimum, curious, and often disapproving of the lifestyles of the new residents.

In Maine, the counter culturalists represented a small minority of the 1970's immigrants. Because of their high visibility, however, in some of the more rural areas they became the symbol and, often, the scapegoats, of the immigration.

In some towns, until they proved otherwise, young immigrants were almost universally branded with a hippie image and reacted to accordingly. The counter culture phase of immigration was relatively short lived in Maine. Most of those involved soon moved on or were more or less absorbed into the prevailing local culture (Ploch, 1987).

Data from our studies support the conclusion that a large proportion of the early immigrants were middle class, urban residents who had become disillusioned with city life. Some expressed fear for the safety of their children and themselves. For others, pollution, noise, traffic and high taxes were among the precipitating forces behind urban to rural migration. As powerful as these "pushing" forces may have been, a majority of the respondents in our studies indicate they specifically moved to Maine more for its "pulling" (attractive) amenities, both environmental and social, than from a feeling of being pushed out of their former communities by negative factors operating in their previous location.

The Findings. To the author, one important aspect of the data derived from the immigration studies was the consistency of the demographic and social characteristics of the respondents comprising the three sample groups. Despite the fact that they represented three waves of migration over an eight-year time span (1975-1983) the three groups of respondents were amazingly similar in their demographic composition, value preferences, and lifestyles. It would appear that, to a large degree, we sampled the "same" group three times. The forces which instigated turnaround migration in the 1960's appeared to continue to the early 1980's. It may be too soon to assess what the consequences of the homogeneity among the immigrants has been or will be. It is a

distinction that future demographers should study and assess. The importance of this conclusion is buttressed by the additional fact that the demographic and social profiles of the 1970's-1980's immigrants to Maine differed greatly from those of the established Maine population, particularly those living in the smaller towns and rural areas. The data to be analyzed below will delineate some of the differences between the two groups. Some of the actual and potential consequences of these differences will be presented.

Migrant Origins. More than 100 years ago the German social scientist Ravenstein enunciated several principles or "laws" of migration. For our series of studies, his observation that for any stream of migration there would be an opposite or counterstream has considerable relevance.⁸

For generations northern New Englanders have migrated to southern New England and the Middle Atlantic states in search of economic opportunities, education, and expanded, more urbanlike lifestyles. Some of these persons would ultimately return as counterstream migrants. When the increased tempo of immigration to Maine first became noticed in the early 1970's, some observers attributed it simply to an increase in the rate of return migrants. They were correct up to a point.

Although a majority of the 1970's-1980's migrants to the state were becoming Maine residents for the first time, a sizable minority (approximately two-fifths) had some sort of a Maine connection. In the 1976 study 61 percent of the migrants were primary (first time) migrants to the state.⁹ In each of the three studies no more than one-fifth of the respondents were Maine natives returning to their home state. An additional fifth had lived or vacationed in Maine at some time.

⁸For an analysis of counter stream migration see Brewerton, 1978

⁹ Return (second time) migrants were liberally defined as persons who were either (a) born in Maine; (b) not a Maine native but lived in the state as a resident, college student, or a military related person; (c) had vacationed regularly in Maine. See chapter 4 in Brewerton, 1978.

It would be reasonable to assume that the demographic characteristics of the return and the primary residents differed. To some degree, they did. Brewerton's (1978) analysis of the data collected in 1976 indicates that the primary immigrants as compared to the return immigrants were younger, had completed more years of formal education, were more likely to have moved to Maine for job related reasons, and were more likely to be presently employed in a white collar occupation.¹⁰

Thus, the die was cast. Maine's population composition, particularly in the less urban areas, was beginning to change. Younger, well educated, white collar/professionally oriented persons would no longer be rare in rural and small town Maine. In addition, and as will be detailed below, many of the immigrants were also importers of new or different attitudes toward the environment, community life, the arts, and life in general. The consequences of these changes are currently unfolding in many Maine communities.

Another of Ravenstein's generalizations was that, in general, migration occurs in relatively short moves. Our immigrant data confirm this conclusion. Even if the returning Maine natives are deleted from consideration, a majority of the immigrant respondents in each of the three studies moved to Maine from the northeastern states, largely from New England. In the 1984 study for example, 65 percent of the respondents moved to Maine from either a New England state or from Pennsylvania, New York, or New Jersey. More than one-third came from Massachusetts, New Hampshire or Connecticut.

There are a number of significances in this occurrence. Their relative geographic proximity to Maine could have provided many of them with the opportunity to "know" Maine. They could know Maine through vacations, having friends and neighbors who were former Mainers or New Englanders, and through northeastern focused media.

¹⁰ Each of these relationships was statistically significant. As tested by the chi square statistic, the stated relationships would occur by chance alone no more than one out of one hundred times. See Brewerton (1978)

In addition to their relative proximity to Maine and the existence of a generalized northeastern culture, potential migrants to the state from the Northeast could be attracted to it because of preferences for a four-season climate and the other natural amenities that abound in the state. This background of knowledge and a real preference could also prove to be forces in helping the immigrants to accommodate to their new communities. In turn, such knowledge can help long time residents of communities experiencing significant immigration to accommodate the new residents. As will be elaborated on in a following section, each of these presumptions is documented by data from the studies.

Age Composition. The age distribution of a particular population group is of major importance. The need for services, both public and private, commercial and noncommercial, and the interests, preferences, and values of a town/community are largely determined by its age distribution. The post World War II period provides an apt example. In the late 1940's and early 1950's, great numbers of young families experiencing the baby boom moved to the suburbs and nearby small towns accessible to more urban areas. Almost immediately the dramatic shifts in age composition converted some former, more or less rural areas into suburbs. From a deficit of young people, there was now a surplus. Dramatic increases occurred in school building and in school consolidation. PTA's flourished. Baby sitting and nursery schools provided new job opportunities for teenagers and young housewives. The pressures of expanded growth, particularly of the younger generations, affected every community service. Perhaps most important of all was the potential leadership base that the young families provided. Some twenty years later, the shifts in the age composition of many Maine communities affected by high rates of immigration provided similar problems and opportunities indigenous to the baby boom generation.

Most Americans are aware that we are an aging society. In 1930 the proportion of U.S. population 65 and over was 5.4 percent. Forty years later, in 1970, persons aged 65 and over constituted 9.8 percent of the U.S. population. In 1970, 11.5 percent of Maine residents were 65 years of age and over. Maine's population "aged" more rapidly than the nation

largely because it was experiencing net outmigration of its youth. More people in the younger age groups were leaving the state than were choosing to move to Maine.

The migration turnaround of the late 1960's through the early 1980's provided some relief from this trend. As shown in Table 1 the bulk of our immigrant respondents are persons under fifty. The aggregate numbers are probably not large enough to make a great impact statewide, but individual communities that experience high rates of immigration of either young or older persons can be greatly affected. Informal research and observation conducted by the author in Waldo County, Maine in the 1970's and early 1980's confirms this assumption.

TABLE 1
Age of Immigrant Respondents, Immigration to Maine
Studies, 1976 and 1984

Age	1976 (Percent)	1984 (Percent)
20 - 34	51	41
35 - 49	24	30
50 and Over	23	29
No Information	2	
Total Percent	100	100
Total No. of Cases	1,336	417

Though they were not hippies in the full sense of the term, a relatively large proportion of the younger immigrants was counter culture oriented. The opinions which they expressed at town meetings, often with great passion, were frequently counter to those of older, long established residents. Specific issues, the reopening of closed roads for example, would usually spawn a confrontation between the two groups. In general, the ill feelings generated by these confrontations are slowly healing, but a residue of suspicion lingers. The ultimate "control" of the community continues to remain, largely, with the traditional older, hierarchy. Few residents of the communities, however, would strongly

dispute the conclusion that the new, younger immigrants have left indelible imprints on their town's structure and functioning.

