ABSTRACT

FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE MIGRATION DECISIONS OF IRISH RURAL YOUTH

by Damian F. Hannan

This study is concerned with two research questions. (1) What are the minimum number of variables that best predict and explain the migration plans of rural adolescents who have not yet selected a permanent occupation? (2) Do migration plans and the factors affecting migration plans vary systematically with the position of the adolescent in the social structure of the home community.

Examination of previous research indicated five variables to be strongly related to migration plans: Inability to fulfill occupational and income aspirations in the home community (occupational and income frustration); evaluations of the satisfactoriness of the present community's relationships (community satisfaction); family obligations which necessitate remaining in the home community; and attitudes toward the community's social provisions (community evaluation).

It was expected that: (1) Occupational and income frustration would be more highly correlated with migration plans, than would any of the other independent variables. (2) Low levels of community satisfaction would lead to plans to migrate irrespective of occupational and income frustration

levels. (3) High levels of family obligation would lead to plans to remain in the home community irrespective of occupational and income frustration levels.

With regard to structural factors, it was expected that: (1) The level of occupational and income aspiration and educational level achieved would be highly related to migration plans, and to the factors affecting migration plans. (2) Occupational status factors would predominate in the migration decisions of those respondents with high levels of occupational aspiration or high levels of educational achievement; and that purely economic factors would predominate in the migration decisions of those respondents with low levels of occupational aspiration, or low levels of educational achievement. (3) Sex differences in migration plans, and in the factors affecting migration plans would hold only for primary and vocationally educated farm respondents. (4) Respondents from the more remote areas of the community would be more frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations, and be much more likely to plan to migrate than would respondents from or near the centre.

The study was carried out in a highly migration prone rural Irish community. All 450 adolescents from this community who were then involved in occupational and migration decision making, were interviewed in the Spring of 1965.

Results indicated that although the first hypothesis was strongly supported, low levels of community satisfaction and high levels of family obligations did not counteract the

effects of occupational and income frustration on migration plans. Occupational and income frustration levels did increase with level of occupational aspiration as hypothesized, but migration plans were not related to level of occupational aspiration. However, those presently employed on farms are not included in the above relationship, because of the difficulty of assigning them to a relative status level. When these respondents are included, and education is used as the control variable, occupational and income frustration, and migration plans are highly correlated with level of education achieved.

Contrary to expectations, occupational frustration is most highly correlated with migration plans at lower levels of occupational aspiration or educational achievement, while income frustration is most highly correlated with migration plans at high levels. The joint effects of both variables on migration plans is greatest at high levels of occupational aspiration, or educational achievement. However, when respondents who were planning to migrate were asked whether they would remain in the home community if their occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied there, almost 90% of the primary educated, (and low aspirers), said that they would remain in the home community under these circumstances, whereas only 60 % of the secondary educated, (and high aspirers), said that they would remain.

The hypotheses on sex selectivity were generally strongly supported.

Contrary to expectations, however, respondents from the more remote areas of the community had lower levels of occupational and income frustration and showed lower tendencies to migrate than did respondents from the center. This unexpected result was accounted for by the lower levels of occupational and income aspiration of the more remote respondents, and their relatively greater chances to be ascribed occupational roles on the home farm.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Research on migration has been undertaken at two major levels of analysis: at the community or macro-structural level and at the individual or social psychological level.

At the macro-structural level research has been done largely by demographers and ecologists who have been concerned primarily with two problems: the problem of migration streams, and the problem of migration differentials. In the former case research has focused on variations in migration rates as they are related to variations in objective socio-economic differences between communities; with people moving from the less to the more advantaged communities.[1] In addition research in this area has been concerned with the distribution of

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[1] Bogue D.J. A Methodological Study of Migration and Labor Mobility in Michigan and Ohio in 1947. Scripps Foundation Studies on Population Distribution June 1952; Bogue D.J. Shyrock, H.S. Hoermann S.A. and Hagood M.J. Subregional Migration in the United States 1935-1940 Volume I. Streams of Migration Between Subregions. Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution No. 5 1957; Beegle J.A. Marshall M. Rice R. Selected Factors Related to County Migration Patterns in the North Central States 1940-1950 and 1950-1960, N.C.R. Research Publication 147 Michigan A.E.S. Bulletin, East Lansing, Michigan 1963.

out-migration streams, the exchange of migrants between areas, and the origins of in-migrants.[2] Research on migration differentials, on the other hand, has been primarily concerned with distinguishing migrants from non-migrants on demographic, social, economic, and psychological variables.[3]

At the social psychological level a considerable amount of research has been carried out on the assimilation of immigrants to the United States,[4] and since the 1930's, in Israel.[5] Some research of more limited scope and volume has been carried out on migration planning and the motivations of migrants and potential migrants. Early structural studies of migration used a simple economic motivational model,[6] Even by the 1940's however,

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[2]See Anderson, T.R., "Intermetropolitan Migration: A Correlational Analysis," American Journal of Sociology: 58: 459-621:1961; and Bogue, D.J., "Internal Migration," in Hauser, P.M. and Duncan, O.D., (eds.), The Study of Population, University of Chicago Press, 1959, pp. [illegible] for discussion and references.

[3]Thomas, D.S., Migration Differentials, Social Science Research Council Bull. 43, 1938; Bogue, D.J., [illegible], Regional Migration in the United States, 1935-1940, Vol. II, Scripps Foundation Studies on Population Distribution, No. 6, 1953.

[4]See Gordon, M.M., Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964, for [illegible] the literature.

[5]Eisenstadt, S.N., The Absorption of Immigrants, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954; Shuval, T.J., Immigration on the Threshold, Atherton Press, New York, 1963.

[6]Bogue, D.J., "Internal Migration," in Hauser and Duncan, The Study of Population, op. cit., pp. 486-509.

the inadequacy of these assumptions had become apparent.[7] The unemployed and the economically disadvantaged frequently refused to leave the community of origin for better opportunities elsewhere, even when aided.[8] A sizable proportion of those who had participated in the planned migration programs of the U.S.D.A., and as a consequence experienced considerable improvements in their economic and social position, nevertheless left these projects for less advantaged positions elsewhere.[9] Unemployed workers showed considerable resistence to geographic mobility.[10]

The best theoretical approach to the motivations of migrants at this time seems to be that provided by Lively and Taeuber[11] and Williams.[12] Migration was viewed largely as a

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[7]Lively, C.E., and Taeuber, C., Rural Migration in the United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1939; Williams, R., "Concepts of Marginality in Rural Population Studies," Rural Sociology, 5:292-302:1940; Kiser, C.V., Sea Island to City, Columbia University Press, 1932.

[8]Williams, R., op. cit.; Brunner, The Growth of a Science, Harper and Brothers, 1951, p. 51.

[9]Loomis, C.P., "Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities in the United States," F.S.A. and B.A.E. Social Research Report, U.S.D.A., 1940: and reprinted in Loomis, C.P., Studies of Rural Social Organization. State College Book Store, East Lansing, Michigan, 1945.

[10]See Lipset, S.M., and Bendix, R., Social Mobility in Industrial Society, University of California Press, 1959, p. 160 for references.

[11]Lively and Taeuber, op. cit.

[12]Williams, op. cit.

response to economic conditions; but these "conditions" are experienced differently and the responses vary, depending on the cultural context. "The controlling element is not objective reality per se but the individual's subjective evaluation of the various alternatives he is considering."[13] Because residents of well provided communities may use a wider series of more advantaged reference groups in evaluating alternatives, such communities often lose their populations as rapidly or more rapidly than poorer areas. In the latter case there is a much narrower universe of comparison and as a consequence residents may feel relatively less deprived. Some of the poorest areas are also those in which there is a tradition of stable residence, of family solidarity, of unwillingness to move, and of extremely low regard for the usual canons of material success.[14] Migration planning was then viewed as prompted largely by economic motives, but as taking place within a socially and culturally defined frame of reference. Other non-economic motives might be important but occupied a residual position in their discussions.[15] Such approaches to the motives of migrants, however, were very sketchily developed, and it was not until the 1950's that some more useful conceptual models were proposed. At that time a number

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[13]Lively and Taeuber, op. cit., p. 80.

[14]Lively and Taeuber, op. cit.

[15]Williams, op. cit., pp. 301-302.

of authors proposed motivational models for migration planning. Those of Eisenstadt and Beegle et al. appear to be the most relevant and fruitful for this study.[16]

Eisenstadt proposed that plans to leave the community of residence are dependent on the individual's feelings of "frustration, of inability to attain some level of aspiration in his original society where he is unable to gratify all his expectations."[17] But this motive for migration is not necessarily "a feeling of insecurity and inadequacy in every sphere of social life. The immigrant, as has often been pointed out, may remain attached to his original society and culture in various ways."[18] And the particular aspirations in question - whether adaptive, instrumental, solidary, or ideological - will vary for individuals within a community as well as between communities.[19]

Using essentially the same approach as that of Eisenstadt, Beegle proposed a specific system of variables to predict migration planning.[20] Subsequently a series of field

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[16]Eisenstadt, S.N., The Absorption of Immigrants. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954; Beegle, J.A., (Chairman), North Central Regional Project Concerning Field Studies of Migration, Report of Procedures Committee of N.C. 18. Michigan State University, Department of Sociology, Mimeo, 1957, pp. 2-5.

[17]Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 1.

[18]Ibid., p. 2.

[19]Ibid., p. 3.

[20]Beegle, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

studies was carried out using these variables to explain and predict the migration plans of rural adolescents,[21] as well as the plans of rural adults to remain in the community of origin.[22] There are some problems, however, in the continued uncritical use of these variables.

Not only were there some differences between studies in the specification of the variables used, but these were not in general viewed from a structural perspective. With some limited exceptions, the studies simply related variations in certain attitudinal type variables to variations in plans to migrate, or to remain in the community of origin.[23] It is apparent that most of these independent variables are equally demanding of explanation, because unless the variables used

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[21] Schulze, R.H.K., Community Satisfaction and Migration. M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1960; Cowhig, J., et al., Orientations Toward Occupations and Residence: A Study of High School Seniors in Four Rural Counties of Michigan, Michigan State University, A.E.S. Special Bulletin 428, 1960; Goldsmith, H.F., The Meaning of Migration: A Study of the Migration Expectations of High School Students. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1961; Goldsmith, H.F., and Beegle, J.A., The Initial Phase of Voluntary Migration, Michigan State University, A.E.S., Rural Sociology Studies No. 1, January, 1962; Schulze, R.H.K., Artis, J., Beegle, J.A., "The Measurement of Community Satisfaction and the Decision to Migrate," Rural Sociology : 28: '63: 3: pp. 279-83.

[22] Eicher, Joanne B., Social Factors and Social Psychological Explanations of Non-Migration. Ph. D. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1960.

[23] Goldsmith, op. cit., and Cowhig, et al., op. cit., are the only ones of the Michigan studies that attempt this; but to a limited extent only.

are solidly grounded in structural analysis they cannot provide a satisfactory sociological explanation of migration planning. For instance, to show that variations in plans to migrate are related to variations in attitudes to the home community is not an adequate explanation of migration motives, until it is shown how these attitudes are related to the different social structural positions of respondents.

The current research takes the Eisenstadt and Michigan studies as a point of departure in developing a conceptual approach to the problem. It combines these approaches with the results of a series of studies done in Ireland, to develop particular hypotheses to fit the situation.[24] Like most of the Michigan studies, it is focused on the rural urban migration of adolescents.[25] It assumes that migration planning can be explained best in terms of a small number of variables, and that these variables should be examined from a structural

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[24]Arensberg, C.M., and Kimball, S.T., Family and Community in Ireland, Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass., 1961 (first published 1940); Arensberg, C.M., The Irish Countryman, Peter Smith, 1961 (copyright 1937); Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems 1948-1954, Reports, Government Publications Sales Office, Dublin; Vercruijsse, E.V.W., Shannon Hinterland Survey-1961, Department of Sociology, Leyden University, mimeographed; Jackson, J.A., The Irish in Britain, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963; Newman, J., (Rev.), (ed.), The Limerick Rural Survey, 1958-1964, Muintir Na Tire Publications, Tipperary, Ireland, 1964.

[25]The fact that this research is restricted to adolescents is an important restriction on generalization. It is proposed that the migration planning of adults, who already fill adult roles locally and who have already been "selected out" for their stability in the major outmigration which takes place from the ages of 17-24, would pose problems far different than those pursued here.

point of view. That is whether they vary in systematic ways with the position of the individual in the social structure of the origin community; as well as between communities with different structures. The study is not, however, concerned with inter-community variations, but given a particular Irish rural community, it is concerned with two major questions:

1. What are the minimum number of variables that best predict and explain, the migration plans of adolescents who have not yet taken up a permanent occupation, but are in the final stages of occupational decision making?

2. Do these factors vary in predictive importance in any systematic way among adolescents from different positions in the community's social structure? Specifically, are they structured by: (a) the sex of adolescents, (b) their different social class and educational levels, (c) their farm or non-farm backgrounds, (d) their different ecological positions in the home community.

