

MORMON AND NONMORMON MIGRATION IN AND OUT OF UTAH¹

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Review of Religious Research, Vol. 25, No. 2 (December 1983).

Migration plays a key role in the maintenance of Utah's unique population composition. Our findings support the conclusion that the religious factor is a major determinant of the composition of in- and out-migrants for Utah, the core state of the Mormon culture region. Although Mormons comprise less than one percent of the sending population, they constitute up to 70 percent of Utah's in-migrants. Non-Mormons are more likely to express intentions to out-migrate than are Mormons. While previous researchers have noted the need to examine the relationship between non-economic factors and migration, very little research has been devoted to this effort. The present study demonstrates the importance of sociological factors in shaping migration patterns.

Although less than 1 percent of the United State's population is Mormon, Utah's population is 70 percent Mormon. This population concentration stands as one of the most distinctive features in the social mapping of the United States (Bernstein, 1982; Kephart, 1982; Meinig, 1982; O'Dea, 1975; Zelinsky, 1961). Mormons have held this plurality since their initial movement beginning in 1847 from the Midwest, Europe, and New England and their colonization of the Great Salt Lake Basin (Bernstein, 1982). One of the most obvious questions about this population balance concerns the processes by which it is sustained in the midst of a society known for its high rate of geographic mobility (Long, 1970). This question is particularly salient when the area over which the hegemony exists begins experiencing substantial in-migration, as Utah did during the 1970's (Bernstein, 1982).

Migration is the most problematic of the processes which could change Utah's Mormon-non-Mormon population balance (Kan and Kim, 1981). Rates of natural increase and religious conversions are already known to favor Mormons (Kephart, 1982). Of the demographic processes, migration is generally viewed as having the most potential for swiftly changing population composition, and it is also recognized as an important agent of cultural change and diffusion (Goldstein, 1976). A salient and well documented example of the impact of migration has been the selective out-migration of whites from large cities and the selective in-migration of blacks (Ritchey, 1976). Since Utah's total population is rather small (1.4 million) and growing from migration, the potential for compositional change is apparent (Bernstein, 1982). Ironically, migration which initially resulted in Mormon dominance over Utah could now be in the process of cutting away at the numerical aspect of its dominance.

This study examines the relationship between religious preference and migration into and out of Utah. The specific empirical objectives are: (1) to examine the extent to which Utah in- and out-migration is selective along the Mormon-non-Mormon dimen-

sion and (2) to estimate the statistical impact of migration on the state's unique religious composition. Length of residence and age are introduced as control variables. Data for the larger Mormon culture region which extends into the surrounding states are not available. Existing literature is reviewed to establish a logical basis for expecting a relationship between religion and migration.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Migration is an act which can have pervasive influences on communities as well as on individuals. It offers a means for individuals to change their social environment and is generally viewed as having great potential for swiftly making large scale changes in population structure (Goldstein, 1976). Due to the importance of migration, it seems reasonable to postulate that religious, as well as other types of groups, would establish values and beliefs which would directly or indirectly influence migration decisions. Historical and biblical accounts indicate that religious identity and beliefs have been responsible for many prominent migration flows of the past (Herberg, 1965). Indeed, religion has been portrayed as a primary force behind the initial migrations of Europeans to the new world. Descriptions of early colonial America also indicate that religious identity was often a primary factor in distinguishing settlements from one another (Herberg, 1965; Planter, 1917). Furthermore, accounts reveal that movement into and out of settlements was often determined by religious beliefs and practices (Sutherland, 1936: 142).

It was not until Roger Williams began the settlement of Rhode Island that residence in a colony was explicitly disassociated with religious identity (Mayer, 1953). Other colonies, such as Massachusetts, not only expelled Catholics, but also expelled Protestants who were not members of the particular dominant Protestant faith (Planter, 1917). One should not draw the inference that Utah is merely a remnant of this colonial situation. Certainly, religious freedom and tolerance are fundamental values which Mormons generally share with the larger American society (O'Dea, 1957). However, it seems very plausible that aspects of Mormon history and faith and the dominance of their unique way of life could differentially attract Mormons and non-Mormons.

The migration of Mormons to Utah, itself, represents one of the unusual aspects of their heritage. May (1980: 721) notes that

. . . this migration of the main body of Mormons from Western Illinois to the Rocky Mountains in the late 1840s imprinted upon the group a self-consciousness gained through prior experience in the midwest. The Mormons have been influenced subsequently by ritual tales of privation, wandering, and delivery under God's hand, precisely as the Jews have been influenced by their stories of the Exodus.