In summary, the immigrant families tend to be composed mainly of adult young persons. The married families contain few very young and older persons. The presence, in a community, of most of these families should not increase school enrollments unduly nor overburden services for the elderly. Conversely, they constitute a group of voluntary, largely noneconomically motivated persons with positive attitudes toward their new communities. It is likely that many of them will become positive forces in their new communities (Ploch, 1984:7). An analysis of the family aspects of the 1970's immigration to Maine is contained in chapter 3 of Coward and Smith (1979).

Education. From its earliest beginning, the American nation, and particularly the North and Northeast, has placed a value on formal education. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, as early as 1647, required that ... every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord has increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their own town to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read ..." (Taylor and Jones, 1964:366).

A thrust for education accompanied settlement in Maine. For example in Bradford, Maine one of the first settlers recalled: "As soon as my father moved into his house my mother, having taught school before her marriage, took in all of the children in the neighborhood and taught them part of the time for several years, in spite of her other labors and cares" (Bowler and Bowler, p. 2).

Unfortunately the historic emphasis on the provision of publically provided schooling in Maine did not extend universally to higher education. Mandated public high school education did not become effective in Maine until 1902. Private academies, many of them supported by religious denominations, were fairly common in rural areas prior to 1900. These institutions attracted students from fairly large areas but few local children whose parents were farmers and blue collar workers attended.

Not attending high school or dropping out early was close to the norm in Maine into the 1920's. As late as 1925 just 42 percent of Maine students who entered the ninth grade four years earlier graduated from high school. By 1963 the comparable figure had risen to 77 percent.

Maine residents have also lagged behind national averages in the percentages of students completing four years of college. In 1970, just 8 percent of Maine residents 25 years of age and older had attained four years of college education. In contrast, data from the first of our immigration to Maine studies (1976) indicated that 43 percent of the adult respondents had completed college, a difference of more than 500 percent. The levels of post secondary educational attainment of the respondents in the following two studies were comparable to that of the earlier immigrants.

Particularly in the smaller communities, where the educational discrepancies between longtime residents and immigrants are likely to be the greatest, the effects of educational variability could be many and profound.¹¹ One of the components in the Maine stereotype of "people from away" is their supposed air of superiority. Educational discrepancies contribute to the perpetuation of the syndrome. So does the general rural assumption that most, if not all, persons from populous states are "urban." The popular belief, often expressed at town meetings and other public gatherings is that "they want to push their urban ways [including educational innovations] on us."

Underlying the formation and perpetuation of these stereotypes is the fear that educational changes will translate into increased local taxation. Few occurrences infuriate Maine citizens more than do local property tax increases. The lack of full integration of immigrants into

¹¹ It is recognized, that on average, the immigrants who are highly educated professionals of working age are more likely to migrate to urban/suburban areas than to highly isolated rural areas. Data from the 1980 study support this assumption: 37.3 percent of all the respondents had 16 or more years of education but 52.7 percent of immigrants to Cumberland County (largely urban/suburban) and just 22.2 percent of the immigrants to Piscataquis County (rural/blue collar) had attained this level of education.

local community culture appears to be, in part, a fear of their spending habits for schools and other public services.

It should be noted that a large proportion of Maine towns, particularly those with populations of less than 5,000 are units, by local choice, of Maine School Administrative Districts, MSAD's. MSAD school committees are composed of at least one elective representative from each of the constituent towns. MSAD budgets are determined collectively by the committee. The budget is voted upon, not at the respective town meetings, but at a district-wide meeting which is generally held at the high school. Typically very few residents from any one town attend; the budget is accepted by the majority vote of those in attendance, regardless of which town they live in. A homogeneous delegation of immigrants could decide the amount and configuration of the MSAD budget.

There are, of course, positive aspects of the relatively high educational levels of the immigrants. One problem of small towns and communities often identified by researchers and observers is their lack of a leadership base. This deficiency is becoming more of a problem.

The positions of town manager, selectman, school committee and planning board members are becoming increasingly complex. A college degree may not be a formal necessity for attaining these roles, but it is close to being a practical necessity for all but the smallest towns.

A concomitant of the high educational levels of the immigrants is their occupational profile. As will be detailed below a large proportion of the immigrants are former or practicing professionals. Many of them have chosen to live outside Maine's major cities and their immediate suburbs. As a result it is no longer necessary for small town and rural people to travel long distances to procure the services of a variety of professionals -- doctors, dentists, lawyers, engineers, etc.

When any community begins to grow after a period of population decline or stability, school enrollments are soon affected. The influx of immigrants, particularly to the smaller communities and/or school districts, raised fears that school enrollments would increase

precipitously. They did in a few communities. In general, however, the increase was within manageable proportions largely because the immigrant families contained few school age children. The households of the respondents in the 1984 study contained an average of 0.27 preschool children (ages 0-4) and 0.53 school age children (ages 5-17).

In summary, the recent influx of relatively highly educated persons in Maine has not generally overwhelmed local educational facilities. The immigration has provided many areas with an increased base of professional and managerial persons who may prove to be a net asset. Economic and occupational changes will be discussed in the following section.

OCCUPATIONAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION TO MAINE

Changes in Income Levels. Specific income data were not obtained in the studies. The questionnaires in each of the three studies did include a pertinent income related question. The wording of the question in the 1984 study was: "If [you are] employed, compared to your income before coming to Maine, is your present income much higher, somewhat higher, [the] same, somewhat lower, much lower?" The percentages for the five response categories varied slightly from study to study, but the overall results remained nearly constant.

The conventional wisdom at the time of the 1976 study was that persons who came mostly from high wage urban areas would be making less in Maine than in their former locations. The data for the three studies indicate that this assumption was overgeneralized. For example, in the 1976 study 51 percent of the employed respondents reported that their income was higher or the same after their move to Maine than before. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the differentials in the respondents' incomes before and after their move to Maine is the variation by occupational status. If one relied solely on conventional wisdom, it would be reasonable to conclude that a higher proportion of the usually highly paid professionals would be more likely to have reduced incomes in Maine than did blue collar workers. Just the opposite occurred. In the 1984 study 45 percent of the professional/managerial

respondents had increased incomes in Maine compared to 31 percent of the blue collar respondents (Ploch, 1985a:10).

There is no direct evidence in the studies that fully explains this unexpected relationship. Several assumptions which are partially explanatory can be derived from the data and from general knowledge about Maine. Part of the discrepancy is probably related to the fact that Maine has long had a surplus of blue collar workers and a deficiency of professional/managerial personnel. Historically we have exported blue collar workers and imported professionals and higher level managers. The shortage of local resident professionals/managers probably increased the economic value of the positions. The opposite condition existed for lower level white collar and blue collar jobs. Despite their increased income levels, a majority of the professionally/managerially employed respondents (as did all occupational groups) reported that their move to Maine was prompted more by quality-of-life attractions rather than by income or other economic motivations. These relationships will be explored more fully below.

A Noneconomic Migration. In each of our three immigration to Maine studies more than a majority of the respondents indicated that occupational or other economic aspects were not the prime motivating forces in their decision to move to the state. The respondents in the 1984 study were asked, "Did you move to Maine primarily for job or other economically related reasons?" Sixty-two percent of the 417 respondents replied "no."