Toward Hypotheses and Their Rationale

Some Previous Answers to These Questions: Certain assumptions about the migration planning of adolescents are being made in this study. The first is that the migration decision is a voluntary one; that the actual decision to stay or go is made by the individual himself, that he is not migrating with his family in accordance with decisions made by parents or other family members. It is assumed that parents and many other family members are remaining on in the home

community. It is expected, however, that family expectations, as perceived by the individual himself, are important factors in the migration decision.

The second assumption is that potential migrants have extensive "knowledge" of conditions in other communities. It is assumed that the decision results from an evaluation by the potential migrant on the basis of his beliefs about the ability of his own and other communities to satisfy his aspirations or to minimize his deprivations. Such knowledge of alternative communities is not necessarily very accurate. Indeed it is often very imprecise, and sometimes grossly inaccurate. Since it is based mainly on informal and personal sources of information, these biases become understandable.

As this study is concerned with a community which has suffered high rates of outmigration for over a century, the existence of such informal comparative frames of reference can safely be taken for granted.

Making these assumptions and the additional one that the migration decision can best be understood when viewed from the individual's point of view, it seems to the author that the best approach to the problem is that supplied by Eisenstadt, and later by Beegle.

Eisenstadt proposed that the frustration of aspirations in the community of origin together with the expectation that the realization of these aspirations is possible elsewhere, gives rise to migration plans.[26] Moreover, he proposed that

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[26]Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 2.

for most European migrations, these aspirations were largely of an instrumental character. Some types of voluntary migration, however, may be expressive and not instrumental.[27] Thus, migration may be motivated by feelings of inability to fulfill aspirations to solidarity or to mutual identification with other persons and groups in the community of origin. Examples would be the migration of "loyalists" from Ireland after the Treaty; of whites from Kenya after the change of government; and of some whites from S. Rhodesia after Smith took over.

Migrants may also leave because their society does not afford them the chance of attaining a worthwhile pattern of life, or of following out a progressive social theory. Such was the case with the various Utopian groups which settled in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere.[28]

At first sight the two latter types of motives for migration would not appear to be important in internal rural-urban migration or in present day Western international migration. These movements are largely within particular societies or between culturally similar countries, so that solidarity problems are not likely to be very important. Solidarity problems, however, may be involved where migration takes place from

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[27]See Parsons, T., The Social System, Free Press, 1951, pp. 49, 79-83 for definitions and explanations of "instrumental" versus "expressive" or "consumatory" behavior.

[28]Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 4.

traditional rural areas to modern urban ones. Here motives of rejection of the unchanging traditional community may be involved in the decisions of young migrants whose values have become urbanized, and who aspire to a style of life which is characteristic of the urban community. On the other hand, attachments to the values and way of life of the home community, when perceived as being unavailable elsewhere, may retard migration. These motives should be distinguished from motives of rejection or attachment to local particularistic relationships which may also be involved in migration planning.

In the former case the orientation is to the cultural values and structural relationships *per se* which are not necessarily idiosyncratic or limited to the community of origin, but may be found in many communities within a culturally homogeneous area. Both of these solidarity dimensions are included as one of three variables proposed by Beegle *et al.*[29] as a major factor in migration planning. This variable--*satisfactions* with life in the community of residence-is defined as "feelings of cohesiveness and security rooted in identification with groups and structures." When such satisfaction is high it increases residential stability. The second variable used-*Social Costs*-refers to the rootlessness which attends migration and which results from the severance of group ties and some

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[29]Beegle, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 2. In the subsequent research studies this has been generally taken to be satisfaction with particularistic relationships, but in such an evaluation both the dimension of cultural differences between generations, and dissatisfaction for other reasons would be intertwined.

patterned relationships.[30] The third variable-Aspirations-refers to the future, largely instrumental, goals which are desired.[31] In the decision-making process, satisfactions with life in the community of residence are weighed against the social costs of moving elsewhere. This evaluation takes place in relation to the level of aspiration sought. If aspirations are such that they may be fulfilled locally, they would be expected to weaken satisfactions and to reduce social costs attending migration.[32]

With one exception,[33] the series of field studies subsequently carried out, which used these variables to predict migration proneness, dealt with adolescents who had not yet left their areas of residence and had not yet assumed fulltime occupational roles. These studies discontinued the use of the variable Social Costs, as such, or incorporated it into other variables. In Goldsmith's study, the last and most intensive of the series, the variables were reconceptualized and augmented. Although he dealt with a problem different from the one pursued here, Goldsmith's research and his post-factum critique of the

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[30] Ibid., p. 2.

[31] Ibid., p. 2.

[32] Beegle, J.A., "Social Components in the Decision to Migrate," Paper read at the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, Stresse, Italy, 1959.

[33] Eicher, op. cit.

variables employed was the point of departure for this study. The research proposed here is an attempt to extend and improve upon the conceptual and operational model used in these studies and to test it in a very different cultural setting.

Aspirations in Goldsmith's study were operationally expressed as two variables. The first, Specification Level, referred to the extent to which respondents felt that their occupational and "way of life" aspirations could be satisfied in their home communities.[34] The second, Obligations, referred to the extent to which respondents felt that their post high-school education plans could be achieved in the local community. If they had no further educational plans, it referred to the extent to which they felt that their home community would be "a good place" in which their occupational aspirations could be fulfilled. Alternatively, it referred to the extent to which they considered the home community to be "a good place" to find someone "they would like to marry."[35]

In this and other Michigan Studies, Community Satisfaction was maintained as the major independent variable, but it came to assume a meaning different from the original usage.[36] It was regarded primarily as a catch-all category: a summary evaluative attitude toward the social system as a whole, as to

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[34]Goldsmith, H.F., The Meaning of Migration, op. cit., p. 111.

[35]Ibid., pp. 114-117. It is clear that these two variables are not operationally exclusive.

[36]N.C. 18 Report, op. cit., p. 2.

whether it was satisfactory or unsatisfactory.[37] It is also treated as in part a resultant of one's perception that instrumental goals can or cannot be achieved in the local community.[38] It has been measured either by the question; "As a place to live in soon after graduation, how well do you like your community?";[39] or by a modification of the Vernon Davies scale, which substantively seems to measure somewhat the same thing.[40]

The study by Schulze et al. showed, however, that the attitude the scale was measuring was not statistically related to the local frustration of occupational or educational aspirations. Although measured in a different way and although Community Satisfaction was statistically related to the frustration of certain aspirations, it was also evident in the Goldsmith study that feelings of liking or disliking the community of residence are only partly related to the frustration of aspirations.[41] Moreover, the operationalization of these

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[37]Schulze, op. cit., p. 4; Cowhig, et al., pp. 17-18; Schulze et al., op. cit., p. 279. Goldsmith, op. cit., and Goldsmith and Beegle, op. cit., retained much of the original conceptual definition, but included some of the latter as well; pp. 19 and 3, respectively.

[38]Schulze , op. cit., p. 9; and Schulze et al., op. cit., p. 280.

[39]Goldsmith, op. cit., p. 112.

[40]Schulze, et al., op. cit., p. 281; Schulze, op. cit., p. 44; and V. Davies, "Development of a Scale to Rate Attitudes of Community Satisfaction," Rural Sociology: 10:1945:pp. 246-255.

[41]Goldsmith, op. cit., pp. 124 and 141.

two variables in the Goldsmith study did not sufficiently maintain their operational independence.

Here, however, Community Satisfaction will be treated as in Beegle's definition, as feelings of liking or disliking of the home community. Such feelings are hypothesized to spring from attachments to or rejection of one's particularistic relationships, or the style or structure of relationships in the local community. That is, an evaluation of the satisfactoriness of one's family and other primary and secondary group relationships, as well as to the structural forms that these relationships take. High satisfaction would arise from having a highly positive evaluation of these relationships and structures, while low satisfaction would result from a history of unsatisfactory personal relationships, or a low evaluation of the structural forms that these relationships take. The latter would result from differences in values between respondents and most community members; for example respondents with "modern" urban type values who live in a largely traditional community. To view the variable in this way, maintains its conceptual distinction from the perceived frustration of instrumental aspirations which cannot be achieved locally. The studies cited also show clearly that respondents can perceive that their occupational and educational aspirations cannot be achieved locally, yet be highly attached to the local community. The operational distinctiveness of the variables has then been adequately demonstrated. Other studies also show that highly attached people do migrate,[42] and indeed that high attachment

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[42]Schwarzeller, H.K., Family Ties, Migration and Transitional Adjustment of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky. Bull. 664, May 1964, University of Kentucky, A.E.S.

can be accompanied by expectations to migrate.[43] So the relationship between the level of attachment and migration is not necessarily a one to one relationship. In order to explore the interrelationships between Community Satisfaction, the frustration of instrumental aspirations, and plans to migrate, this research study will carefully maintain the conceptual and operational distinctiveness of these variables.

Despite its importance, Community Satisfaction should not be considered the major independent variable in most rural-urban migration planning. It is probable that its role has been overemphasized in reaction to purely "economic" explanations of migration. It is proposed here, however, that the ideas of Williams and Lively and Taeuber[44] allow us to deal with "economic" variables in sociological terms. Almost all of the studies dealing with rural-urban migration in the United States and in Europe demonstrate the dominant position of economic and social mobility motives.[45] These motives should hold especially for adolescents and young adults who are about to take up adult roles for the first time, and who

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[43]Crawford, C.O., Family Factors in the Migration Plans of Youth, Bull. No. 65, December, 1965, Cornell University, A.E.S.

[44]Williams, op. cit., and Lively and Taeuber, op. cit.

[45]Rural Migration: Papers and Discussions of the First Congress of the European Society for Rural Sociology, (privately published Bonn, 1959); Krier, H., Rural Manpower and Industrial Development Adaptation and Training, O.E.C.D. Publication, 1961; O.E.C.D., Geographic and Occupational Mobility of Rural Manpower, Documentation in Agriculture and Food, Report No. 75, 1964; Beijer, G., Rural Migrants in Urban Setting, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1963.

comprise the bulk of the migrants. As Bogue remarks, migration seems to be closely related to the "first commitments and acts of adjustment to adulthood that are made by adolescents as they mature."[46] Finding a "suitable" job, achieving an "adequate" income, and a desired style of life are considered to be the important variables here. These aspirations are socially defined, socially structured, and socially sanctioned by group members for adolescents who occupy different positions in the social structure. Other non-instrumental motives such as marriage chances and the establishment of a new family may also be important in the United States where the marriage age is very low, but not in Ireland where this major concern appears almost 10 years later for most adolescents.[47] However, other orientations such as those subsumed under Community Satisfaction are certainly important in migration planning. Even when occupational, income, educational and other aspirations can be fulfilled locally, some still do not want to stay. If frustrated in these respects, some are still highly motivated to remain at home. Solidarity problems are certainly intervening here. For the sake of conceptual clarity, however, and from the point of view of predictive efficiency, Community Satisfaction should be considered a less important variable than frustration of aspirations.

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[46] Bogue, "Internal Migration," op. cit., p. 504.

[47] Compare, Landis, P.H., "Rural Urban Migration and the Marriage Rate: An Hypothesis," American Sociological Review: 31: 2:1966:pp. 155-158 where migrants have higher marriage rates than non-migrants; and McNabb, op. cit., pp. 180-183, where there is some restricted evidence that "obstacles to marriage" are not compelling reasons for migration.

The great majority of American studies on the motivations of adolescent rural migrants show instrumental aspirations to be more predictive of migration plans than any other variables; despite the fact that in many cases apparently contrary hypotheses were proposed. In Goldsmith's study, 76% of the respondents gave occupations as the main reason for intentions to migrate, and 50% gave it as a second reason.[48] The other studies in the Michigan series report similar results. In Cowhig's study, the absence of "suitable" jobs in the home community was found to be closely related to plans to migrate, with only 22-23% of the rural-farm and village males not being frustrated in this way. And despite the fact that 60% of the respondents were highly attached to the home community, 70% planned to migrate.[49] In Eicher's study of older community residents, those who remain behind were found to be those whose aspirations could be fulfilled locally.[50] In one Utah study only 16% of the boys and 10% of the girls graduating from high school felt that they could achieve their occupational goals locally.[51] Most other American studies in this area

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[48]Goldsmith, op. cit., p. 131.

[49]Cowhig, et al., op. cit., p. 16.

[50]Eicher, op. cit., p. 69.

[51]Christiansen, J.R., Cowhig, J.D., and Payne, J.W., Educational and Occupational Aspirations of High School Seniors in Three Central Utah Counties. Social Science Bull. No. 1, Brigham Young University, June, 1962.

demonstrate the overriding importance of economic, educational and social mobility aspirations in migration planning.[52] Educational aspirations generally refer to plans to attend university on the part of rural high school seniors. Although important in American adolescent populations, this aspiration should be much less important under Irish conditions, where a much smaller percentage attend University.