A significant consequence of this tradition has been a distinctive cast of Mormon group consciousness. . . .

This migration was largely directed by an early Mormon doctrine, the "gather doctrine," revealed by Joseph Smith (Mulder, 1954). Specifically, the doctrine stated:

And ye are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect; for mine elect hear my voice and harden not their hearts.

Wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked. (Arrington, 1979:127)

It was Brigham Young who actually led the Mormon migration into Utah. His remark that "this is the right place" as he first viewed the Salt Lake Valley was circulated widely in convincing converts that the location for the gathering place, or Zion, was Utah (Kephart, 1980: 242).

To facilitate the movement of Mormons to Utah, the Perpetual Emigration Fund (PEF) was organized (Arrington, 1979). This fund aided the migration of "saints" from other parts of the nation as well as from foreign countries and was to be replenished by migrants once they had established themselves in Utah. The fund was also sustained by general church funds and contributions by wealthier Utah Mormons (Arrington, 1979). The PEF was an important factor in the movement of thousands of Mormons to Utah between 1849 and 1869. In 1887 the fund was diverted to the U.S. Secretary of Interior by Congress in an apparent attempt to halt Mormon immigration. However, the Mormon leadership at this time independently began to deemphasize the need for converts to "gather" in Utah. Population pressure on local resources, particularly the short supply of water, may have made the gathering too much of an economic burden. Also, a need to rely on converts to supplement missionary efforts in distant places became obvious (Arrington, 1979: 139). Still, it was not until the mid 1950's that a strategy was adopted to erect temples on a worldwide basis. This was a major change since full participation in the Mormon religion requires access to a temple. Prior to the 1950s the only temples outside of Utah were in Arizona, Canada and Hawaii.

Although the Mormon Church no longer emphasizes the physical gathering of members, the initial favorable identity given to Utah and the resultant Mormon social environment might continue to attract and hold Mormon residents. Some migration literature indicates that migration streams tend to build a momentum that maintains the flow beyond the time when the original stimulus ceases to exist (Lee, 1966). As racial composition of an area and socio-cultural factors associated with it may influence the racial composition in in- and out-migrants, the religious composition and the culture that is associated with Utah may be important in maintaining selective migration patterns along a religious dimension. This hypothesis, however, is complicated by the fact that several long-standing U.S. migration patterns reversed during the 1970's. Particularly noteworthy has been the net in-migration of blacks to the South. Bernstein (1982) reports that Utah's migration patterns shifted during the 1970's but reported no evidence on whether the shifts changed the state's unusual population composition.

Another basic premise in migration literature is that integration into community life is closely related to migration (Ritchey, 1976). One of the most common observations of previous research has been that the social life as well as the religious life of Mormons is organized through the Church (Kephart, 1982). This provides a structure for easily integrating Mormons into nearly all aspects of community life within Utah. On the other hand, this religiously based structure would not be conducive to integrating non-Mormons into social activities and might even hinder their integration. For instance, in a comparison of religious communality, Anderson (1968) found that Mormons decidedly displayed a more accentuated pattern of communality within the Mormon dominated region than Protestants or Catholics did in locations whether or not they were the dominant group. In fact, on each of the seven items employed to construct the communality scale Mormons ranked highest with respect to tendency to isolate themselves. Previous studies also indicate that Mormons have significant problems in adjusting to the larger American culture and that non-Mormons are not easily integrated into community life within Mormon dominated communities (Kephart, 1982; O'Dea, 1957). This situation seems likely to contribute to a pattern of selective out-migration of

non-Mormons and in-migration of Mormons. In addition, the apparently stronger extended family ties promoted by Mormonism (Kephart, 1982) might constrain the out-migration of Mormons. However, to show a net balance favoring Mormons the degree of selectivity must be extreme.