The key element in the question may have been the term "primarily." From the replies of the "1983" respondents as well as the responses to similar questions in the other two studies, and through field observations, it is clear that the immigrant's attractions to Maine were multiple. For example, some of those persons who were looking for a job had a number of offers, in Maine and elsewhere, before deciding to move to the state. They chose a position in Maine both because of the job itself and because of their perceptions of Maine's quality-of-life attributes.

The quality-of-life orientations of prospective immigrants could

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

prove to be important to Maine's economic planners and developers, both public and private. Potentially the location in Maine of new or branch plants could be based on the known desire of potentially valued employees to move to the state. Keeping Maine environmentally and socially attractive may be a cost effective means to continue to attract qualified employees to the state and to keep others as residents.

To obtain a more definitive perspective on the role(s) which economic factors played in the "1983" respondents' decisions to move to Maine they were asked a series of occupationally related questions. The instructions requested that they indicate the degree of importance which the content area of the questions had in their decision making process.

The response choices for the categorical questions were "0" (none) or "1", "2", "3", or "4" (high). In the table below for each category the figure in the "none" column represents the proportion of "0" responses; the "some" column represents the proportion of "1", "2", "3", or "4" responses.

TABLE 2

**Importance of Job Related Factors in Immigrant's
Decision to Move to Maine**

	Percent Degree of Importance in Decision to Move	
	None	Some
Reason for Moving		
To accept a new job (not transferred)	70	30
Need to look for a job	87	13
Decided to go into business in Maine	88	12
Came to Maine to establish or to join in a professional practice	89	11
Volunteered for a job transfer	93	7
Required job transfer	93	7

The response patterns to the questions as illustrated in the table establish that economic orientations were not major factors in the respondents' decisions to move to Maine. The significances of these data are enhanced by another fact. Less than 20 percent of all respondents reported being retired. One might have surmised that a relatively young group of immigrants (41 percent were under 35 years of age) would contain a large proportion of job seekers and that they would choose to move to

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

an area where jobs were available and economically attractive. The large movement out of the so-called "rust belt (western Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River) in the late 1970's - early 1980's was an example of a large economically motivated migration. There were, of course, job seekers among the recent immigrants as indicated in Table 2. But the thrust of the data in the table and other supporting facts suggest that it is more than appropriate to term the increased population movement to Maine in the 1970's and early 1980's as largely a quality-of-life migration. The great majority of immigrants to Maine during this period came to the state because of its economic, social, and ecological amenities were to their satisfaction. The impact and significances of this voluntaristic, quality-of-life migration will be further developed in a later section.

Occupational Choices. In each of the three studies the majority of the employed immigrant respondents held positions which can be defined as professional specialties (health professionals, lawyers, teachers, etc.) or as managerial, executive, and administrative positions. The occupational choice data from the 1984 study are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3
Occupational Distribution for Immigrant Respondents
and Maine Employed Persons, 1980

Occupation	Percent	
	Immigrant Respondents	Maine Residents*
Professional Specialties	43.1	12.0
Executive, Administrative, Managerial	27.0	8.4
Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support (Includes Clerical)	10.3	26.0
Precision Production, Craft, and Repair	10.3	14.5
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	2.4	22.2
Farming, Forestry, Fishing	1.5	3.8
Service (Public and Private)	5.4	13.1
	100.0	100.0

Number 204 459, 522

*Source: US Census, 1980

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

The differences between the occupations of the immigrant respondents and the resident Maine population are striking. For the two groups the proportional differences between the seven occupational categories range from, approximately, 1.4 to 1 for the "precision production, craft, repair" category to 9.2 to 1 for the "operators, fabricators and laborers" category. Perhaps the most striking and, in the long run, the most important difference between the two occupational distributions can be observed by combining the professional and managerial categories.

More than two thirds (70.1 percent) of the employed respondents report holding upper white collar positions. The comparable figure for all Maine residents in 1980 was 20.4 percent, a proportional difference of more than three to one. While the aggregate numbers of adult immigrants to Maine for any one year, even in the peak years of the turnaround migration, may not have exceeded 15,000 to 16,000 persons, over time if the trend continues the occupational composition for the state will change markedly. Blue collar jobs will become less prevalent. The occupational norm would become a white collar job with increasing emphasis on the professional and managerial fields.

The effects of increasing white collarization are likely to be most dramatic in the smaller communities which, in recent times, have had, proportionate to the larger cities and towns, very few white collar persons. As indicated in Table 4 below, a disproportionate share of the immigrants in the 1984 study, as in the earlier studies, chose to move to relatively small communities. Particularly in the towns of less than 2,500 persons even a modest increase in the number of professional/managerial persons can help to change the service, leadership, and social patterns.

Why Move to Maine? If the major motivations of recent immigrants to Maine were not directly occupationally related, what did attract them to the state? In the first two immigration to Maine studies we asked the respondents, by the use of "open ended" narrative questions, what it was that attracted them to Maine. As stated previously, the thrust of the majority of the responses related to Maine's quality of life attributes,

TABLE 4

Size of Place by Present Occupation

Occupation	Size of Town		
	Under 2, 500 (Percent)	2, 500- 19, 999 (Percent)	20, 000 and Over (Percent)
Professional Managerial	29	56	15
Nonprofessional White Collar, Service	21	70	9
Blue Collar	31	50	19
Average	28	57	15
Number	56	116	30

Chi square equal 3.341. Probability equal 0.5025

broadly interpreted. The beauty, the woods, the ocean, the "small townness," ruralness, and the positive qualities of the state's residents were among the most frequent replies. In the 1984 study, to tap the immigrant's motivations for moving to Maine we asked them to reply to a series of specific statements. The 13 statements were based primarily on the responses received to the less focused queries included in the first two studies.

As related above, even though the migrant's prime motivations for moving to Maine were not economic, economics did play a role. Four of our motivation statements had a cost-of-living perspective. In answering them the respondents were asked to indicate how important the content area was in their decision to migrate to the state. Choices ranged from "0", no importance to "4", high importance. The responses were:

Statement	Percent Choosing*	
	Zero Alternative	Alternative "3" or "4"
Thought state taxes would be low	68	12
Thought local taxes would be low	63	15
Owned property in Maine	73	21
Thought we could buy property economically	55	25

*The percentages do not add to 100 because the "1" and "2" responses were deleted.

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

Established Maine residents tend to be vitally concerned about state and local tax levels; they were of less concern to a majority of the 1984 immigrant respondents. Several factors may be associated with this relationship. The majority of the immigrants came from urban areas. Taxes are generally higher in urban than in rural areas, a fact probably well known to prospective urban to rural migrants. Additionally the majority of the immigrants were, or were about to become, professionally or managerially employed. Their actual or presumed incomes could sustain reasonable tax levels. Additionally, because their move to Maine was so quality-of-life oriented, economics in general, including tax levels, would play less of a role in their decision making than it would for more economically driven migrants.

Just over one-fifth of the respondents indicated that owning property in Maine prior to their migration was of significance in their move to the state. We have no data on when, or under what circumstances, the property was acquired. It is likely that a substantial proportion of the "return to Maine" migrants, through inheritance or previous residence, were property owners in the state. Others may have bought property in anticipation of an eventual move to Maine. Of more probable importance, however, was the fact that for three of four of the respondents prior property ownership in Maine was of little or no importance in their migration to the state. Their choice of a new living area was based, largely, on more intangible factors and relationships.