The Irish studies quoted perhaps demonstrate an even greater preponderance of similar instrumental aspirations in migration planning. To quote the Commission on Emigration Report, "emigration has been due to two fundamental causes--the absence of opportunities for making an adequate livelihood, and a growing desire for higher standards of living."[53] The fact that opportunities to fulfill these aspirations--which are frustrated by the local opportunity structure--are seen to be available elsewhere is also important here. This would hold especially in traditional out-migration areas where most families have relatives, friends and neighbours who are working

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[52]Crawford, C.O., op. cit. (here 75% of those who planned to migrate immediately upon graduation from high school planned to do so for mostly occupational reasons); Andrews and Sardo, Migration and Migrants from Sedgwich County, Colorado, Colorado State University, A.E.S. Tech. Bull. 82 (of 156 migrants interviewed subsequent to the act, 63% gave reasons associated with educational, occupational, and social advancement as the main reason for movement, and that limited local opportunities in these areas were their major complaint); Olson, Job Mobility and Migration in a High Income Rural Community, Purdue University, A.E.S. Bull. 708, 1960; Cohen and Schun, Job Mobility and Migration in a Medium Income Rural Community, Purdue University, A.E.S. Bull. 763, 1963. Motives for social and economic betterment operated as the major variable in each community, although the aspirations that could be satisfied varied by community.

[53]Commission on Emigrations, op. cit., p. 135.

and living in Great Britain and the United States. In general, the other Irish studies support this position.[54] In the case of Britain, there are almost as few barriers to migration and adjustment to the new community as would be the case for internal rural to urban migration in the United States.

For these reasons, therefore, it is expected that such instrumental aspirations as those discussed above are far more predictive of migration plans than such non-instrumental variables as Community Satisfaction. Furthermore, variables akin to Community Satisfaction have other drawbacks. From a social structural point of view, Community Satisfaction as it has been used, is not a very satisfactory variable. Considered as a summary evaluative attitude toward the community, its conceptualization has been too remote from a structural orientation to give a satisfactory sociological explanation of migration plans. Aspirations, and the extent to which they are perceived to be frustrated by the structure of local opportunities, can be much more easily linked to a structural frame of reference both conceptually and operationally. However, if Community Satisfaction is viewed as a composite measure of the attachment of the respondent to local particularistic relationships, and/or as an evaluation of local community structures in terms of traditional rural vs. modern urban values it becomes more explicit, more sociologically relevant, and can be more easily tied into a structural frame of reference.

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[54] McNabb, op. cit., p. 173, and pp. 188-200; Newman, op. cit., pp. 293, 306; Jackson, op. cit., p. 27.

Considered as a cultural orientation there is no doubt that Community Satisfaction is important. Kaldor et al. showed clearly that adolescents who planned to farm and remain in the local community had work values and community preferences which could only be satisfied in farming as an occupation, and in small rural communities.[55] Goldsmith also showed the relationship of Community Satisfaction to some of these values and to the degree of satisfactory relations with parents.[56] And Cowhig found that these attitudes are more characteristic of rural farm adolescents, especially males.[57] Among the Irish studies, Vercruijjse's showed that ruralistic values may play an important role in migration. If primary instrumental needs (occupational and income) are satisfied, then dissatisfaction with such "secondary" aspirations as local shopping, housing, recreation and amusement facilities will not lead to plans to migrate, because of strong ruralistic values. If these latter values were to change, however, then dissatisfaction with these community facilities might lead to migration.[58]

Community Satisfaction then will be used here not as the major predictive variable, but as a "specifying variable", indicating conditions under which the relationship between the

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[55]Kaldor, D.R., Eldridge, E., Burhinal, L.G., and Arthur, I.W., Occupational Plans of Iowa Farm Boys. Res. Bull. 508, Ames, Iowa, 1962.

[56]Goldsmith, op. cit., pp. 243-273.

[57] Cowhig, et al., op. cit.

[58]Vercruijjse, op. cit., and Newman, op. cit., p. 265.

frustration of aspirations and migration plans will exist in greater or lesser intensity.[59] For respondents negatively oriented toward their local community relationships (low Community Satisfaction), the correlation between the frustration of aspirations and migration plans will be lower than where respondents are positively oriented toward these relationships. That is, adolescents who are alienated from their home community relationships will plan to migrate to a much greater extent than those who are not so alienated; and they will plan to do so even when they perceive that their instrumental aspirations can be achieved there. For those who are highly attached to their home community relationships on the other hand, such attachments do not necessarily lead to plans to stay, if aspirations are frustrated. However, it is expected that only a minority of respondents experience such feelings of alienation, that the majority are generally attached to their community, and that for these it is their beliefs about their ability to attain their aspirations locally that is important.

To summarize, certain instrumental aspirations--occupational, income--are proposed as the major variables affecting decisions to migrate. If respondents think that such aspirations cannot adequately be satisfied locally, they will tend to migrate. If they believe that they can be satisfied locally, they will tend to stay. But certain other variables

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[59] Goode, W.J. and Hatt, P.K., Methods in Social Research, McGraw Hill, 1952, pp. 355-356.

intervene: notably Community Satisfaction, which is taken to measure both the degree of estrangement from or attachment to local particularistic relationships, as well as an evaluation of the satisfactoriness of local community structures in terms of respondents' differential values. When respondents feel estranged from the local community they will plan to migrate irrespective of their beliefs about their ability to satisfy their aspirations locally. On the other hand, when they are highly attached to their community, such beliefs about the local fulfillment of aspirations play a crucial role in migration. This approach to the functions performed by "Community Satisfaction" in migration stresses the alienative aspect of the variable. Previous studies had generally emphasized the attachment aspect, in that it "held back" potential migrants.

However, it is expected that in the case of farm adolescents, Community Satisfaction is also less predictive of migration plans than primary role obligations to the family that necessitate staying at home. These obligations would include, for instance, binding expectations on some farm males to stay and work on the family farm, or on females to stay and help out in the household, or to look after older family members, etc. If this is an important variable under rural American conditions, as Goldsmith found,[60] it is likely to be much more so in

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[60]Goldsmith, op. cit., p. 221.

Ireland where the farm family structure is more patriarchical, and the parents have much greater control over family members.[61]

The hypothesis is that such obligations are restricted largely to male adolescents from farm backgrounds who have only had a primary education and for those in the first stage of the family cycle. Persons having these characteristics are usually kept on by the family to help on the farm or in the household at that stage in the life cycle of the family when economic pressures are at a maximum. It is expected that such family role obligations, when present, will have primacy over any personal aspirations; so that even if aspirations are frustrated, they will not lead to migration when such obligations are present.

The Structural Basis of the Variables and their Relationship to Migration Plans

Occupational Aspirations, Local Occupational Opportunities and Migration Plans

Since the opportunity structure of most rural communities is severely limited at the upper levels, high levels of occupational aspiration should be closely related to beliefs that these aspirations cannot be fulfilled locally. The major channels of vertical occupational mobility becomes accessible only if aspirants migrate to more urban areas. The quest for

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[61] Compare Burchinal, J.G., "The Rural Family of the Future," in Copp, J.H. (ed.) Our Changing Rural Society, Iowa State University Press, 1965; and Humphreys, A.J., S.J., New Dubliners; Urbanization and the Irish Family, Fordham University Press, 1966.

social mobility leads to migration.[62] Of course, if there are variations between rural communities in the structure of the local off-farm labor market, this will cause proportionate variations in the level of occupational aspirations that are frustrated. There will also be variations among communities in the structure of the occupational aspirations of adolescents, brought about by intercommunity educational, social and cultural differences. These are probably some of the reasons why there has been so much confusion and so little progress made in research dealing with the selectivity of rural-urban migrants. No attention has been paid to the community differences which influence this selectivity. Unless the equation takes into consideration both the number and structure of occupational opportunities, and the number and level of occupational aspirants, a solution which takes numbers alone into consideration will give an incorrect estimate of the number and characteristics of "occupational" migrants. Some direct evidence for this argument exists, since it has been shown that it is possible to have a highly developed local educational system which "trains" students to aspire to occupations beyond the level of those available locally; and at the same time, to have well paid lower status occupational opportunities which must be filled by in-migrants.[63] On the other

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[62] Kaufman, H.F., et al., "Social Stratification in Rural Society," Rural Sociology: 18:1:1953.

[63] Williams, J.L., "Some Social Consequences of Grammar School Education in a Rural Area in Wales," British Journal of Sociology: 10:2:p. 125; Vercruijjse, op. cit.

hand, in poorer rural communities with inferior educational facilities, it is equally likely that most of the local white collar and professional positions are filled by outsiders.[64] For the community under study, occupational opportunities are largely limited to farm occupations, unskilled and semiskilled manual work, and service and lower order non-manual occupations. Consequently, the higher the level of occupational aspiration the greater should be the tendency to migrate.

Even given a particular community, however, and controlling for the level of occupational aspiration of respondents, the perceptions of local occupational opportunities, and their ability to satisfy aspirations will vary considerably among respondents because these perceptions are in all probability structured. Respondents from higher class levels should have wider knowledge and greater contacts with agencies distributing opportunities. Furthermore, such opportunities are not always distributed on the basis of achievement criteria. Ascriptive factors come into play, and class level should be a very important one of these. So that in regard to off-farm opportunities, and controlling for level of aspiration, the lower the class level of respondents, the greater occupational frustration will be. In regard to those aspiring to farming as an occupation, even under American conditions, ascriptive criteria play a major role in achieving these aspirations.[65]

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[64] Geschwind, R. D. and Ruttan, V. W., Job Mobility and Migration in a Low Income Rural Community. Purdue Univ., A. E. S. Bull. 730, 1961.

[65] Kaldor, et al., op. cit.

Under Irish conditions, inheritance is vastly more important. Generally, only favoured sons of farmers can hope to become farmers.

The level of occupational aspiration should be clearly influenced by stratification variables. The stratification system in Ireland is much more rigid than in the United States, or in most equally industrialized countries. As a result, the cultural and aspirational differences between classes in Ireland should be even more marked.[66] However, the influence of class level there can perhaps be most clearly observed on the educational level achieved by adolescents. That post-primary education is selective by class origin, even where it is free as in Great Britain and the United States, has been adequately demonstrated.[67] In contrast, such education is not free in Ireland, and should therefore be much more highly selective by class origin.

The expectation then is that respondents from different class levels will have achieved correspondingly different educational levels, and that the combined effect of class background and educational level achieved will be to increase the

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[66] Hyman, H., "The Value System of Different Classes, A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification"; in Bendix and Lipset (Eds.), Class Status and Power. Free Press, 1963, pp. 426-444.

[67] Havighurst and Neugarten, Society and Education, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1962, Ch. 9; Halsey, A.H., and Gardner, L., "Selection for Secondary Education and Achievement," B. Journal of Sociology: 4:1:p. 60; Stephenson, R.M., "Stratification, Education, and Occupational Orientation; A Parrallel Study and Review." B. Journal of Sociology, 9:1:p. 42; Floud, J., et al., Social Class and Educational Opportunity, Heinemann, London, 1956.

level of aspirations and consequently the level of frustration with each increase in class and educational level. Secondary school students, who are selected largely from the non-farm middle class and large farm class, will tend to undervalue all manual and service occupations, and will aspire generally to jobs at the white collar level.[68] Vocational schools, generally attended by adolescents from the working class and small farmer class, will orient their male students toward skilled manual and service occupations, and the female students toward service and lower status non-manual occupations. The primary educated, again recruited largely from the working class and small farmer class, have to realistically restrict their aspirations to unskilled and semi-skilled manual and lower-order service occupations. Because secondary school students have excluded most manual and service occupations from consideration, their levels of occupational frustration and migration plans should be much greater than vocational school students. The latter have aspirations which are more closely matched by local occupational opportunities.

The primary educated should exhibit the lowest level of aspiration of all respondents, and consequently, the lowest level of frustration and of migration plans. In addition to

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[68]Secondary Schools teach the equivalent of College preparatory courses. They are almost exclusively private, and they are not free. Technical or Vocational schools teach the equivalent of vocational type courses in American High Schools, and are public schools. See Vercruijjse, op. cit., for occupational aspiration differences among educational levels.

the direct effect of the family class and status level on education, and thence on occupational aspiration, it is expected that these factors have independent direct influences on the level of occupational aspirations and frustration for those who have received only a primary education. These can realistically aspire to lower level manual and service occupations. However, the local prestige level of the family will still put a lower limit on the level of occupation that may be taken up locally. If true, this would exclude a varying segment of these occupations for many respondents, depending on the status level of the family. This situation would not necessarily hold true if migration takes place, as the occupation taken can then be "hidden" or can be considered by the family and community as not adversely affecting the local prestige of the family.[69] Comparing primary educated respondents from low to middle income farm backgrounds with those from semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds, migration should be greater in the former case because of these local status limitations which restrict the range and number of local occupations which may be taken up by farm adolescents. However, since it is expected that service and skilled manual occupations may be taken up by most such farm youth without loss of status, and that these youth are likely to be preferred by employers, the effect of this selectivity would probably be cancelled out.