In addition to examining the influence of religion on migration behavior, it is important to consider the impact migration might have on a subculture such as the Mormons. A prominent view in sociology is that a high degree of isolation is crucial for the continuation of cultural uniqueness (Hawley, 1950). O'Dea (1954) reports that the isolation of the Salt Lake Valley was an important factor in Brigham Young's decision to establish a Mormon community there. However, contact with developments outside the area is also apparent from Mormon writings and from the rather quick adoption of new technologies (O'Dea, 1957). O'Dea (1957) emphasized that because of the previous persecution and the desire to establish a pure religious community, the physical isolation was important to Young. While migration may no longer be the only decisive threat to isolation as it was prior to modern communication technologies, its disruptive effect is likely to be more certain. Previous research indicates that Mormons living in areas in which they are not numerically dominant are not as sociologically unique as Utah Mormons (Pitcher et al., 1974).

As an agent of social change, migration may operate slowly by merely helping to diffuse new social customs into a system, or if the body of migrants is large and dissimilar to the residents of the receiving system the change can be very rapid. Given the recent acceleration of movement into Utah, it could possibly be in the early stage of a relatively large scale invasion by the larger culture. Bernstein (1982) attributes a number of recent changes in Utah, including increases in alcohol consumption, divorce and crimes, to migration and population growth. However, it is emphasized that many factors other than population composition, such as organization and power, are also of utmost importance in the persistence of unusual cultural features. Reed (1972) has found that unique southern cultural features still persist, despite basic socio-demographic convergences of the South with the non-South. This suggests an ability for cultural uniqueness to continue after changes along a large number of dimensions.

DATA AND PROCEDURES

A 1975 survey of 1,126 adults in eight rural Utah communities and a 1975 survey of 2,529 graduating high school seniors throughout the state are the primary data employed in this analysis. Both surveys gathered extensive information about past migration and migration intentions as well as religious preferences and other attributes. Each survey had a response rate of 70 percent. Results from diverse samples are used because relevant information on migration and religion are not available from a more general source. It must be admitted that, as is the case with many studies of religion, these data are not ideal. Unfortunately, census data which permit precise measurement of migration do not contain information on religious preferences. Consistent findings across the samples should offset most serious questions about the representativeness of results for Utah's general population.

From a decision-making context, the use of the high school seniors assumes that the religious preferences of the youth and their parents are the same. In each of the surveys in-migrants are defined as respondents born outside of Utah, and their region of origin is

defined on the basis of place of residence just prior to last move to Utah. A question which asked respondents if they planned to move and, if so, to name the place to which they were likely to move, was employed to define migration intentions and to estimate the composition of out-migrants. Previous research does show migration plans to be closely associated with later actual movement (Speare et al., 1974). The response rate for migration intentions was relatively low, 80 percent. This represents a weakness in the data which makes the findings regarding out-migration plans tentative. If the great majority of Mormons who did not respond to this question planned to leave Utah while the majority of non-Mormons intend to stay, the differences reported later would be eroded. It is important to be aware of this possibility even though there is no obvious reason to expect this to be the case. The item nonresponse was not related to religious preference.²

In order to measure selective in-migration, the religious composition of the in-migrants was compared to the religious composition of the sending areas. If migration is random, or nonselective, the proportion Mormon among in-migrants should be the same as the proportion Mormon at the areas of origin. The religious composition of regions of origin, percent Mormon, was calculated using 1975 population estimates for regions provided in Census Bureau publications and 1975 membership counts provided by the Mormon church. The membership records of the Mormon church are generally considered to be very accurate because Mormon faith encourages systematic record keeping (Skolnick et al., 1978). The proportion Mormon is likely to be higher when membership records are used instead of surveys, since excommunication rather than stated preference is the only means of removing a person's name from the records. A bias in this direction would make a finding of selective in-migration of Mormons statistically more difficult to obtain.

To estimate the impact of migration on Utah's unique religious composition, census measurements of 1965-70 in- and out-migration for Utah were employed along with an assumption of nonselectivity and assumptions of selectivity levels obtained from the 1975 surveys. These are the most recent data which depict flows between states. Also, data depicting the detailed flows by narrow age groups which would permit confining the in-migrants to age groups represented in the samples are not published. The first assumption allocated the religious composition of migrants on a random basis, proportionate to the composition of states from which the migrants moved. The second assumes that the religious composition of 1965-70 in-migrants is the same as the composition of in-migrants identified in the two surveys who had not lived in Utah for more than five years. The religious composition of the out-migrants is assumed to be the same as the religious composition of those intending to leave the state.