We do not know what proportion of the 25 percent of the immigrants who "thought we could buy property economically" in Maine were actually able to do so. It is likely, however, that for the majority of respondents who were urban dwellers and professionals or managers, property prices in Maine (particularly away from the coast) in the 1970's and early 1980's may have been a welcome relief and/or surprise. While we have no direct data to test this hypothesis, it may be that persons who are not overly concerned about tax levels and/or property costs, but who are attracted to an area because of its positive ecological and social amenities, have relatively high potentials of becoming stable contributing citizens.

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

Among residents in many areas of the United States, Maine has a reputation of being a beautiful, enjoyable, restful, wholesome place to live and to raise a family. Among the questions which we asked the respondents was a series related to attitudes about Maine's environmental/ecological characteristics.¹

TABLE 5
Importance of Environmental/ Ecological Factors
in Migration to Maine

Environmental/ Ecological Factors in Migration	Percent Respondents Selecting the "Zero" (of No Importance) Alternative or Alternatives "3" or "4" (High Importance)	
	"Zero" Alternative (Percent)	Alternative "3" or "4" (Percent)
To enjoy Maine seafood	48	23
To enjoy fishing/hunting	47	26
To enjoy winter recreation	33	38
To enjoy water related activities	21	47
Thought living in Maine would be healthful	21	55
To enjoy woods & rural areas	11	70
To enjoy the natural environment	10	74

For purposes of ease of analysis, the questions were reordered in the table in the ascending order of the proportion of "3" and "4" (high importance) responses. The fact that nearly one of four of the respondents declared that the opportunity to enjoy Maine seafood was of importance in their migration to the state is at least somewhat surprising if not overly meaningful. What is of more importance in the array is that the proportion of the high importance choices increases as the generality of the questions increase. The importance of this ordering might be dismissed on the logical premise that, of course,

¹¹ As was the case for the two previous data sets, the specific environmentally ecological questions were based on responses to open ended questions in the two previous studies. The results in the 1984 study were very similar to those previously attained.

interest in specific Maine attributes would appeal to fewer people than would the more generalized ones. On the other hand, the data in the table illustrate quite clearly that while there are supporters for specific activities, there is a much broader appreciation for the totality of outdoor opportunities available in Maine.

The 1984 questionnaire did not contain questions which called for information on specific ecological/outdoor issues. There were questions, however, which elicited information, opinions which were at least tangential to a number of environmental issues. The response patterns to these questions corroborated the implied conclusion above that, generally, the respondents were attracted to Maine because they believed Maine to be environmentally attractive and they desired to keep it that way.

Support of some outdoor activities by the new residents may not be without conflict. The interests of those persons who are avid hunters, for example, might clash with the interests of those who do not hunt but nevertheless enjoy using the woods and fields for less active recreational pursuits.²

Because of their high levels of educational attainment, their "white collaredness" (particularly in higher level professional and managerial fields), and their relative youth, many of the immigrants will be in a position to pursue their environmental and ecological orientations. Many will be able to afford to purchase the equipment, property, clothes, etc. which are more or less requirements for active participation in some of the activities presented in the distribution. And in many cases these and associated expenditures will be made locally which could prove to be a boost for the local economy.

It should be noted, however, that some of the items that the respondents deemed to be of the greatest importance to them could be appreciated and enjoyed without much active participation. One can enjoy

² This paragraph and the next three are direct quotations from Ploch, 1985a, pp 4-5.

the woods, the rural areas, the natural environment, without actually being physically involved or related to them. As stated above these particular values could come in conflict with the views of persons who see the natural environment as a setting for active participation and/or some kind of use or exploitation of the natural resources (Ploch, 1981).

Improvement in Living Style. As the following distribution indicates, the respondents were asked to react to several questions that might be defined as "Maine" reasons to migrate to the state, but which are not directly environmentally nor family related.

Two major motivations were interrelated with much of the movement to the suburbs in post World War II in the United States. Adults wanted more living room. A house with a lawn and garden space became a goal for many aspiring suburbanites. A house in the suburbs would be a place to get away from it all. And the suburbs would provide a much more pleasant, wholesome, healthy environment for the family's children. Unfortunately, for many, this dream never materialized or was shattered by events. To at least some degree the turnaround migration which began in the late 1960's was an extension of the movement. Many of the immigrants appeared believe that a move to Maine, particularly to a small town or rural area, would provide the presumed benefits of suburbanization without its pitfalls. In a following section data will be presented, which, to a degree, substantiate this conclusion.

Responses to several of our "importance of moving to Maine" questions illustrate that the motivations of many of the immigrants closely parallel at least some of the motivations held by the suburbanites of the 1946-1960 period.

To document this assumption the response patterns of four of the "importance" questions are presented in Table 6.

Levels of Satisfaction. Overall, the immigrant respondents in the three studies express relatively high satisfaction with their move. There are, of course, some exceptions. In this section we will deal with

TABLE 6
 Motivations for Moving to Maine

Moved to Maine to:	Percent Respondents Selecting the "0" (of no importance) or the "3" or "4" Alternatives (high importance)	
	No Importance	High Importance
Live in a better place for children	56	30
Be in a safer family environment	48	35
Get away from corporate/suburban living	32	55
Enjoy rural/small town living	18	64

the levels of satisfaction of the respondents in just our 1984 research because we dealt with this area much more in this study than in the other two.

In this section we are analyzing data based on the responses of the total number of respondents (417) in the 1984 study. The study sample consisted of two distinct subgroups. The "1983" respondents were persons who exchanged an out-of-state driver's license for a Maine one in 1983; the "1980" respondents exchanged an out-of-state driver's license for a Maine one in 1980. In a later section, data will be presented that illustrate that the 1980 sample expressed considerably higher levels of satisfaction with Maine living than did the 1983 subsample. It is possible that our "1980" sample was somewhat biased because it is likely that some of the persons who came to Maine in 1980 and who became dissatisfied left the state before we drew our sample.

Economic Satisfaction. It is perhaps ironic that even though the migration to Maine of most of the respondents was motivated by noneconomic forces, their dissatisfactions with living in the state are largely economically related.³ Their desire to achieve quality-of-life goals may have blinded them to the facts of economic life in Maine. Traditionally, income levels in Maine have lagged behind those in other

³ ¹⁴The tables to be presented are either abstracted from Ploch (1985a) or are based on tables in that publication

states for most occupations. Taxes and some other costs also have been higher than in some other "rural" states. And until well into the 1980's unemployment levels were relatively high in Maine. The following table is based on responses to questions to which the respondents were asked to indicate their levels of satisfaction by encircling a 1, 2, 3, 4. In the

TABLE 7
Levels of Satisfaction with Maine Economic Factors

Satisfaction with Economic Factors, 1984 Study	Percent Respondents Selecting Alternatives "1" and "2" (Low Satisfaction) or Alternatives "3" and "4" (High Satisfaction)	
	Low Satisfaction	High Satisfaction
Satisfaction with wage, salary levels	72	28
Satisfaction with job opportunities	64	34
Satisfaction with level of state taxes	65	35
Satisfaction with general cost of living	59	41
Satisfaction with level of local taxes	57	43

table the "1" and "2" responses represent "low" satisfaction; "3" and "4" represent high satisfaction.