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[69] McNabb, op. cit., p. 215.

Sex, however, is an important intervening variable here. The occupational aspirations and the occupational alternatives open to girls differ considerably from those of boys at all educational levels. The almost universal pattern, in the Western world, of greater migration rates for girls from rural areas reflects this greater disparity between aspirations and opportunities. In rural farm areas, the only usual off-farm occupation available for girls locally is in domestic service; an occupation of a very low status, and very limited in number.[70] This does not hold for males in farm areas who can remain to work on the home farm with prospects of eventually owning the farm. One can expect then a greatly disproportionate efflux of females from farm areas. On the other hand, in the centre and in surrounding small towns, opportunities for males and females are approximately equally balanced. Taking the community as a whole then, a relatively greater population of females than males compete for approximately the same number of off-farm opportunities.

In terms of the structure of these opportunities, there are relatively more lower order service occupations available for females, while more skilled manual occupations are available for males.[71] So that one would expect: (a) little

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[70] McNabb, op. cit., p. 173.

[71] See Tables 6A, and 6B, pp. 154 and 170, Census of Population of Ireland, Vol. V, Government Publications Sales Office, 1964. In the age groups 14-19 in Co. Cavan there are approximately as many males as females employed in off-farm occupations. Whereas on the farm, approximately nine times more males than females are employed.

difference between males and females in secondary schools in regard to occupational frustration, (b) more females than males in vocational schools to be frustrated; and (c) more males than females who have received only a primary education and are seeking off-farm occupations to be frustrated.

The ecological variable is another of importance here. Since there are no school bus services, increasing distance from the centre, where the educational services are located, poses a physical barrier to attending post-primary schools. Consequently, the greater the distance from the centre, the lower should be the proportions attending post-primary schools. If occupational opportunities were distributed evenly throughout the community, one would expect greater frustration and migration levels nearer the centre because of the higher educational levels and consequent higher levels of occupational aspiration there. However, off-farm occupational opportunities are not distributed evenly throughout the community, but are much greater near the centre; particularly for semi-skilled, service, skilled and secretarial type occupations. This should be more than sufficient to compensate for the higher levels of occupational aspiration near the centre. Therefore, the greater the distance from the centre, the greater should be the level of occupational frustration. This should hold true for all education levels and for both sexes. And this increase in occupational frustration levels with increasing distance from the centre, should be proportionately much greater for girls than boys. Because of the increasing preponderance of

farm families with increasing distance from the centre, and the consequent increasing proportion of males who enjoy ascribed roles on the family farm, the increase in occupational frustration is not nearly as great for males as for females. Very few farm females stay on the home farm, therefore, given that off-farm opportunities decline with increasing distance from the centre, their levels of occupational frustration should correspondingly increase with distance. The sex difference, then, in the frustration of aspirations and in migration plans should increase with distance from the centre.

To summarize, it is expected that: (1) occupational frustration will be closely related to plans to migrate; (2) the level of frustration will increase with the level of occupational aspiration; (3) the level of occupational aspirations is closely related to (a) class level and educational level, (b) sex, and (c) distance from the centre. The level of occupational frustration should also be independently influenced by sex and by remoteness.

Consumption Aspirations, Migration Plans and Some Structural Antecedents

Aspirations to reach particular occupational status levels have been shown to be related to occupational and migration plans. This, however, refers only to the relative prestige level of the occupation *per se*. In choosing an occupation, a community to live in, and how much education to acquire, other types of aspirations are important; especially aspirations to reach particular consumption levels with respect

to income, level of living, etc. This study focuses mainly on income aspirations.

Despite the expected relationship between the level of occupational aspiration and occupational frustration, it is likely that, in most rural communities, there is a surplus of aspirants over opportunities at almost all levels of aspiration but proportionally much less so at the lowest levels. It is at this level that consumption aspirations,or motives for economic betterment, rather than social betterment, become important. The greater part of the decline in rural populations all over the Western world has taken place among the smaller farmers and farm laborers.[72] Much of this off-farm mobility cannot be regarded as upwardly mobile in a status sense. In fact, much of it results in an apparent decline of occupational status.[73] But many studies show that it has led to an improvement in economic status.[74] Hence, at this level of occupational movement, it is not the absence of occupational opportunities as such that is important, (witness the great decline in the self employed farmer category, and the almost universal complaints about lack of farm labour) but the remuneration of those

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[72] See O.E.C.D., Geographic and Occupational Mobility of Rural Manpower, op. cit.

[73] Folkman, W.S., and Cowhig, J.D., "Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in a Rural Area."Rural Sociology, 28:4:1963.

[74] Schwarzeller, H. "Education, Migration, and Economic Life Chances of Entrants to the Labour Force from a Low Income Rural Area." Rural Sociology: 29:1964:pp. 152-167; Landis, P.H., "Educational Selectivity of Rural Urban Migration," Rural Sociology: 11:1946:pp. 218-232.

occupations that are available. Income aspirations will then be considered as the second major variable affecting decisions to migrate. It is expected that the higher the level of aspiration, the higher the probability that respondents will feel that their income aspirations cannot be satisfied locally; and that such local income frustrations will also lead to plans to migrate.

In comparison with occupational aspiration, very little research has been done on the factors associated with variations in income aspirations. The hypothesis is that it will vary directly with the same factors that affect occupational aspiration level. But controlling for these, it is expected that large variations will occur, especially for the lower levels of occupational aspirers, where the variable is expected to have its major predictive influence. It is expected that reference group factors--variations in the extent and depth of contact the individual has with significant others working off farms and outside the community, and variations in the cultural orientation of the individual's family, whether of a traditional non materialistic orientation or a modern urbanized orientation--[75] would account for most of this variation Sex is a factor here again, with girls having lower levels of aspiration than boys. Since the level of opportunities for girls, however, is much more limited, the influence of this on income frustration will be very limited.

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[75] Benvenuti, B., Farming in Cultural Change. VanGorcum Assen, N.L., 1961.

Occupational and Income Aspirations and Migration Plans

Occupational frustration (whether respondent thinks he can get the job he aspires to in his home community) and income frustration (whether the respondent thinks he can get the income he wants by staying and working in his home community) are proposed here as the major predictors of plans to migrate. They can be considered in isolation from the level of aspiration in both cases. This is an individualizing "psychological" approach, focusing on individualistic characteristics, without concern for their structural antecedents, but it has generally been the approach taken by researchers working in this area. Considered from this point of view, both frustrations can act together, separately, or be altogether absent. When both are frustrated, there should be a greater tendency to migrate, than where only one or neither is frustrated. These hypotheses should be confirmed, but it is obvious that in the search to summarize "motives" in this way, much of the richness and explanatory value of the variables has been lost.

It is proposed that these two variables, in their effects on plans to migrate, operate relatively independently of each other. In both cases, frustration of aspirations is possible at all levels of aspiration, although much more likely at the upper levels. However, at the upper levels of occupational aspiration, occupational frustration alone is much more likely to give rise to migration plans. Here social mobility motives are at a maximum, and local opportunities to satisfy these motives at a minimum. At the lower levels of occupational aspiration, it is not the absence of an occupation as such that

is important but the remuneration of the occupation in comparison with similarly unskilled occupations in alternative communities. This latter situation should hold true for a large sector of the population under study--those who have had only a primary education, or have had only a minimum of post-primary education. This group can aspire only to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations and to lower level service occupations. At this level of occupational aspiration, income aspirations become very important in predicting out migration plans. Great differences in remuneration for the same occupation, (particularly manual occupations), exist between most rural and urban areas in Ireland, and particularly between rural areas in Ireland and urban areas in Great Britain. Moreover, the ability to change occupations at the level of unskilled, semi-skilled and lower level service occupations in order to profit from higher incomes, is much easier than at the higher occupational levels.

Stratifying respondents by level of occupational aspirations, it is expected that: (1) the higher the level of occupational aspiration, the greater the proportion of respondents who believe their occupational aspirations cannot be achieved locally; (2) income frustration is equally likely at all levels of occupational aspirations; (3) occupational frustration, however, will be more predictive of plans to migrate at the upper than at the lower levels of aspiration; and (4) income frustration per se will be more predictive of plans to migrate at the lower occupational aspiration levels.

Attitudes Toward the Community's Social Provisions

Even where people perceive that their occupational and consumption aspirations cannot be achieved locally, other individual, family, and community factors may rule out migration. And where both aspirations can be satisfied, dissatisfaction with such community provisions as educational and shopping facilities, roads, recreation and entertainment facilities, for example, may be sufficient to bring about migration to places where these facilities are better provided. These latter factors have usually been overemphasized as "causes" of migration in Ireland.[76] It is proposed here, however, that such provisions are so closely related to the characteristics of the local economic system in most cases, that the former two aspiration variables should account for most of the variation. It is expected that if the effects of occupational and income frustration are controlled, that such attitudes toward the community's social provisions will have a very low correlation with migration plans, or that a correlation will be absent altogether.

Community Satisfaction

So far the concern has been with instrumental orientations as related primarily to the local economic structure.

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[76] Commission on Emigration, op. cit., p. 136. The "theories" that have guided the policies of the national and county governments, and rural organizations on rural depopulation, (better roads, water supply schemes, parish halls, etc.) have generally greatly overemphasized these factors. See (1) Newman, op. cit., for a criticism of this view and the contrary need for off-farm occupational opportunities, and (2) Verdruijse, op. cit., where it is shown that dissatisfaction with such services when occupational needs are satisfied, usually does not lead to migration.

There are, however, other variables of importance, and these should also be related to structural factors. Community Satisfaction, as it has been previously defined, is one such variable. The evaluation of the satisfactoriness of current, past, and probably prospective social relationships and roles in the local social structure, especially in the family and other primary groups, should be dependent on the characteristics of the structure itself, the position of the individual in it, and the criteria used in evaluation. It may be that, for farm girls, the frustration of occupational and income aspirations, though high, is not as important in plans to migrate as are evaluations of the satisfactoriness of past, present, and future roles within a largely traditional family and community structure. Farm boys, on the other hand, who have been assigned occupational roles on the family farm, should evaluate these structures much more positively than farm girls. It is probable, too, that such farm boys have more traditional values than farm girls or others. A number of American studies have shown major differences in the values of farm boys who plan to farm and those who aspire to non-farm occupations.[77] It is highly likely that similar differences exist in Ireland. One would expect then that farm boys are more positively oriented toward their community than are farm

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[77] See Haller, A.O., "Planning to Farm: A Social Psychological Interpretation," Social Forces, 37:1959:pp. 263-268; and his later studies published in Rural Sociology, 25:3:1960: pp. 321-333; and Rural Sociology, 27:3:1962:pp. 275-293; Kaldor, op. cit., Schwarzweller, H.K., "Value Orientations in Educational and Occupational Choices," Rural Sociology, 24:1959:pp. 408-425.

girls or non-farm boys and girls.

In regard to the direct role that Community Satisfaction plays in migration, the expectation is that, where high dissatisfaction with local relationships exists, people will plan to migrate whether their aspirations are frustrated or not. It is expected, however, that such alienation from community relationships is rare, and that the large majority of prospective migrants would stay if their aspirations were satisfied. On the other hand, high attachment to particularistic relationships and to the way of life of the home community could reduce the influence of frustrated aspirations in plans to migrate. But it is expected that this will not have a correspondingly opposite and equal influence on the relation between occupational frustration and migration as had alienation. Undoubtedly this aspect of attachment has been overemphasized in migration explanations, since the notion is so common in the literature that the only function such attachments perform in migration is to hold back potential migrants. Other studies have shown, however, that such high attachments and certain types of interactions can persist, especially among family members, even after some have migrated and members are separated by great distances.[78] Indeed, the idea of "migration systems" assumes the persistence of such attachments after migration

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[78] Litwak, E., "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion"; American Sociological Review: 25:1960:pp. 385-394; Brown, J.S., Schwarzweller, H.K. and J.J. Mangalam, "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem Family," Rural Sociology: 28: 1:1963:pp. 48-69.

occurs.[79] Crawford has resolved some of the problems here by showing that, where high attachments are accompanied by expectations to migrate on the part of other family members, the rate of migration is almost as great as that where very low attachments exist.[80] It is expected here that such high attachments will not retard migration where aspirations are frustrated, because of similar counteracting effects of family expectations.

Primary Role Obligations

While the influence of Community Satisfaction may have been overemphasized in migration planning, the influence of family obligations which necessitate staying and working in the home community, with some exceptions, has not been given sufficient attention. Goldsmith found that this was a very important variable.[81] For farm adolescents who have family obligations which can only be fulfilled locally it is expected that the relationship between the perceived local frustration of aspirations and migration will not hold true. It is hypothesized that such obligations to the family take precedence over any personal aspirations. The presence of such obligations

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[79] See Brown and Schwarzweller, op. cit., and Hillary, G.A., Brown, J.S., and G.E. De Jong, "Migration Systems of the Southern Appalachians," Rural Sociology: 30:1:1965:pp. 33ff.