FINDINGS

Religious Preferences and Migration Behavior

Analysis of the survey data reveals that Mormons make up 71 percent of the in-migrants among the high school seniors and 59.5 percent of the rural adult in-migrants (Table 1). These proportions are 101 and 85 times, respectively, greater than the percent Mormon, 0.7 percent, for the rest of the nation. Table 1 also indicates that Mormons make up a disproportionately large number of migrants from all regions of the nation. The differences between the expected and actual percentages are tremendous for both

Table 1
 PERCENT MORMON FOR REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND PERCENT MORMON
 AMONG UTAH IN-MIGRANT^a HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS AND RURAL ADULTS FROM
 THE RESPECTIVE REGIONS

	Percent Mormon for Regions - 1975	Percent Mormon Among Utah In-Migrants			
		High School Seniors	Rural Adults		
		%	(N)	%	(N)
Northeast	0.1	36.3	(35)	40.0	(5)
North Central	0.2	41.4	(75)	41.6	(38)
South	0.4	60.0	(79)	54.7	(56)
West ^b	2.9	78.0	(605)	62.1	(364)
Total	0.7	71.0	(794)	59.5	(463)

^aNote: In-migrants are nonUtah born. Their region of origin is defined on the basis of residence prior to last move to Utah.

^bExcludes Utah.

near and distant regions. Consequently, the overall results are not a product of the relationship between distance and migration. Even though conversion of in-migrants to Mormonism and selective out-migration could produce these results, the magnitude is great enough to suggest that selective in-migration has occurred. The high percentage of Mormons among in-migrants who have been in Utah less than two years helps to support the conclusion that Mormons selectively migrate to Utah (Table 2). However, the slightly higher percentage Mormon at longer durations suggests that conversions, selective out-migration or even mortality may reduce the non-Mormon proportion, perhaps inflating the overall selectivity factors. Still, the evidence indicates that selective in-migration would contribute greatly to maintaining the Mormon numerical dominance of Utah.

The analysis of migration plans shows that non-Mormon rural adults and high school seniors are overwhelmingly more likely to intend to leave Utah than are their Mormon counterparts (Table 3). Indeed, over half of the non-Mormon rural adults intend to out-migrate whereas only 8.2 percent of the Mormon rural adults plan to leave the state. Among the high school seniors, non-Mormons are over three times more likely to intend to leave than Mormons, 38.1 and 10.4 percent, respectively. Furthermore, the differences are significant when length of residence is controlled. Remarkably, native non-Mormons are more likely to intend to leave the state than are recent in-migrant Mormons. Moreover, long-term non-Mormon in-migrants are as much as twice as likely to plan to out-migrate as recent in-migrant Mormons. At all lengths of residence non-Mormons are at least twice as likely to have plans to leave the state as Mormons, and in several cases they are around four times as likely. This is rather strong evidence

Table 2
RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF UTAH IN-MIGRANTS BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

	High School Seniors				Rural Adults			
	Mormon	Non-Mormon	Total	(N)	Mormon	Non-Mormon	Total	(N)
	%	%	%		%	%	%	
Less than 2 years	66.3	33.7	100	(92)	51.9	48.1	100	(77)
2 - 4 years	71.9	28.1	100	(192)	54.9	45.1	100	(82)
5 - 9 years	71.7	28.3	100	(212)	55.8	44.2	100	(120)
10 plus years	<u>70.5</u>	<u>29.3</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>(298)</u>	<u>73.9</u>	<u>26.1</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>(184)</u>
TOTAL	70.7	29.3	100	(794)	62.2	37.8	100	(463)

that Mormons are more readily integrated into community life in Utah than are non-Mormons. The usual tendency for decreases in propensity to migrate as length of residence increases is evident among Mormons and non-Mormons. All of these differences exist among the rural adult and high school senior samples.

Table 3 also indicates that at every adult age, rural non-Mormons are much more likely to intend to leave Utah than are rural Mormons. Even the percentage intending to out-migrate among the non-Mormon age group with the lowest proportion intending to out-migrate, age 65 and over, is greater than the percentage for the Mormon age group with the highest percent intending to out-migrate, ages 17-29. The propensity for migration by both groups is lower at older than at younger ages. Obviously, religious differences in out-migration intentions cannot be due to the relationship between age and migration.