A conventional analysis of the data in the table would view the low levels of satisfaction as negative forces. Probably they are, but not necessarily so. As indicated above, Maine's salary levels and occupational opportunities were not particularly attractive in the 1970's and early 1980's. On the other hand, it has become more or less a convention in American society to be negative about job opportunities, wages, the cost of living, and taxes. To a degree, the respondents may have been expressing the conventional reply, rather than basing their reactions on reasoned thought. For example, 52 percent of the respondents in the 1984 study indicated that their incomes were the same or higher after their move to Maine than before. Additionally, though nearly three-quarters (72 percent) of the total respondents in the 1984 study expressed "low" satisfaction with their wage or salary levels, less than half (47 percent) of the respondents exchanging their licenses

in 1980 indicated they were either "a lot less" or "less" satisfied with their household income in Maine than in their former state.

If the questions included in Table 7 were posed to a representative sample of adult native/long-time Maine residents it would not surprise the author if the results were no more positive. In our society it is close to normal to want a higher income, and to feel that you are paying too much in taxes at all levels.

Satisfaction with Environmental, Ecological Factors. Particularly in response to open-ended questions and in comments appended to returned questionnaires, the respondents in each of the immigrant studies appeared to have positive attitudes toward Maine's natural environment. The quest for a high quality natural environment was a major motivating force in the migration of these mostly former urban dwellers. When they are asked specific questions about some aspects of living in a northern, relatively sparsely settled area, their responses were less than fully positive. For example, "low satisfaction" ratings were given to "distances to larger places," 59 percent; "distances from friends, relatives, 55 percent; Maine weather, 52 percent.

Satisfactions with Community Functions and Services. Given the fact that the majority of Maine immigrants were former urban/suburban dwellers the somewhat negative evaluation of three of the six services/functions contained in Table 8 should not be too surprising. Urban areas are generally noted for the quality and quantity of shopping facilities, and for recreational opportunities. Of more importance, I believe, are the more positive evaluations given to the availability and quality of health practitioners in Maine. Among the first questions often asked by newcomers to an area are: "Who is a good doctor?", "How good is the hospital?" Apparently the immigrants' experiences with health services had been positive. This positive attitude toward such a vital aspect of modern life may overcome or lessen the impact of more negative perceptions of other services.

Satisfactions with Community Life. Even though a fairly high proportion of the immigrant respondents is less than fully satisfied with

TABLE 8
Degree of Satisfaction with Qualities of Maine Life

Qualities of Maine Life	Percent Respondents Selecting Alternatives "1" and "2" (Low Satisfaction) or Alternatives "3" and "4" (High Satisfaction)	
	Low Satisfaction	High Satisfaction
Shopping Opportunities	60	40
Commercial recreation	56	44
Quality of schools	53	47
Restaurants, bars	49	51
Distances to health practitioners, facilities	42	58
Quality of health practitioners	38	62

some of the isolations of living in Maine, they tend to be positive about their specific communities as noted in Table 9.

TABLE 9
Satisfactions with Qualities of Maine Life

Qualities of Maine Life	Percent Respondents Selecting Alternatives "1" and "2" (Low Satisfaction) or Alternatives "3" and "4" (High Satisfaction)	
	Low Satisfaction	High Satisfaction
Qualities of suburban life	46	54
Level of crime in your area	34	66
Qualities of small town life	28	72

As noted earlier, some of the negative attitudes of the immigrants related to physical isolation (e.g., "distances to larger places") is associated with the fact that many of them had lived in urban areas. In contrast, the immigrants also tend to place positive value on some aspects of the less urban way of life in Maine. The strong positive rating of the crime levels and other qualities of small town life are probably related to the willingness of many of the new immigrants to become actively involved in the life of their communities. This conclusion will be explored in a following section.

THE 1980 RESPONDENTS

As mentioned earlier, the study of immigration which we conducted in 1984 consisted of two subgroups of migrants: (a) 191 adults who exchanged an out-of-state driver's license for a Maine one in 1983 and (b) 226 adults who exchanged an out-of-state driver's license for a Maine one in 1980. This section of the analysis will be confined to the so-called 1980 respondents, 87 percent of whom actually moved to Maine in either 1979 or 1980. The remainder moved to Maine prior to 1979. Thus, all of them had lived in Maine for at least four and one-half years prior to responding to the questionnaire. Apparently this period of residence was long enough for them to establish strong feelings about, and identities with, Maine but not so long that they were likely to forget their experiences in, and their attitudes toward their former communities.

The "1980" respondents were asked to respond to 61 questions divided into six categories: changes in satisfactions with community services and personal financial well being; changes in frequency for advice seeking; changes in family relationships; changes in levels of community participation; changes in levels of personal activities, hobbies, and degree of present and planned involvement in community based organizations and activities. These data are analyzed in detail in Ploch, 1985a. For this reason only a short summary will be presented here. Some of the implications of these data will be discussed in a summary section, below.

Local Services and Conditions. The 1980 respondents were asked to state the degrees of change, if any, which they perceived among ten local community services between their former residence and their new community in Maine. Just three of the ten were judged to be less satisfying in the new communities than they were in their former ones. The services and conditions which were deemed to be less satisfactory in Maine were: road conditions (62 percent), local shopping conditions (62 percent), level of local prosperity (60 percent).

Road maintenance is extremely difficult and expensive in Maine. Smaller communities find it difficult to keep up with the needs.

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

Inmigrants from more urban areas who are accustomed to better conditions find deteriorating roads a convenient target to attack. They also can easily evaluate the differences in shopping facilities and the general level of prosperity that exist between their former and present areas.

The community item receiving the most positive response from the respondents was personal safety. A total of 66 percent said that they now feel "more" or "a lot more" safe in their new communities than in their former ones. The two next most highly rated items were, surprisingly, tax issues. Thirty-nine percent of the respondents reported that they were "more" or "a lot more" satisfied with local taxes and 38 percent reported this degree of support to the level of their state taxes. These ratings are probably affected by their experiences. Tax levels tend to be higher in the more urban states and communities from which the majority of migrants came.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from these data is that the "1980" migrants tend to be more satisfied with life in Maine than those who moved to Maine later. It appears that in just a few years, the inmigrants who continue to live in Maine tend to accept its limitations and appreciate its positive aspects.

Changes in Seeking Advice, Aid. As previously reported, a strong motivating force for many of the inmigrants to Maine was to enjoy the amenities of a less urban, more friendly social environment in a pleasing natural setting. As the data for our sample of inmigrants reproduced below indicate there were not radical shifts in their advice and aid seeking. But the table does include two significant relationships. The respondents tended to make less use of professional counselors in their new communities, but increased their contacts with informal sources as well as with town/city officials. Apparently for a number of the inmigrants their perceptions of Maine communities as being warm, friendly, and informal were achieved to some degree.

Communities that reflect informality, cohesiveness, and caring are likely to be effective in many ways. An influx of persons for whom these perspectives are important should help the community to become more

integrated and to continue to attract interested, contributing immigrants.

TABLE 10
Changes in Seeking Aid and Advice

Sources From Whom Aid and Advice is Sought	Percent of "1980" Respondents Selecting the Alternatives of "A Lot Less" and "Less" or "No Change" or "More" and "A Lot More"		
	A Lot Less or Less	No Change	More or A Lot More
Professional counselors	19	69	12
Clergymen	19	64	17
Elderly persons	18	62	20
Town/City officials	14	61	25
Friends	20	55	25
Neighbors	23	46	31

Changes in Family Interactions. Communities are collections of individuals, most of whom live in a family setting. A strong interactive family life has long been seen as a positive attribute of American rural and small town life. The responses reported in the table below would appear to indicate the existence of a significant relationship between migration and the strengthening of family ties for many of the respondents. Unfortunately there is no way to measure the true meaning and the potential personal and community effects of these improved family interrelationships. It would appear to be safe to conclude, however, that in the long run communities with significant numbers of immigrants similar to the respondents would benefit from their presence in both tangible and intangible ways.