[80] Crawford, op. cit.

[81] Goldsmith, op. cit., p. 221, and Goldsmith and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

should be closely related to: (a) the educational level of the respondent, being largely restricted to the primary educated, (b) males, (c) respondents of farm background, and (d) respondents from large families, who are among the eldest in the family. The groups having these characteristics are usually kept on by the family to help work the farm or household after terminating primary education.

It is thought that these latter three variables, attitude toward community services, Community Satisfaction, and Family Obligations, will be much less important for adolescents currently engaged in post-primary education, particularly for those in secondary schools. By increasing contacts with urban areas and bringing about the use of wider frames of reference in evaluation, such education should lower the probability that community attachments would reduce migration. At the same time, their relatively advantaged position in the community should reduce alienation. Moreover, the fact that they are sent on for post-primary education demonstrates that parents, etc., impose fewer family and local obligations on them than on their peers who are kept at home on the farm.

This completes the discussion on the rationale for the hypotheses to be proposed. The following few pages will attempt to pull the most relevant of these hypotheses together, and to state them in a developmental sequence.

Definitions of Terms Used, and Resume of the Major Hypotheses

The following section contains both definitions of the terms used in the hypotheses, and a summary statement of the

hypotheses developed in the previous sections. The hypotheses are stated in a developmental sequence: the first dealing with the relationship between the major independent variables proposed and migration plans, while the succeeding sections deal with the ways in which both the independent and dependent variables are related to some major social structural factors.

Definitions of Terms

1. Occupational and Income Frustrations: Refers to beliefs about the fulfillment of occupational and income aspirations in the home community. Such beliefs are trichotomised into high, medium and low levels or frustration. High levels refer to beliefs that aspirations cannot be fulfilled locally, while low levels of frustration refer to beliefs that aspirations can be achieved. Medium levels refer to cases where respondents are unsure whether they can fulfill their aspirations locally.
2. Community Satisfaction: Refers to the level of attachment of respondents to the home community, as measured by respondents evaluations of the satisfactoriness of the social relationships there. Such attachments range from high levels, where respondents have highly positive evaluations of these relationships, to low levels of attachment, where respondents have highly negative evaluations of these relationships.

3. Family Obligations: Refers to respondents' beliefs about the level of their obligations to the immediate family. High levels of obligation refer to respondents whose work obligations to the family are such that these can only be carried out if they remain in the home community. Low levels of obligation refer to situations where respondents have no or very low levels of obligations, and these do not require that they remain in the home community. Medium levels refer to intermediate positions between these two.

4. Attitude Toward the Community's Social Provisions or Community Evaluation: Refers to respondents' evaluations of the adequacy of the local community's social provisions. These evaluations may range from highly positive to highly negative.

5. Migration Plans: Refers to respondents' statements about migration intentions. These are trichotomized into (1) definite intention to migrate (high), (2) indefinite whether to migrate or not, and (3) definite intention to remain locally (low).

Statement of Hypotheses

No. 1: Plans to migrate will be directly related to the level of occupational frustration.

No. 2: Plans to migrate will be directly related to the level of income frustration.

No. 3: Plans to migrate will be inversely related to the level of Community Satisfaction.

No. 4: Plans to migrate will be inversely related to the level of Family Obligation.

No. 5: Plans to migrate will be inversely related to the level of Community Evaluation.

The Relative Predictive Ability of the Independent Variables

No. 6: Occupational and income frustration will be more highly predictive of plans to migrate than will any of the other variables.

No. 7: Controlling for levels of Community Satisfaction; the lower the level of Satisfaction--the less predictive are occupational and income frustration of plans to migrate.

No. 8: Controlling for levels of Family Obligations; the higher the level of Family Obligations, the less predictive are occupational and income frustrations of plans to migrate.

No. 9: The total proportion of migration plans explained by low levels of Community Satisfaction (those who plan to migrate irrespective of other factors) and by high levels of Family Obligations (those who plan to stay irrespective of other factors) will be considerably less than that explained by the frustration of occupational and income aspirations.

Structural Factors Influencing the Dependent and Major Independent Variables:

(a) The Level of Occupational Aspiration and Educational Level Achieved.

Nos. 10 and 11: The higher the level of occupational and income aspiration, the higher the level of frustration; and therefore, the greater the tendency to plan to migrate.

Corollary: The higher the level of education, the higher the level of occupational and income frustration; and therefore, the greater the tendency to plan to migrate.

No. 12: The higher the level of occupational aspiration, the more predictive occupational frustration will be of plans to migrate.

No. 13: The lower the level of occupational aspiration, the more predictive income frustration will be of plans to migrate.

Corollary to 12 and 13: The higher the level of education the more predictive occupational frustration will be of plans to migrate.

No. 14: High levels of Family Obligations will be generally restricted to farm males, who have only had a primary education and who work on the home farm.

(b) The Sex, Education, and Occupational Background of Respondents.

No. 15: Farm females will plan to migrate more than farm males; while non-farm males and females will plan to migrate in about equal proportions.

No. 16: The level of occupational frustration of farm females will be greater than that of farm males; there will be no difference in the level of frustration of non-farm males and females.

No. 17: The level of Community Satisfaction will be greater among farm males than farm females; there will be no difference among non-farm males and females in this respect.

No. 18: Dissatisfaction with the Community's Social Provisions will be higher among farm females than farm males; there will be no difference among non-farm males and females in this respect.

No. 19: At the secondary level of education, the incidence of occupational frustration will be the same for both males and females; hence, there will be no difference in the proportions of each sex who plan to migrate.

No. 20: At the vocational level of education, the incidence of occupational frustration will be greater among females than among males; hence, more females than males will plan to migrate.

No. 21: Controlling for all respondents seeking off-farm employment, and for those who have received only a primary education; more males than females will be frustrated in their occupational aspirations, and consequently, more of the males will plan to migrate.

No. 22: The level of migration plans of females will be directly related to the level of education received.

No. 23: The proportion of males receiving a secondary education, who plan to migrate will be greater than the proportion planning to migrate from vocational and primary educated levels. But those who receive only a primary education, and are not working on the home farm, will plan to migrate in greater proportions than will those who receive a vocational education.

(c) Distance from the Centre and Factors Affecting Migration Plans.

No. 24: The level of occupational and income frustration will be directly related to distance of respondents' homes from the center.

No. 25: The level of Community Satisfaction and Community Evaluation will be inversely related to distance of respondents' homes from the centre for females, and directly related to distance from the centre for males.

No. 26: The level of Family Obligations will be directly related to distance from the centre for males.

No. 27: The proportions of total respondents planning to migrate will be directly related to distance of the respondents' homes from the centre.

No. 28: The differences between males and females in their levels of occupational and income frustration, and of plans to migrate, will increase with the distance of respondents' homes from the centre.

(d) The Cultural Orientation of Families, and the Major Factors Affecting Migration Plans

No. 29: Controlling for education, youth from traditional families as compared to those from 'modern' families, will exhibit:

(a) lower levels of occupational and income aspirations.

(b) lower levels of income and occupational frustration.

(c) higher levels of Community Satisfaction, and Community Evaluation.

(d) as a result of these differences, a much lower proportion will plan to migrate.

Structural Factors Influencing the Level of Education Received by Adolescents

The probability of receiving a post-primary education will be:

(a) directly related to the social status level of adolescents' families.

(b) related to sex. Farm females will receive a better education than farm males.

(c) inversely related to the size of the family.

(d) inversely related to the birth order of the individual in the family.

(e) inversely related to the distance of homes from the centre.

Organization of the Thesis.

In Chapter one, the problem was stated, a theoretical framework for its analysis was presented, and twenty-nine hypotheses were formulated. Chapter two describes the research design, the data collection process, and some characteristics of the population focused upon. The educational mobility of an adolescent five-year cohort from this population is described in Chapter three, and the major social factors affecting variations in this mobility analyzed. The results and tests of the major hypotheses dealing with migration planning are presented in Chapter four. In Chapter five, these results will be summarized and evaluated in terms of the theoretical model proposed, and the changes necessary in this framework discussed.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Introduction: The Overall Design

While numerous alternative designs were considered, it was decided early in the research to confine the investigation to a single community, situated in a region of the country where there had been heavy outmigration. Although every community has important relationships with others, most Irish rural communities can be considered as relatively correspondent microcosms of the larger rural society. Although relationships and trends observed in any particular community cannot be freely generalized to the rural society at large, nevertheless these can be studied more intensively in a small homogeneous area. Furthermore, in such a site, the influence of structural and ecological variables on occupational and educational opportunities and migration planning can be more precisely observed. This would be true particularly in cases where all educational services, and most off-farm occupational opportunities are concentrated in the centre. If a sample survey of the country or region were attempted the problems of measuring the ecological variable and assessing its influence would be maximized; whereas a community study minimizes these problems. These considerations led to the adoption of a community approach to the

problem. Moreover, the requirement that educational services be concentrated in the community centre limited the study to a small number of centres.[1] Brief surveys were carried out to assess the suitability of each of these, and eventually, Cavan was chosen as the most suitable one.

The areas excluded from consideration by this community approach may not all be situated within similar, easily definable service communities. Educational services in particular are not always so neatly concentrated as in the community selected for study. In fact, for the areas immediately outside the boundaries of this community, the schools attended by secondary school students are very widely distributed geographically. Outside primary service areas, like that of Cavan, the degree of concentration of services in one centre declines. It is possible that limiting this study to such a tightly organized community might underestimate the importance of some variables in migration decision-making, especially attitudes such as those toward community facilities and institutions. It is conceivable that these variables might be more important in more remote and more disadvantaged areas of the country, but in view of the arguments proposed in the first chapter, this is unlikely to be the case.

Cavan, the centre chosen, is seventy miles northwest of Dublin. (See map 2 overleaf) It has a population of 3,200,

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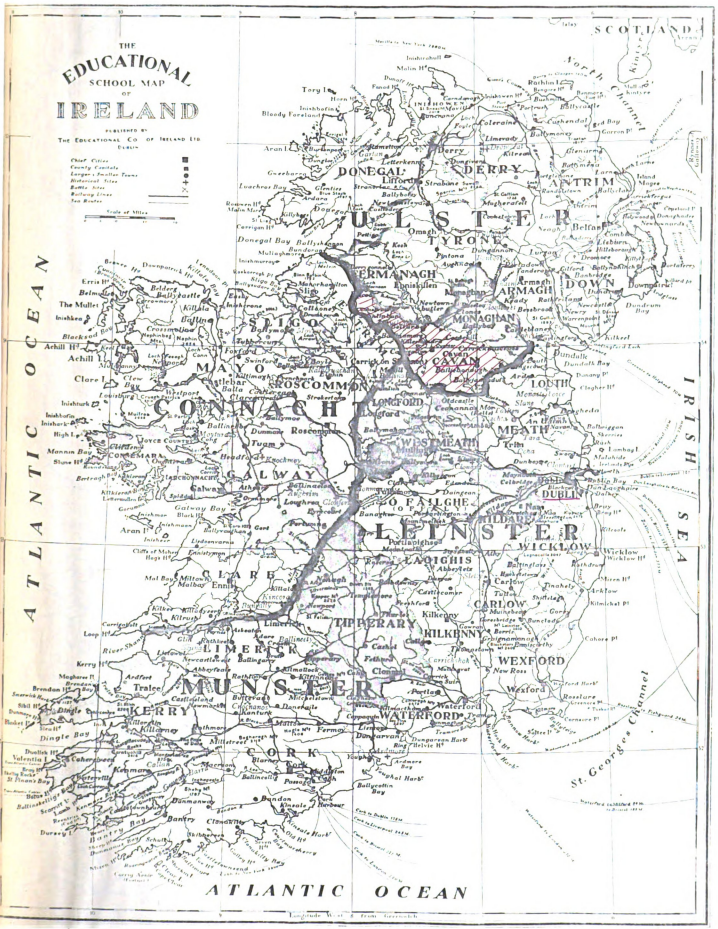
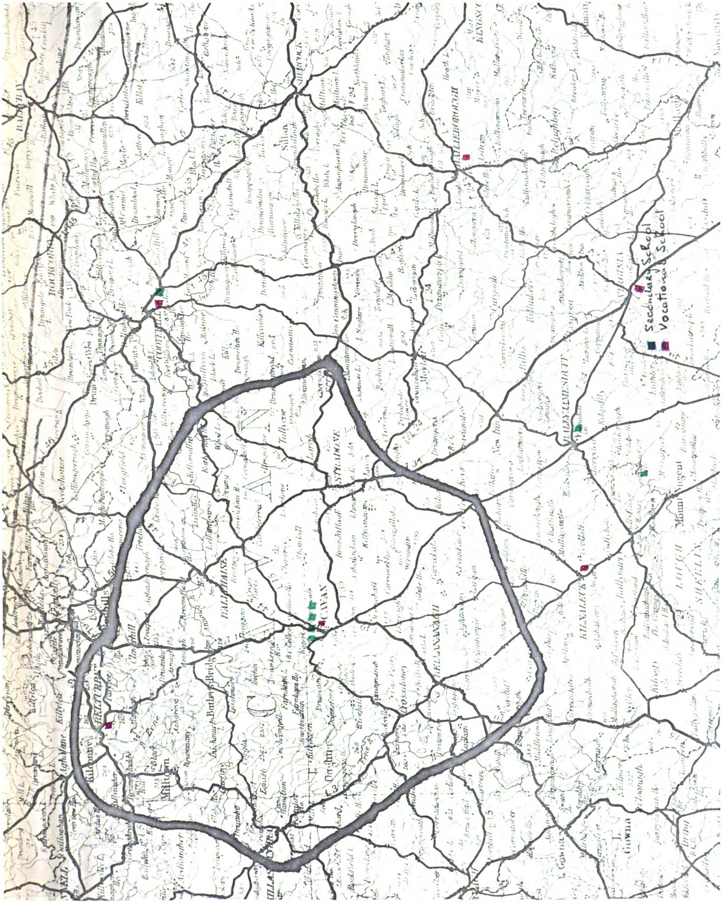
[1] Castlebar, Roscommon, Longford and Cavan.