Impact of Migration

According to the 1970 U.S. census, 105,397 people who lived in Utah in 1970 had lived in another state in 1965, and 119,022 of Utah's 1965 residents were living in another state in 1970. Under the assumption that the proportion Mormon among the in-migrants was a result of nonselective migration, proportionate to the makeup of each state's population, 5,347 of the 105,397 in-migrants would have been Mormon (Table 4). The calculations were done on a state by state basis to account for the likelihood that relatively more migrants come from nearby states (see Appendix A). If out-migration was also nonselective, 70 percent or 83,315 of the 119,022 out-migrants would have been Mormon. Application of these selectivity factors to Utah's 1965 population would have reduced the 1970 population age five and above from the observed 70 percent Mormon to 62.8 percent Mormon (see Table 4). At this rate, all things being equal, the Mormon majority would be eroded within about thirteen years. Although information is not available on natural increase for Mormons and non-Mormons, vital statistics do

Table 3

PERCENTAGE* OF MORMONS AND NON-MORMONS INTENDING TO LEAVE UTAH BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND AGE

	Length of Residence						Total
	Natives***	Total In Migrants	0-1	2-4	5-9	10 or more	
<u>High School Seniors</u>							
Mormon	8.2 (1110)	16.2 (389)	14.3 (40)	25.7 (98)	21.2 (106)	7.7 (145)	10.4 (1499)
Non-Mormon	27.2 (158)	48.2 (160)	61.1 (20)	65.7 (38)	42.9 (42)	36.2 (60)	38.1 (318)
<u>Rural Adults</u>							
Mormon	3.4 (326)	15.6 (211)	23.3 (30)	21.2 (33)	15.2 (46)	10.8 (102)	8.2 (537)
Non-Mormon	22.2 (27)	60.4 (111)	84.0 (25)	68.2 (22)	54.3 (35)	41.4 (29)	53.6 (138)
<u>Rural Adult In-Migrants</u>							
	Age**					Total	
	17-29	30-34	45-64	65 and over			
Mormon	25.0 (40)	22.4 (76)	6.6 (61)	3.3 (30)	15.0 (207)		
Non-Mormon	66.7 (29)	72.5 (38)	51.4 (34)	40.0 (10)	61.0 (111)		

* N's are in parenthesis.

** All high school seniors are of approximately same age.

*** Never lived out of Utah.

Table 4

HYPOTHETICAL IMPACT OF 1965-70 ACTUAL MIGRATION^a ON UTAH'S RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION
 ASSUMING NONSELECTIVITY AND ASSUMING THE SELECTIVITY LEVEL OF RECENT IN-MIGRANTS^b
 AMONG 1975 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS AND RURAL ADULTS IN UTAH

	<u>1965 Population Composition</u>		<u>1965-70 In-Migrant Composition</u>		<u>1965-70 Out-Migrants Composition</u>		<u>1970 Population Composition</u>	
	%		%		%		%	
Assuming NonSelectivity ^c								
Mormon	672,790	70.0	5,347	0.5	83,315	70.0	594,822	62.8
Non-Mormon	<u>288,339</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>100,050</u>	<u>99.5</u>	<u>35,707</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>352,682</u>	<u>37.2</u>
Total	961,129	100.0	105,397	100.0	119,022	100.00	947,504	100.0
Assuming Level of Selectivity Among High School Seniors								
Mormon	672,790	70.0	73,778	70.0	67,009	56.3	679,559	71.7
Non-Mormon	<u>288,339</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>31,619</u>	<u>29.0</u>	<u>52,013</u>	<u>43.7</u>	<u>267,945</u>	<u>28.2</u>
Total	961,129	100.0	105,397	100.0	119,022	100.0	947,504	100.0

Table 4 - Continued

	<u>1965 Population Composition</u>		<u>1965-70 In-Migrant Composition</u>		<u>1965-70 Out-Migrants Composition</u>		<u>1970 Population Composition</u>	
	%		%		%		%	
Assuming Level of Selectivity Among Rural Adults								
Mormon	672,790	70.0	56,282	53.4	44,395	37.3	684,677	72.2
Non-Mormon	<u>288,339</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>49,115</u>	<u>40.5</u>	<u>74,627</u>	<u>62.7</u>	<u>262,827</u>	<u>27.8</u>
Total	961,129	100.0	105,397	100.0	119,022	100.0	947,504	100.0

^a SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population: 1970. Migration Between State Economic Areas PC(2)-2E.

^b Recent means within the last five years.