The conclusions based on the data in Table 11 are further validated by the following three relationships reported by the respondents:

- 37 percent have increased their frequency of voting in local elections
- 37 percent have increased their frequency of attending town meetings
- 41 percent have increased their use of the local library.

TABLE 11

Changes in Aspects of Family Life

Aspects of Family Life	Degree		
	A Lot Less or Less (Percent)	No Change (Percent)	More or A Lot More (Percent)
Feeling blue, despondent	31	54	15
Having a strong voice in family discussions	2	76	24
Being able to communicate easily with each other	6	65	29
Finding new ways to deal with family problems	2	63	35
Engaging in home activities, games, etc.	6	54	40

Changes in Activities. The respondents were asked to compare their levels of participation in a variety of informal activities before and after their move to Maine. Table 12 lists these activities by rank in terms of the respondents' participating in them "more" or "a lot more" after than before their migration to Maine.

Because a fairly detailed discussion of the significance of these relationships is contained in Ploch (1985a) just a few remarks will be made here. For all but one of the activities there were more respondents who reported increases than decreases. In part, this shift was at least an artifact of the questions. At least three -- hunting, fishing, bird watching -- are more or less open country activities. The highly urban nature of the respondent's former areas of residence could be a determinant. It is both difficult and expensive for most urban residents to pursue many of these activities. On the other hand the only activity to show a decrease (attending parties, social events) is a common one in urban areas. One might assume that naturally there would be increases in most of these activities. Granted. Perhaps more important than simply the percentage increase in the proportion of persons who now engage in the activity more often is the ratio between the proportion increasing the activity to the proportion decreasing it. With one exception there were

TABLE 12
Degree of Change in Selected Activities

Activity	Degree of Change			Ratio of More to Less
	A Lot Less or Less (Percent)	No Change (Percent)	A Lot More (Percent)	
Gardening	8	26	66	8.25
Taking rides in the country	12	31	57	4.50
Fishing	19	29	52	2.50
Going on picnics	10	43	47	4.50
Doing your own home maintenance	4	50	46	11.50
Hunting	12	43	45	3.75
Doing your own yard work	4	53	43	10.75
Bird watching/hikes	7	57	36	5.25
Making rather than buying gifts	8	55	37	4.50
Exchanging work with friends, other	14	51	35	2.50
Lending tools, equipment	14	51	35	2.50
Attending parties, social events	35	41	24	-0.67

proportional increases in participating in the activity after moving to Maine of at least 1½ times (visiting friends) to 11½ times (doing own home maintenance).

We do not know what, if any, activities the respondents gave up or curtailed to expand their participation in those listed in Table 12 after their move to Maine. It would appear reasonable to assume that the respondents are now more totally active than they previously were. Because many of these activities are outdoor ones it can also be reasonably assumed that many of the respondents will be particularly sensitive to outdoor, environmentally related issues. When and if they take public office, become involved in community organizations, etc. it is likely that they will express opinions and values in this direction.

Planned, Preferred Changes in Activities. To further gain insight on what effects the migrants might have on their respective communities

they were asked a series of 19 questions. The questions were keyed to four categories of participation -- fraternal/service; personal, familistic; civic/community. The instructions asked the respondents to "Please indicate which of the following boards or activities you are now involved in ... and which ones you would like to be involved in ...". Their replies are listed in Table 13 in order of increasing preference of participation in the listed activities.

For all but two of the 19 activities the "1980" respondents are looking forward to increasing their levels of participation. The two activities in which the respondents do not plan to increase their participation present some interesting contrasts. Local service groups (Kiwanis, Lions, etc.) tend to be highly organized with strong ties to a centralized hierarchy. Although the majority of migrants did choose to live in Maine's smaller towns and rural areas, a relatively small minority would live beyond 25-30 miles from the location of at least one service organization. It is not unusual for members of service groups to regularly travel this distance to attend meetings and functions of their organization. Our respondents are apparently broadening their interests and affiliations with less emphasis being placed on service organizations. The only activity in which the respondents plan to be less active at a future time than at present is "church, religious group". Paradoxically religious affiliation was by far the most popular activity of the respondents at the time they responded to the questionnaire. And despite some planned drop in interest, church affiliation ranked second only to involvement with "voluntary helping organizations" among the 19 boards and organizations for which we obtained data.

Maine communities, even some with relatively small populations, have been noted for the diversity of religious organizations. Despite this fact it is likely, for some of the respondents, that their diminished interest in a religious organization may be the lack of a church that meets their religious and/or social preferences. It is true that rural religion is in a state of flux. Some of the "old line" (theologically-socially liberal) churches usually connected with a larger denomination,

TABLE 13

Present and Planned Participation in Selective
Activities by the "1980" Respondents

Activity	Percent of "1980" Respondents Indicating Present and Future Participation in Selected Activities	
	Present (Percent)	Future (Percent)
Bridge, card groups	5	8
Volunteer fire company	4	9
Ambulance, rescue squad	2	11
Board of Selectmen	2	12
Service organization	12	12
4-H Leader	4	13
Fraternal organization	11	13
Book review group	1	14
Garden ing	8	15
Local library board	8	16
MOFGA (Me. Organic Farmers & Gardeners' Assoc.)	5	17
Girl/Boy Scout leader	7	21
Maine Cooperative Extension	7	22
Nuclear freeze organization	10	23
Local planning board	2	24
Local historical society	9	29
School board/committee	2	31
Church, religious group	47	39
Voluntary helping organization	31	47

have been in decline. Some have closed or have united with another congregation with whom they share theological and social values. By virtue of their "middle classness" it is fair to assume that many of the immigrants prefer reasonably liberal churches which are not overly dogmatic on either theological principles or social issues. In contrast there has been a boom in religiously and socially conservative churches. Much of this increase has occurred in Maine's small town and rural areas -- the type of setting preferred by a majority of the 1970's - 1980's immigrants to Maine.

With the partial exception of Roman Catholicism, the membership of churches in the U.S. tends to reflect social standings and values as well as religious preferences per se. In even relatively small towns there may

be two or more churches of the same denomination. The congregations of each may be very similar in their basic theological interpretations, but quite dissimilar in their social attributes. It is this latter characteristic which might constrain some of the immigrants (whose education, occupation, and income distinguish them from long time residents) from becoming associated with a local congregation. This assumption may be particularly true in respect to immigrants not being attracted to many of the "new-right" fundamentalist churches sprouting up in small town and rural Maine. With exceptions, churches of this type appeal more to so-called "working class" persons than the largely white collar immigrants.

In summary, the "1980" immigrants to Maine appear to be quite highly committed to joining and participating in group and board activities. If they are true to their word, and actually become members of volunteer fire companies, ambulance/rescue squads, boards of selectmen, planning boards, school boards, and voluntary helping and youth organizations, the political and social structure of their communities will become strengthened.

There is at least one note of concern which should be considered along with the implied optimism that community structure and functioning will be strengthened by the increased participation of the immigrants. Even in growing communities, particularly the smaller ones, there are limited opportunities for leadership. Will the immigrants overwhelm the long time residents? Will established leaders be cast aside? Will the community lose its traditional values? Problems of this sort have surfaced in some communities. For the most part, however, the immigrants appear to have been integrated into their respective communities with relative ease.