Map 1


THE
EDUCATIONAL
SCHOOL MAP
OF
IRELAND
PUBLISHED BY
THE EDUCATIONAL CO. OF IRELAND LTD.
DUBLIN
Chief Cities
County Counties
Larger Smaller Towns
Historical Sites
Battle Sites
Railway Lines
Sea Routes
Scale of Miles
SCOTLAND
North Channel
DONEGAL
DERRY
ANTRIM
ULSTER
TYRONE
Belfast
FERMANAGH
ARMAGH
DOWN
MONAGHAN
CAVAN
LOUTH
MAYO
ROSCOMMON
LONGFORD
CONNAUGH
WESTMEATH
MEATH
GALWAY
DUBLIN
KILDARE
LEINSTER
WICKLOW
CLARE
LAOIGHIS
CARLOW
TIPPERARY
KILKENNY
LIMERICK
WEXFORD
MUNSTER
KERRY
WATERFORD
CORK
St. George's Channel
IRISH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN

Map 2


🟩 Secondary School
🟥 Vocational School
CAVAN
COOTEHILL
BAILIEBOROUGH
KINGSCOURT
SHERCOCK
ROCKCORRY
VIRGINIA
BALLYJAMESDUFF
KILNALECK
BALLYHAISE
STRADONE
BELLANANAGH
Mount Nugent
LOUGH SHEELIN
L. Gowna
Milltown

and it is a major service centre for the surrounding farm areas. In this part of the country, open country dwellers comprise almost 75% of the total population, and over 60% of the population is dependent on farming for a living. From an ecological point of view, Cavan is a very suitable centre because the major county vocational school and four secondary schools are located there. Since the nearest vocational schools are 10 to 15 miles away at Belturbet and Kilnaleck, and the nearest secondary schools are 15 to 20 miles away at Ballyjamesduff and Cootehill, there is a large area surrounding Cavan which is dependent on its educational services. The previous two maps show the location of Cavan in relation to Dublin, and the surrounding smaller centres and educational institutions.

The boundaries of the community were determined on the basis of a single service: secondary school education. This service community included the area surrounding the centre within which most secondary school service needs were satisfied. Primary school areas surrounding the centre were the basic units chosen to determine the boundaries of the community. Those schools with 50% or more of their secondary educated ex-students receiving an education at schools in the centre, were considered to be within the community. Primary schools that had sent a majority of their secondary school students to other schools were then excluded from the community. A survey of 102 primary schools was carried out to determine the locations of the secondary schools attended by ex-students. Fifty-two primary schools surrounding the centre met the required

criteria for inclusion within the service community and these primary school areas formed an uninterrupted territory around the centre. However, population figures are not given for these small school areas. Since such data are required for descriptive and comparative purposes, it was decided to use the District Electoral Division areas, as used in the Census reports, within which these school areas were included. A total of 25 Divisions were included in all, each of which contained approximately two primary school areas.

As the result of this primary school survey, a complete enumeration was obtained of all former students from the community who had completed their primary education in the previous five years. Additional data were also secured on the social background characteristics and the post-primary educational, occupational and residence movements of these former students. Subsequently, a sample of these school leavers was interviewed to gather information on migration decision making.

The following sections will deal with: (1) some demographic and ecological characteristics of the county and community population selected for study; (2) characteristics of the five year cohort of former primary school students; (3) the procedures used for gathering the data; and (4) the operationalization of the major variables used.

General Description of the County and Community Population

One of the three counties of Ulster situated within the Republic, Cavan is cut off from its northern neighbours by a political border. This has had deleterious economic and social

effects on some towns and communities in the northern part of the county. In this area some towns have been cut off from part of their previous trade hinterlands, and some rural areas have been separated from their previous centres. Within the Republic, it is situated in one of the most rural, most farm dependent, and poorest regions of the country. This region, mainly comprising the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, has been suffering the heaviest rates of outmigration for the past few decades. A comparison of several statistics for the county with those for other counties of the region and the country as a whole, as shown in Table 1, brings out these characteristics of the county and the region very clearly.

If the counties of Sligo and Galway are excluded from the Connaught data, over 74% of the population of the remaining counties of Connaught and Ulster live in the open country, and over 60% of the population depend on farming. These farms are primarily family farms, since little more than 5% of the total male farm labor force are fully employed farm labourers. The farms also are very small, with over 65% of the farm population living on farms of under 20 Pounds valuation, compared to a national average of approximately 50%. Agricultural and non-agricultural incomes are also among the lowest in the country. As a result of all these cumulative disadvantages, this whole region has been suffering the greatest rates of outmigration of the whole country for the past few decades, with county rates of from 25% to 100% higher than that of the country as a whole.

Table 1.--Some characteristics of the population of Co. Cavan, the province of Ulster (3 counties) and the province of Connaught, (5 counties).

Area	% Population in towns of over 3,000. (1)	% of the total population dependent on farming (2)	% permanent Agric. Labourers of total males employed in Agriculture (3)	% of total farm population on farms of under £ 20 Valuation. (4)	Income in Agriculture per male engaged. (5) Pounds	Average annual rates of emigration Rate per 1,000 of average pop. (6) 1951-56	'56-61
Co. Cavan	7%	60.2%	6.5%	54.4%	237	18.2	21.3
Ulster (3 Cos.)	7.4%	63.3%	6.2%	63.2%	226	19.6	20.7
Connaught (5 Cos.)	14.0%	61.3%	4.1%	72.5%	247	17.4	18.3
Total Country	42.2%	34.5%	13.2%	49.6%	337	13.4	14.8

1. Census of Population of Ireland. Vol. 1, 1961. Stationary Office, Dublin, 1963. Table 8, pp. 15-19.

2. Census of Population of Ireland. Vol. 3, 1961. Occupations. Stationery Office, 1963. Table 7, pp. 120-125.

3. Agricultural Statistics. 1960. Stationery Office, Dublin, Table 23, p. 70.

4. Census of Population. Vol. 3, 1961. op. cit., Table 8, pp. 126-131.

5. Attwood, E.A., and Geary, R.C., Irish County Incomes in 1960, Economic Research Institute Paper No. 12, 1963, Table 12, p. 21.

6. Census of Population. Vol. 1, op. cit., Table 12, p. 139; and Census of Population, 1961, Preliminary Report, 1961, Table 12, p. 13.

Table 2 sets out the characteristics of the community selected within Co. Cavan. The various statistics were computed from unpublished District Electoral Division data supplied by the Central Statistics Office. These districts were arranged in distance bands from the centre. Since the distances of each primary school from the centre had been measured, and there were approximately 2-3 of these in each D.E.D., the average school distance per D.E.D. was used as the relevant statistic here.[2]

As distance from the centre increases, the proportion of the population dependent on agriculture also increases. This holds true both for the percentage of the household heads, and the percentage of the male labor force employed in agriculture. The differences between these two figures gives some indication of the proportion of males resident in farm households who hold jobs off the farm. That is, if we assume that there are approximately as many employed males in both farm and non-farm households within each distance level. The differences between these percentages decreases with increasing distance from the centre, as indicated below:

Up to 2 miles the difference is	22.6%
From 3 to 5 miles	11.8%
From 6 to 10 miles	8.8%
And over 10 miles	9.7%

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[2]Unfortunately, two D.E.D.'s, Larah and Corr, were excluded from the table because the researcher did not extract data on these, having assumed at the time that they fell outside the community boundaries. One of these falls in band 4, the other in band 5. However, both of them are very rural, and their exclusion should not materially affect the argument.

Table 2.--Characteristics of the Community's Population by distance from the centre: population size and change in 1951-1961; and occupational characteristics.

Area	Population Size			Occupational Characteristics - 1961			
	1951	1961	% decrease 1951-1961.	% Household Heads that are Farmers	% of Males Gainfully Occupied, Employed in Agriculture	% Females not Gainfully Occupied, of Total Females over 14 y.o.	% Females Gainfully Occupied in Non-farm Occupations, of Total Females over 14 y.o.
1. Centre	3555	3208	9.8%	2.6%	3.5%	63.7%	34.1%
2. Up to 2 miles from the centre; Rural Districts surrounding the centre.	2018	1784	11.6%	68.3%	45.7%	72.8%	22.0%
3. Districts in band 3 to 5 Miles surrounding the centre.	4886	4337	11.2%	82.8%	71.0%	79.4%	12.8%
4. Districts in band 6-10 miles from the centre.*	5731	4927	14.0%	87.5%	78.7%	79.0%	10.5%
5. Districts 10 miles and over from the centre.*	2253	1913	15.1%	91.1%	81.4%	80.6%	7.2%
6. Two towns of 1000 and over population over 10 miles from the centre.	2468	2288	7.3%	33.0%	29.3%	69.1%	28.2%
7. Total Community	20,911	18,457	11.7%	65.7%	58.1%	74.3%	18.8%
8. Co. Cavan	66,377	56,594	14.7%		68.6%	76.2%	15.0%
9. Ulster	253,252	217,524	14.1%		63.3%	75.3%	10.4%
10. Ireland	2960,593	2818,341	4.8%		43.4%	71.4%	21.7%

*Supplied by the Central Statistics Office from unpublished data. See Appendix I for details. Two D.E.D.'s Corr and Larah are excluded. One falls in band number four, the other in band five.

These figures demonstrate very clearly that off-farm opportunities decline rapidly with increasing distance from the centre. Similar trends appear in the data for females. The proportion of females engaged full time in household duties rises with increasing distance from the centre, and the proportion of females having off-farm occupations consistently decreases. All these figures clearly demonstrate the great importance of ecological factors in the distribution of occupational opportunities in rural areas, and, consequently, the importance of this factor in influencing outmigration.

A comparison of the community with the county as a whole, however, indicates that it is a more advantaged part of the county. It has approximately 10% more of the male labour force engaged in non-farm pursuits, than has the county population, and nearly 4% more of the female labour force. Perhaps it is partly as a result that there is less out-migration from this part of the county. The similarity of the county population to the provincial figures is also clearly demonstrated. Furthermore, a comparison of the provincial and the national figures in the two tables clearly shows how disadvantaged the whole region is in terms of general economic and social characteristics.

The Population Selected for Study

Since the study was focused on migration decision-making among adolescents who had not yet taken up a permanent adult occupation, the problem largely dictated selection of

the population. It was felt that an adolescent age group of from 13 to 19 was the one which first wrestled with the problem of migration. Very few of an earlier age had migrated, and older age groups were already highly selected out by previous migration. Information on the migration motives of these older age groups, already highly selected by previous migration, could not be generalized to all adolescents growing up in the area. Moreover, the slightly older age group of 16-20 is one of the major groups in which migration occurs.[3] All these considerations combined to focus attention on an age group which had not yet started to migrate on a substantial scale, but which had already become highly involved in occupational and migration decision-making. The following two sections describe first the overall age group upon which the study focused, and secondly the sample selected from this for intensive personal interviewing.

The Total Cohort

In order to obtain a complete enumeration of all adolescents in the area and an overall view of their mobility, it was decided to gather limited information on all adolescents from the community who had terminated their primary education in the previous five years. For this purpose, a survey of over

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[3] Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, 1948-1954. Reports, Government Publications Office, Dublin. (No date given). pp. 122-123.

100 primary schools in the area around the centre was carried out between September and December of 1964. Of these schools, 52 fell within the community boundaries. These were the primary schools whose secondary educated former students had in the majority gone to schools in the centre. The areas served by these primary schools formed an intact territory surrounding the centre. Map 2 shows the boundaries of the community and the following table (Table 3) sets out some characteristics of the schools.

Over two-thirds of the 52 schools falling within this secondary school service area, were one or two room schools located primarily in the open country. Over two-thirds of all school leavers came from these schools. The larger schools were situated in the centre or in the neighbouring small towns. All but eight of the schools were coeducational.