^c See Appendix A for Calculations.

show the overall natural increase for Utah (Brockert, 1976). Even if all of the 1965-70 natural increase, 82,403 people, went to the Mormons, random migration would have reduced the percent Mormon to 65 percent in 1970. Certainly this points to the importance of selective migration for maintaining this unusual population balance.

The second panel of Table 4 allocates the composition of 1965-70 migrants according to the degree of selective migration obtained in the 1975 survey of high school seniors in Utah. Assuming that 43.7 percent of the actual 1965-70 out-migrants were non-Mormon, the proportion non-Mormon among the seniors intending to out-migrate, 52,013 of the 119,022 out-migrants would have been non-Mormon. If the religious composition of all 1965-70 in-migrants was the same as the composition of recent in-migrants among the high school seniors (70 percent Mormon) 73,778 of the total in-migrants would have been Mormon, rather than the 5,347 yielded by the assumption of nonselectivity. This degree of selectivity would have actually increased the percent Mormon for the population age five and over from 70 to 71.7 between 1965 and 1970. The selectivity level observed among the rural adults would have increased the Mormons from 70 percent in 1965 to 72.2 percent in 1970. Clearly, these results suggest that selective migration might play a bigger role in maintaining the Mormon majority in Utah than does the well-known high Mormon fertility.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Findings in this study indicate that Mormons make up a much higher proportion of Utah's in-migrants than the proportion Mormon at areas of origin. Non-Mormons are much more likely to be planning to leave the state. In combination, the results suggest that selective migration continues to play a key role in the persistence of the state's unique religious composition. The persistence of this Mormon hegemony stands as one of the more contrasting features in the overall social mapping of American society. No other religious group, or perhaps any other readily identifiable cultural group of equal size, can claim dominance over an entire state (Hill, 1966). For instance, Catholics who constitute around 23 percent of the nation's population, compared to around 1.0 percent for the Mormons, dominate numerically only in Rhode Island where they make up about 65 percent of the state's population (Toney, 1973).

The statistical observation of selective migration may be due to two components both in- and out-migration. For in-migration, the observation of selective migration may be due to: (1) one group converging on the location, or (2) the avoidance of the place by a group. Selective out-migration may be the result of: (1) nonmigration or extremely low tendencies for out-migration by a group, or (2) extremely high rates of out-migration by a group. Of course, these components may operate in combination to produce a given level of selectivity. Although the statistical results would be the same when either of these components are dominant, explanations of the results would be considerably different. For in-migration, identifying factors that make a place particularly attractive for a group is most important; for out-migration, emphasis on factors which make the location particularly unattractive to a group would be most important for a logical explanation.

The past emphasis in Mormon faith on the gathering doctrine, the location of the Mormon leadership and most famous shrines in Utah, plus the numerical and socio-cultural dominance of the state by the Mormon religion probably makes the first component dominant in the selective in-migration of Mormons. The fact that one-third

of the country's Mormons live in Utah must suggest a strong preference on their part for living in the state (VanOrden, 1976). However, the dominance of Mormon patterns of living and their everyday emphasis on religious identity may contribute to an avoidance of the region by non-Mormons. With respect to intentions to out-migrate, the second component is of primary importance because of the extremely high rate of out-migration by non-Mormons. The percentage of non-Mormons intending to leave the state is much greater than the percentage of residents other researchers have found to be intending to out-migrate from other parts of the country (Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Speare et al., 1974). Also Mormons are somewhat less likely to state an intention to out-migrate than are residents in other states.

The importance of religion in shaping migration flows may extend beyond the Utah setting. It seems very reasonable to expect that religion is partly responsible for creating and preserving variations in social environments to which migrants are responding. For instance, areas of the South in which social customs promoted by fundamentalist religions dominate, are likely to have appeal to a different class of migrants than do large cities repudiated for their condoning of non-traditional life-styles. Admittedly, because a general data source which identifies religious preferences and migration is not available, research on this topic will be difficult. Our understanding of Mormon-non-Mormon migration would be increased by an investigation of the extent to which differences exist after other socio-economic factors are controlled.

NOTES

¹This research was supported by Utah State University Agricultural Experiment Station projects 836 and 837. The research is part of Utah's Contribution to Western Regional Project W118 (Journal Paper No. 2634).

²A separate question of the rural adults asks "Do you have plans to move away from this community in the next few years?" Of the non-respondents to the item utilized to measure out-migration in this study non-Mormons were more likely than Mormons to indicate having plans to move away from the community.

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