COMPARISON OF THE "1980" AND "1983" RESPONDENTS

As stated earlier, the 1984 study of immigrants to Maine consisted of two cohorts: persons who exchanged an out-of-state drivers license for a Maine one in 1980 and persons who exchanged an out-of-state drivers license for a Maine one in 1983. The purpose for the two different

cohorts was to determine whether or not differences existed between the two groups on three sets of variables: (a) their demographic characteristics, (b) their reasons for migrating to Maine, and (c) what effects three years of living in the state had on the 1980 immigrants.

Demographic Comparisons. In this section we are employing a broad definition of demographics. Included are locational factors, relationship with Maine residents, as well as personal characteristics.

Overall the demographic differences between the two groups were relatively minor. For just a few of the relationships are there statistically significant differences between the two groups. The two exceptions of this generalization relate to the origins of the immigrant respondents. A higher proportion of the 1980 respondents (70%) migrated to Maine from other northeastern states than did the 1983 respondents (59%). Also the 1980 respondents were more likely (67%) to be from counties with 1980 populations of 250,000 or more than were the 1983 respondents (59%). In other words a higher proportion of the earlier group of immigrants migrated for relatively short distances from urban areas. Thus, more of the later immigrants would be moving into areas which would likely be culturally different from their former communities. The fact that the respondents' other demographic characteristics tended to be quite similar would probably dampen the effects of the locational differences. The following is a comparison profile of the two groups:

1. Compared to 1983 respondents, the 1980 respondents are more likely to:
 - a. have visited Maine before their migration (94% to 91%)
 - b. have lived previously in Maine (42% to 41%)
 - c. have owned property in Maine (29% to 27%)
 - d. have migrated from another northeastern state (70% to 59%)
 - e. have migrated from counties with a population of 250,000 or more (67% to 59%)
 - f. have had friends in Maine (68% to 64%)
 - g. have been influenced by friends in deciding to move to Maine (68% to 64%)
 - h. be married (79% to 68%)
 - i. be female (61% to 56%)
 - j. have no more than 12 years of education (33% to 29%)
 - k. be employed in a blue collar occupation (26% to 19%)
 - l. be making less income in Maine than in former location (53% to 51%)
 - m. if employed, to be working in town of residence (49% to 42%)

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

2. Compared to the 1983 immigrants, the 1980 immigrants are less likely to:
 - a. have had friends who influenced their move to Maine (17% to 27%)
 - b. live in a one adult (18-64) family (25% to 30%)
 - c. have attained 16 or more years of education (43% to 45%)
 - d. be employed as a professional (66% to 77%)
 - e. have been retired before moving to Maine (12% to 16%)
 - f. be retired after moving to Maine (45% to 58%)
 - g. if employed, to be working in a county other than that which he/she resides (15% to 22%)

Except for the two items noted above, none of the differences between the two groups is large enough to be statistically significant. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the potential for accommodation to Maine life would be approximately equal for the earlier and later immigrants. Some subtle differences do exist between the two groups which could affect their respective patterns of acculturation to Maine. For example, before migration the 1980 respondents tended to have more Maine ties than did the 1983 groups. (Items 1a, 1b, 1c, 1f, 1g in the distribution above.) These relationships might have helped some of the respondents to feel comfortable or otherwise to "fit in" to their new communities. Oddly enough, however, it was the "1983" respondents who were most likely to have moved to Maine, in part, because of the influence of friends living in the state.

Although the proportional differences are not large, the "1980" and "1983" respondents do constitute two separate logically consistent social/demographic profiles. The "1980" residents are more likely to be married, to be female, to have terminated their formal schooling with high school graduation, to be employed in blue collar occupations, to be earning less income in Maine than in their former location, and if employed, to be working in the town of their residence. In contrast the "1983" respondents are more likely to be college graduates, to be employed as professionals, to be retired, if employed, to be working outside their county of residence, to live in one adult families.

To the degree that the two cohorts of respondents vary socially/demographically, the "1980" migrants tend to resemble the modal Maine resident more than do the 1983 respondents. One conclusion

derivable from this situation is that the earlier immigrants, as a group, may have been more easily assimilated into their communities than were the later migrants. The corollary to this assumption is that those respondents whom we identify as 1980 immigrants are among those 1980 era immigrants who continued living in Maine at least until the time of the study in 1984. Presumably many of the least satisfied would have left Maine.

SUMMARY

For Maine the 1970 - early 1980 period was one of substantial population growth. The official U.S. Census count of April 1, 1970 for Maine was 993,722. The July 1, 1983 Bureau of the Census population estimate for Maine was 1,145,000, an increase of 16 percent in just over 13 years. The increase of 151,728 persons was the product of natural increase (surplus of births over deaths) and net immigration. Although it is certain that immigration to Maine was far greater than the 16 percent increase in population would indicate, there is no way to determine accurately how many persons moved in and out of the state during the period.

From the study of the number of driver's licenses relinquished by both immigrants and outmigrants we are aware that Maine's population composition was changing rapidly during the 1970's and early 1980's. Data from three immigration to Maine studies (Ploch 1984, 1985a, 1985b) reveal that the demographic profile (particularly age, family size, education, occupation) of the immigrants differed substantially from that of the longtime residents. It is highly likely that, particularly for the smaller towns and rural areas, the compositional changes were of more consequence than was the increase per se.

The great majority of Maine towns recorded population increases during the 1970-1983 period. There were, however, variations in the rates of population change by location and size of town. All of Maine's larger cities had some population loss during the period. Except for the cities, the coastal and inland areas south of Aroostook formed a growth zone. The most significant population gains tended to occur in towns

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

with 1970 populations in the 500 to 9,999 size range. It was in towns of this size that a majority (59%) of the immigrant respondents in the 1984 study chose to live.

Significant increases or decreases in the population of towns, cities, states, etc. produce a complex of interrelated effects. If population changes are primarily related to an increase in immigration, as they were in Maine during the 1970-1983 period, the consequences can be profound. If communities that are the targets of migration streams are relatively small, highly internally homogeneous units, the effects are likely to be exacerbated.

The wave of increased migration to Maine in the 1970-1983 period meets these qualifications. Maine towns tend to be both small and culturally homogeneous. For example, 92 percent of the towns and plantations contain less than 5,000 persons. Most of these smaller towns, except in the French-Canadian dominated St. John Valley, are "old Yankee" in cultural heritage. It is these communities, and somewhat larger but culturally similar places, which drew the majority of immigrants.

Although the immigrants did not differ greatly in race or ethnicity from the residents of the communities in which they chose to settle, they did differ from them in some other cultural characteristics. The modal immigrant was relatively young (51% of the household heads in the 1976 study were under 35 years of age) and were highly educated (approximately two-fifths were college graduates). The immigrants were also highly trained or experienced in professional and managerial occupations (63% of the respondents in the 1984 study were employed as professionals or managers prior to moving to Maine). The majority of the migrants in each of the three studies moved to Maine from urban areas. Of the 1984 respondents 61 percent had moved to Maine from counties of 250,000 persons and over.

CONCLUSIONS

Additionally, the immigrants tended to be more environmentally concerned as well as more liberal in their social and political views

than were the long time residents. A few of the newcomers were full-fledged hippies; many others were presumed by local people to be counter culturists (extremists) of one stripe or another. Remarkably the reception of the new residents was relatively benign. This is not to say that there were no negative incidents nor heated confrontations. Anyone who attended town meetings or the meetings of official town boards in smaller communities in Maine in the 1970's - early 1980's could attest to this fact. In the more remote areas, a few hippie houses were torched. Both direct and veiled threats were directed at newcomers who had the temerity to post their newly acquired properties.