Table 3.--Characteristics of primary schools within the community. Size of schools, and number of students who have finished their education in the period 1960-64.

Size of School	Number of Schools	Number of Students finished there in the period 1960-1964.
One Teacher Schools	21	218
Two Teacher Schools	26	784
Three Teacher Schools	1	33
Four Teacher Schools	1	66
Five Teacher Schools	1	67
Six Teacher Schools	1	175
Thirteen Teacher Schools	1	142
Total	52	1,485

Table 4 gives a breakdown of the population of ex-students by fathers' occupation. The percentage of adolescents from a farm background is much smaller, (47%), than the percentage of farm households in the community (66%). This may be accounted for by the older age of the heads of farm household and the lower proportion of them who are married. Of these adolescents 37% went to secondary schools after completing their primary education; 36% went to vocational schools, and the remaining 27% terminated their education at the primary level. Chapter three includes an analysis of the relationships between these educational movements and some selected social background factors.

The selection of a sample of respondents from this age group for intensive interviewing about migration planning will be described in the next section.

Table 4.--Parental occupations of all adolescents who had graduated from primary schools in the area in the period 1960-1964.

Occupation of Father or Guardian (N = 1,485 students)	% of total adolescents by occupation of parents	
Farmers		47.0%
Professional and Semi Prof.	4.2%	
Employers, Managers and Proprietors...	8.0%	
Intermediate Non Manual Workers	3.0%	
Total Non-Manual occupations	15.2%	15.2%
Skilled Manual Workers	7.2%	
Service and Sales Workers	6.5%	
Semi Skilled Manual Workers	4.7%	
Unskilled Manual Workers	16.8%	
Total Manual and Service Occupations	35.2%	35.2%
Other	2.7%	2.7%
Total		100.1%

The Population Interviewed

While doing exploratory fieldwork in outside areas, a number of problems were uncovered in selecting a suitable population for an intensive interview study of migration decision-making. The youngest of the cohort focused upon (14-18 year-olds) have given very little consideration to occupational or migration decision-making for at least one year after leaving primary school. This was especially true for adolescents in their first of five years in secondary schools. It was less true of first year students in vocational schools, which offer only a course of two or three years. But in this case, and in the case of similar youth who had received no post-primary education, such decision-making was not of critical interest and they did not appear to have yet entered the "tentative stage" of occupational decision-making.[4] Such decisions, however, had become much more relevant and had been much more fully considered by those youth who had left primary schools two to three years previously (except for those who had gone on to secondary schools). On the other hand, a considerable proportion of older youth who had left primary schools four to five years previous to the beginning of the study had already migrated. It would be not only difficult to locate these, but their major occupational and migration decisions had already been made and acted upon.

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[4]Burchinal, L.G., Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society. A.E.S. Bull. 458, Minnesota, November, 1962.

Although a representative sample of the total age cohort had originally been considered the best sampling plan, it was subsequently rejected both because a large proportion of older youth had already migrated and because occupational decision-making was very poorly developed in the younger members. For these reasons it was decided to focus attention on that part of the age cohort whose members were seriously engaged in occupational and migration decision-making, but who had not as yet acted on these decisions.

For those <u>not</u> in secondary schools, this population included <u>all</u> adolescents who had terminated their primary education in 1962 and 1963. This population included all second and third year vocational school students, all those who had received only a primary education and had left school two to three years previously, and all 'dropouts' from vocational and secondary schools who had finished their primary education at the same time. The secondary educated group complicated the selection of a homogeneous age group. Since secondary schools offer a five to six year course, occupational decision-making does not become relevant for such students until they have reached at least the fourth or fifth year. The fourth, fifth, and sixth year students, where present, then were the ones chosen, although it was recognized that these age differences might themselves be important variables. Nevertheless, these students were the functionally equivalent population in secondary schools and their selection posed fewer conceptual and operational problems than did any alternative. The overall

Table 5.--Characteristics and numbers of adolescents selected for interviewing.

	Characteristics	Numbers
a.	All students from the community who had finished their primary education in 1960-61, and then in the two final years at secondary school in the centre.[5]	126
b.	All students from the community who had finished their primary education in the years 1960 and 1961, and then at secondary school elsewhere.	29
c.	All students from the community who had finished their primary education in 1962 and 1963, and then in their second and third years at vocational school in the centre.	74
d.	All students from the community, who had finished their primary education in the years 1962 and 1963, and then attending vocational schools elsewhere.	26
e.	All adolescents from the community, then working, who had graduated from primary schools in 1962 and 1963. Includes all those who did not receive any post-primary education and those who had dropped out from postprimary education.	250
	Total number to be interviewed	505

[5]There are four secondary schools in the centre. One is a Catholic diocesan school for boys, St. Patricks; one is a Protestant coeducational school, the Royal School; and there are two Catholic girls' schools, Loreto College, and St. Clares. The last mentioned is a day school, while the other three have boarding facilities. There are approximately 450 pupils in these schools from the community. There is one vocational school in the centre which provided a two to three year course for 165 students from the community. There is one other vocational school within the community at Belturbet, and two other ones just outside its boundaries attract some students from the community.

population selected then, is the one which was then actively engaged in occupational planning, and generally one which had not yet assumed a permanent occupation. Some characteristics of the population interviewed are presented in Table 5.

Unfortunately, this population selected for study excluded a number of adolescents who had left secondary schools between their third and fifth years. However, in the only school where this was a problem, interviews were also conducted with all third-year students. This population also excluded all those school leavers who had already migrated. These numbered an additional 19 in all; i.e., 3.7% of the total population. Despite these drawbacks, however, this population is probably the best compromise available.

Data Gathering: Procedures and Problems

The Primary School Survey

In order to gather information on all ex-students who had left primary schools in the area within the previous five years, a comprehensive survey of over 100 schools was carried out between September and December of 1964. From this data, the boundaries of the community were established, and it was found that 52 schools fell within the community boundaries.

The information required was supplied by the school principal, or was gleaned directly from the school records. The names and addresses of all schools, school managers and school principals in the area were made available by the Department of Education, whose officers gave every assistance

to the survey. Because of this support the assistance of the school managers and principals was greatly facilitated, and access to the school records was ensured. A comprehensive national study of the total school system had just been completed by an O.E.C.D. team working in cooperation with the Department of Education. For this reason, school managers, principals, and teachers were conversant with similar types of research, and this also facilitated access. The cooperation of the local branch of the Irish National Teachers Organization was also obtained, and this proved helpful in some cases. As a result, out of 102 schools visited, only one refused to cooperate and this one fell outside the boundaries of the community as subsequently delineated.

The following information was obtained on all students who had finished their education in these schools in the previous five years.
(1960-1964 inclusive).

a. Name and address of each student, and the name of head of household.

b. Year finished in school, and grade reached.

c. Sex and age of student.

d. Attendance record in school.

e. Results of examinations.

f. Teachers' evaluation of student's ability.

g. Occupation of student's father.

h. Number of other children in the student's family, and their birth order.

i. Subsequent education, if any, the ex-student received after leaving primary school. Occupation, if any, that had been taken up.

j. Residence movements, if any, that had been made.

Additional data were also secured on each school: size of school, distance from Cavan, age of principal teacher, and number of years of teaching experience, etc. Some information was also gathered on the community in which the school was located: number of organizations present, type and quantity of social provisions, etc. Information on the social characteristics of students was obtained primarily from the school records or the school principal. Any additional data required was obtained from school children, such as sibs, friends or neighbours of ex-students. This latter source of information proved important for data on the educational, occupational and residence movements of ex-students, especially where the teacher was not a resident of the area or where he had only recently taken up the post. If the parents were farmers, the size and valuation of the farm was obtained from the records in the county rates office.

Much of the information secured from the primary school records and teachers was subsequently checked against somewhat similar information supplied by the secondary and vocational schools, and information later obtained personally from the respondents. How accurate was this initial information? The last four items in the above list are the important ones here, since the other pieces of information were available from the

school records. Assuming that the information obtained directly from respondents was the most accurate, for the 450 students later interviewed from this community, the following errors occurred in the original data gathered in the primary school survey. The following categories are compared: the occupation of students' fathers, the later education achieved and the occupations subsequently taken up by school leavers.

The number of errors in each case refer to errors in the coding categories. In the case of occupations, this refers to the occupational category. There were a total of nine of these arranged in a ranked order of status, according to the North-Hatt scale. Of the 62 errors here, 26 were within one category of the 'true' one, and 37 were within two categories. Over two-thirds of the errors were made in the farmer or manual categories. Although the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled manual occupations comprised only 29% of the total paternal occupations, 50% of all errors occurred in these categories. Apparently as the social distance of the fathers' occupations declines below that of the teachers own status the chance of error increases. These errors, also, occurred primarily in the larger schools, particularly in schools located in the centre. Mistakes were minimal in the smaller schools, especially if the teacher had been resident or teaching there a long time. Most of the errors were in the conservative direction. For over two-thirds of the total errors, teachers gave occupations which were lower in status than was actually the case. Although the total error proportion

is large for parental occupation, these characteristics of the errors should greatly reduce their total significance.

Table 6.--The accuracy of information supplied by the school principals, or gathered from school records. Number of errors made. An error exists where there is a difference between the report of the teacher and the respondent.

Occupation of father of respondent: No. and proportion of errors.		Education of respondent. 1st year after leaving primary school. No. and proportion of errors.		Occupation of respondent receiving only a primary education, 1st year of work. No. and proportion of errors.	
N	% Total Responses compared	N	% Total Responses compared	N	% Total Responses compared
62	13.8%	25	5.1%	29	6.4%

In regard to educational movement, 60% of the total errors occurred in the number of years of postprimary education received by the respondent , and the remainder in the type of education received. These latter errors occurred almost exclusively among those students who were alleged to have had either a secondary education, or a primary education. Most of these errors were also in the conservative direction; that is, educational levels were given which were lower than was actually the case.

In regard to the occupation of respondents who had not gone on to postprimary schools, 6.4% of total responses were errors. However, of all subjects who had taken a job, 15.7% of these responses were errors. Forty-six percent of these were due to errors in education; 9 being classified as workers who

were actually in school, and 23 working respondents were classified as in school.

The total error level in family size and position of the student in the family cycle reached 10%. There was very little gross error in family cycle, and the major error in family size occurred in underestimating the size.

Overall a gross error of about 10-15% can be expected in the data supplied by teachers. These errors are, however, mainly in the conservative direction, particularly for occupation of father, education of students, and size of family. These errors should act, therefore, to reduce any relationship between occupation of father, size of family, and education of children. If the information had been more accurate, any positive relationship would have been more pronounced. For the 450 community adolescents later interviewed, discrepancies in the information supplied by the teacher were corrected and this should reduce the error level to 10% or lower. However, data on the occupations and residences of ex-students, who have been out of primary school for over one year, is suspect, particularly for the larger schools.

Interviewing Respondents: Procedures and Problems

The instrument was pretested on a similar population in outside areas. It was revised several times, first after 20 interviews in Co. Mayo, and again after interviewing 15 respondents in another part of Co. Cavan with the corrected schedule. Further corrections were then made, and the final form of the schedule was prepared.

The instrument was designed both as an administered questionnaire and as an interviewing schedule. The former was used for those respondents currently in secondary and vocational schools, while other respondents were interviewed in their homes or at their places of employment, if that proved agreeable to the employer. This latter setting was found to be more satisfactory in most cases. This was particularly true for poorer families who did not have a separate living room or sitting room in the house, where the interview could be carried out free from interference. If the interviewer was a female, this did not prove a major problem, because the interview could then be carried out without embarrassment to the respondent, in the open air, if the weather was favourable, or in the interviewer's car if not. In several cases, however, interviewing problems arose because of the interviewing situation. In two cases, a male interviewer attempted to interview a female respondent in a car on the public road. It quickly became obvious that this was a very embarrassing situation for female respondents, and this approach naturally resulted in very poor interviews. In some other cases, other family members were present during the interview. This caused difficulties with questions about parental and family influences, and about respondent's own intentions and attitudes, where these might have diverged from parental expectations. Many of these problems can be avoided by very careful attention to the structure of the interviewing situation: by adjusting the resources of the interviewing team to suit the situation, and by careful

scheduling of interviews to suit weather and light conditions, etc. However, most of these problems could not have been foreseen in the present case.

Locating respondents in the field survey was not very difficult. The name of the head of household and the townland address had been secured from the school records, and 1-inch Townland Index maps were used by the interviewers to locate these. With some experience interviewers could easily locate townlands, and once there, there was usually no difficulty in finding the household since townlands usually contain a small number of households. That this approach was successful is shown by the fact that out of a total of 240 field interviews attempted, it proved impossible to locate four households. In these cases either the family name or address was incorrect. If place of work was known, interviews were attempted there. Usually the proprietors of shops, garages, and other work places were willing to have employees interviewed while at work. Generally this interviewing situation proved satisfactory.