It is traditional in rural Maine that unoccupied land is, in effect, public property. Many local people felt that the new owners had no "right" to post their property against trespassing of any kind -- hunting, fishing, snowmobiling, Christmas tree cutting, etc. Some of the new residents "heard" the message well and gave up out of fear or disgust. By and large, however, accommodations between the native/long time resident group and their new neighbors occurred quite harmoniously. From numerous observations and contacts with both immigrants and longtime residents it is apparent that close bonds were forged between many of the new and established residents.

In the more rural areas, many immigrants with urban backgrounds, but with idealistic, stereotyped views of rural life, tended to become very close to older longtime residents. The younger ones depended on their older friends for learning the ways of rural life -- gardening, woods work, bee keeping, animal breeding, etc.

As a surprise to some observers, the increased immigration stirred up less resentment in small town and rural Maine than is the condominium/tract development of the late 1980's. While there were local quarrels and disagreements (mainly over how local tax monies should be spent) little or no official constraining action occurred related to the quality-of-life immigrants. Times have changed. The perceived threats of land grabbing by the condominium and tract developers has stirred up a spate of protectionism unique in Maine. By early 1988, and within a three-year period, at least 64 Maine towns in 14 of the 16 counties,

enacted some sort of developmental moratorium. Maine's governor, in his 1988 "state-of-the-state" address to the legislature identified land use planning at the local level to be one of his legislative priorities. It is of interest to note that among the most vocal supporters of developmental moratoria in Maine's amenity areas are persons who were immigrants during the 1970-s and early 1980's.

Opposition of this sort might be dismissed simply as an illustration of the "last man in" syndrome. In a way it is, but just partially. The almost rampant, largely commercially inspired development of Maine's amenity areas in the late 1980's should not be too closely equated with the so-called population turnaround which began in the late 1960's. The new wave of immigration to Maine's amenity areas, and to a lesser extent to attractive urban areas such as Portland's Old Port district, appears to be much more hedonistically driven than was the earlier one. Condominiums, shore and lakefront properties, are being sold (some would say "huckstered") largely for their recreational-good life and investment potentials. What the effects of this latest wave of immigration and population redistribution will be is conjectural. What the effects of the 1970's - early 1980's immigration wave to Maine have been are less conjectural.

As documented in several preceding sections, the 1970's, early 1980's migration to Maine was also "quality-of-life" oriented. There are, however, some important differences between the two movements. As presented in earlier pages, the 1970's - early 1980's migrants placed high priorities on becoming a part of the traditional Maine as they envisioned it.⁴ For many their perceptions were over drawn and too idealistic. Nevertheless, the data in the three immigration to Maine studies confirm the conclusion that the majority of the immigrants moved to Maine for other than economic opportunities or cheap, available land.

⁴ ¹⁵The expectation aspects of the immigrants to Maine are presented directly and indirectly in earlier analyses of the data of the three studies by the author. For detailed data see Ploch 1984, 1985a, 1985b. For conclusions based on the data and broader interpretations see LA Ploch 1978 in the bibliography

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

They wanted to become a part of Maine culture. The analysis of the data, presented above, pertaining to the community involvement of the "1980" immigrants who responded to a questionnaire in 1984 documents that many had reached their goals, or believe that they would in the near future.

Among the positive results of the 1970's - early 1980's immigration to Maine which are documented in the data of the three immigration to Maine studies (or can be derived from them) are:

- o The decade's long net outmigration from numerous small towns and rural areas was reversed.
- o The newcomers, who were primarily young adults with high levels of education and occupational skills/experiences, filled in a major gap in the demographic composition of Maine communities.
- o The immigrants were almost all voluntary migrants -- they came to Maine because they wanted to, not because they were forced by economic or other conditions.
- o The great majority of the new residents were quality-of-life oriented. They perceived many positive aspects about Maine lifeways.
- o Most of the immigrants were able, economically secure persons with small families. They presented little threat of increasing public welfare or related costs.
- o Many of the immigrants possessed skills and attributes which were scarce, or less than abundant, particularly in the small town/rural Maine of the early 1970's.
 - o The Maine health provider community was augmented by the immigration of physicians, dentists, nurses, physical therapists.
 - o The educational/skill/and interest levels of many of the immigrants helped to create alternative schools, musical and theatrical groups, agricultural cooperatives and to provide a host of artisans. These persons were often instrumental in restoring to small town and rural Maine a breadth of culture which had been lost, largely through outmigration.
- o The immigrants brought a new sense of vitality to many communities. Their willingness to integrate themselves into the fabric of their new communities provided both a cadre of prospective local leaders and a stimulus for longtime residents to become more active.

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

- o Particularly at the beginning of the immigration wave, the new residents provided employment to local skilled workers to restore old buildings and erect new ones.
- o Immigrants often revived a closed or marginal local business enterprise - general stores, grocery stores, hardware stores, weekly newspapers.
- o Many of the immigrants chose to live in the open country. Many bought former farms. In many cases, even though they have not become farmers, they have kept the fields open providing a source of hay or pasturage for working farmers. If a need for this acreage ever emerges, the transition will be much easier than if the fields had been allowed to grow into puckerbrush.

It was also inevitable that the immigration wave we have been discussing would have some negative consequences. Among them were:

- o The immigrants not only bought up vacant homes and idle land, they tended to pay more for real estate than would local people. As a result, property costs escalated. Particularly in coastal areas the price of housing and property became so expensive that many young persons were unable to buy housing in their home communities.
- o Under Maine's school support law, as local property values rise, the level of state subsidy for public education declines. When this happens local communities raise property taxes to support their schools. This process has been detrimental to older persons and others on fixed incomes.
- o In some communities the newcomers' willingness or zeal to assume positions of leadership in government, education, churches and other organizations has caused resentment and conflict.
- o As mentioned previously the tendency of the immigrants with large property holdings to post them against trespassing has stirred tempers on numerous occasions.
- o In some communities immigrants have taken jobs that formerly were held by longtime residents.

The full effects of the 1970's - early 1980's stream of immigration to Maine will have to be left to the historians. In the meantime, based both on the data of three immigration to Maine studies and systematic

MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION BULLETIN 820

observation in several Maine towns, it is apparent to me that, overall, turnaround migration has proven to be beneficial for the state.

REFERENCES

- Beale, C.M. 1975. The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America. Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, ERS-605.
- Bowler, B. and G. Bowler. 1981. Bradford Heritage Scrapbook; Bradford, Maine Historical Society.
- Brewerton, L.O. 1978. Immigration to Maine: selected aspects; Unpublished M.S. Thesis, University of Maine, Orono.
- Coward, R.T. and W.M. Smith, Jr. 1981. The Family in Rural Society; The Westview Press, Boulder.
- Ploch, L.A. 1978. The reversal in immigration patterns -- some rural development consequences. Rural Sociology, (Summer): 273-278.
- Ploch, L.A. 1984. Recent immigration to Maine -- the who and what of it; ARE Staff Paper 3691, University of Maine.
- Ploch, L.A. 1985a. Immigration to Maine -- motivations for moving, satisfactions, participation; ARE Staff Paper 370, University of Maine.
- Ploch, L.A. 1985b. Economic and occupational aspects of recent immigration to Maine; ARE Staff Paper 371, University of Maine.
- Taylor, L. and A.R. Jones, Jr. 1964. Rural Life and Urbanized Society; Oxford University Press, New York.