In the early phase of interviewing some problems occurred in gaining access and establishing legitimacy. As the study had the blessing of the Department of Education, this name was used in the first few days of interviewing to help establish the legitimacy of the study. It was also explained that the names of the selected respondents had been obtained from the primary school rolls. This information and the general purposes of the study were always explained first to respondents' parents in order to get their permission to interview.

On the second day of interviewing, this procedure was adopted in one farm household, and the interviewer received the father's permission to interview his son. Since the son was not present, a tentative appointment was made for the following day. On returning for the interview, the prospective respondent was very emphatic in his refusal to cooperate, maintaining that he had no intention of returning to school, despite the wishes of the Department of Education. This misinterpretation was buttressed by the fact that the young man had attended vocational school for only a few weeks, although his parents would have liked him to continue. It soon became apparent also that this respondent had not kept his opinions of the survey to himself, because two neighbouring respondents were equally unwilling to cooperate for somewhat similar reasons. The relationship of the survey to any educational institution was never emphasized in subsequent interviews. Almost all of the direct refusals, and a number of those who could not be contacted even after repeated return visits, (in many cases an indirect refusal), were due to similar misunderstandings of the purposes of the survey, despite the fact that great care was taken to avoid this.

The following table (Table 7) sets out the number of respondents interviewed, and the number of refusals, repeated unsuccessful "callbacks", respondents who were not traceable, etc. Almost 12% of the total 505 were not interviewed for these reasons. However, 110 "extra" interviews were obtained, largely from students present in local secondary and vocational

schools, who were from areas in Co. Cavan just outside the community boundaries. These additional interviews can be used to test hypotheses which are not related to ecological factors.

Table 7.--Number and characteristics of the population interviewed, and of prospective respondents not contacted.

Situation Interviewed	Nos. Interviewed from the community	Nos. not contacted from the community.	Nos. Interviewed from areas outside the community.
Secondary Schools			
St. Patricks College	47	0	20
The Royal School	6	3	2
St. Clares	42	4	6
Loreto College	24	0	19
Other Secondary Schools	19	10	0
Sub-total	138	17	47
Technical Schools			
Cavan Technical School	61	13	3
Belturbet Technical School	10	4	3
Other Technical Schools	10	2	53
Sub-total	81	19	59
Field Survey			
Major Field Survey	206	0	4
Dropouts from Tech. Schools	21	23	0
Sub-total	227	23	4
Total Numbers	446	59	110

Some disturbing ethical problems arose during the course of the interviewing. This was due in most cases to a glaring need for occupational counseling among adolescents. In a number of cases, respondents were highly confused about what they could do, how they would go about obtaining a suitable job, whether or not they should migrate, and what they might expect if they did. It would have been possible, with

some additional work, to help solve some of these problems. Even limited advice could have helped many respondents who were very worried and upset about their future and who were highly uninformed or misinformed about opportunities open to them. But this would, of course, have interfered with the behaviour being observed.

Problems arose also in the case of a number of parents who requested help from the interviewers for their children. In two cases, fathers sought information on what their sons wanted to do, after the interview had been carried out in private with the sons. In both cases sons worked on the home farm with an older brother, so that there was apparently no future in farming for them. In both cases, too, there was obviously no effective communication between father and son, a situation which was not at all unusual. Both fathers appeared to be very concerned with their sons welfare, but they didn't know what their sons wanted to do, or what their interests were. Both felt, however, that they would have to seek work off the farm. This lack of effective communication between parents and children, especially between father and son, as observed by the interviewers, appeared to be very general and was typically accompanied by a deep, but greatly thwarted desire to help their children. It also appeared that parents and adolescents would have generally welcomed counselling. The very narrow limits of the sociologist's responsibilities to his respondents became painfully obvious to several of the interviewers who encountered these family difficulties.

Operationalization of the Study's Major Variables

The Instrument:

The instrument used was designed both as an administered questionnaire and as an interview schedule. Two series of pre-tests were carried out in both modes; first with a sample of 20 respondents from Co. Mayo; and then using the initially revised form, with 15 respondents in another part of Co. Cavan. Extensive revisions were made as a result of the first pretest. Problems of ambiguity, poor phrasing, use of words and phrases too sophisticated for the population being studied, use of symbols which triggered verbal value responses, and sheer length were the major difficulties. Some words (e.g., 'anxious') have clear regional meanings; words like 'exploited' are too sophisticated, especially for the primary educated; a straightforward question on prestige or income level of the family relative to other community families, usually gets a slightly offended and highly unreliable response. The positioning of questions in the schedule also proved to be a problem. In some of the early interviews, highly personal questions were asked too early in the interview, before rapport had been sufficiently established. Unfortunately, this was overcompensated for in the final edition and descriptive type, social background questions took up too much time in the initial questioning. As a result interviewers had some problems in stimulating the interest of the respondents. Questions on personal interests and attitudes should have come earlier in the questioning, and some of the social background questions should have been postponed until the end of the interview.

Information was obtained from the respondents about the following areas, and roughly in the following sequence:

a. General demographic and social background data on the respondent and his family.

b. Occupation and residence of all siblings, uncles, and aunts.

c. Communication, organizational, recreational, etc. behaviour of his family.

d. Feelings of relative deprivation of parents and self in regard to education.

e. Educational role expectations of parents and teachers for the respondent.

f. Educational and occupational roles (if any) of respondent after leaving primary school, up to the time of the interview.

g. Occupational aspirations; beliefs that these can be achieved locally; and parental expectations about respondents' occupations.

h. Migration intentions, and parental expectations about migration.

i. Occupations rejected because of family prestige factors.

j. Occupational values.

k. Level of living aspirations, and beliefs as to whether they can be achieved locally.

l. Income aspirations, and the extent to which it is believed they can be achieved locally.

m. Reasons given for migrating, if thinking of doing so.

n. Attitudes toward the home community's social provisions.

o. Community Satisfaction.

p. Family Obligations of the respondent.

The instrument took approximately one hour to complete. In most cases, the administered form took longer than the

interviewing form, once interviewers had some experience. See Appendix No. 2 for the Questionnaire used.

Procedures for Operationalizing the Major Variables

The questions used here are generally highly structured and, where applicable, scaling techniques were used.

1. Dependent Variable: The Intention to Migrate.

Three fixed-alternative questions were used in the schedule to measure this variable, two of which most respondents were expected to answer. Question 27 (g) or 28 (k), was asked of respondents who were already working.

"Do you think that you will stay permanently (working) at this particular job?" ___Yes ___No ___ Not Sure

If respondent answered "Yes" to this particular question, he was categorized as "not intending to migrate", and was not to answer Questions 35 or 64. If he answered "No" or "Not sure", he was asked to answer both Questions 35 and 64. Question 35, read -- "Do you intend to leave this part of the country to get a job, and live your life elsewhere?"

___Yes ___No ___Not sure

Question 64, read -- "Do you intend to leave this part of the country so that you can get a better income elsewhere?"

___Yes ___No ___Not sure

If respondent answered "No" to both Question 35 and Question 64, he was categorized as "not intending

to migrate." If he answered "Not sure" to Question 35 and Question 64, or "No" to one and "Yes" or "Not sure" to the other, he was categorized as "uncertain whether to go or stay." If he answered "Yes" to both Question 35 and Question 64, or "Not sure" to one and "Yes" to the other, he was categorized as having a "definite intention to migrate."

2. Independent Variables.

(a) Occupational Aspiration Level.

To measure this variable, an earlier self-administered instrument of Sewell and Haller[6] was used, with modifications appropriate for Irish respondents and to suit the interviewing technique. It was comprised of these questions:

Question 29.

a) What jobs (occupations) have you thought of going into?
1. _____ 3. _____
2. _____ 4. _____

b) What job(s) would you really like to get?
1. _____ 3. _____
2. _____ 4. _____

c) What is the first job(s) that you think you will get?
1. _____ 3. _____
2. _____ 4. _____

An external criterion, the North-Hatt Scale, was

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[6]Haller, A.O. and Miller, I.W., The Occupational Aspiration Scale: Theory, Structure, and Correlates. Michigan State University, A.E.S. Tech. Bull. 288, 1963, p. 25.

used to order the occupations in terms of their relative prestige status. The scale is divided into nine ordinal categories of occupations, ranging from Higher Professional to Farm Labourer.[7] Two codes are utilized: 1) the highest status group to which the respondents aspired, and 2) the lowest status group to which he aspired. The former closely conforms to what Kuvlevsky and Bealer[8] call "occupational aspiration"--occupational goals which are desired. The latter closely conforms to what they call "occupational expectations"--the probable occupational position that respondents expect to reach, whether they desire them or not. This latter variable will be the one used in this research.

(b) Occupational Frustration. - This is operationalized in Question 33, which follows soon after Question 29. It reads:

a) "Of the jobs that you have just considered, do you think that you will be able to get any of them in or near your home community?"

___Yes ___No ___Not sure

If the respondent answered "Yes", he was categorized

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[7] See Appendix No. 3 for details of this classification.

[8] Kuvlevsky, W.P., and Bealer, R.C., "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice.'" Rural Sociology: 31:3: pp. 265-276: 1966.

as "not frustrated in occupational aspirations." If he answered "no", the respondent was categorized as "uncertain". Of course, if the respondent was already working and did not intend to leave his job (see under "Intention to Migrate"), he was regarded as not frustrated occupationally.

(c) Income Aspirations. - This is operationalized in Question 61, as follows :

"Now, if you could get a permanent and otherwise suitable job, in a place of your own choosing, how much would the job need to pay per week before you would be satisfied with it?"

( ) 2 to 4 Pounds per week
( ) 5 to 6 Pounds per week
( ) 7 to 8 Pounds per week
( ) 9 to 10 Pounds per week
( ) 11 to 12 Pounds per week
( ) 13 to 14 Pounds per week
( ) 15 to 20 Pounds per week
( ) Over 20 Pounds per week

(d) Income Frustration. - This was operationalized in the following way in Question 62:

a) "Now, for the type of Income that you want to earn, do you think if you stay in or near your home community, that you will be able to earn this income?" ___Yes ___No ___Not sure

The responses were coded in the same way as for occupational frustration.

(e) Community Satisfaction. - This was operationalized by using a considerable modification of the Schulze et al. scale items,[9] and the Vernon Davies scale items.[10] These changes were necessitated by the differences in the cultural environment. Ten items were initially used in the pretests; and since they seemed to be highly relevant, and gave high item variability, they were retained for the final schedule. The ten items are given below.

Question 70:

a. I am looking forward to leaving this community. Strongly Agree ( ), Agree ( ), Undecided ( ), Disagree ( ), Strongly Disagree ( )

b. Any young people worth their salt should leave this community.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND. ( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

c. Not much can be said in favour of this community.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

d. No one seems to care how young people get on in this community.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

e. There is too much bickering among people in this community.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

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[9] Schulze, et al., "The Measurement of Community Satisfaction and the Decision to Migrate." Rural Sociology: 28:3: pp. 279ff.:1963.

[10] Davies, V., "Development of a Scale to Rate Attitudes of Community Satisfaction." Rural Sociology : 10:3:pp.246 255: 1945.

f. This community is not too bad really.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

g. The future of this community looks bright.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

h. The people of this community are very friendly and helpful to one another.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

i. This community is a good place to live in.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

j. I am very eager to spend my life in this community if I can at all.
S.A.( ), A.( ), UND.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

An item analysis of the responses was subsequently carried out on a representative sample of 100 respondents, using the Chi-Square technique developed by Sharp and Ramsey et al.[11] All ten items were found to discriminate between the top and bottom quartiles. Since only nine items were required, the least discriminatory item (item h) was dropped, and the scale was scored from 0 to 9 by dichotomizing the responses. For the first five items of the scale responses of 'Disagree' or 'Strongly Disagree' were each scored as 1; while responses of 'Agree' or 'Strongly Agree' were scored as 1 for the remaining items. Responses of 'Undecided' were coded as 0. In all four of the scales used, it was clearly observed that respondents were not making any

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[11]Sharp, E.E., and Ramsey, C.E., "Criteria of Item Selection in Level of Living Scales." Rural Sociology: 28:2: 1963:pp. 146-164.

comparable meaningful distinction between 'Strongly Agree' and 'Agree', or between 'Strongly Disagree' and 'Disagree'. As a result, no attention was paid to this distinction in the scoring.

(f). Attitudes Toward the Community's Social Provisions or Community Evaluation - This was operationalized by using a scale of similar design which measured satisfaction and dissatisfaction with 10 separate social facilities and institutions in the community. A similar item analysis showed that the ten items all discriminated between the top and bottom quartiles. Since only 9 items were required, the least discriminatory item, (c), was excluded from the scoring. The scoring was similar to the previous scale, except that there were no negative items. The ten items are given below, with the initial reference question which was of a mildly projective type.

Question 66: Some young people from your community have said that they would not live there always, but only in a community which had the following characteristics. How much do you agree with them?

a. Which was nearer to a big town than the one you live in?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

b. Which has better roads than the one you now live in?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

c. Which has better primary schools than the one you now live in?
S.A. ( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

d. Which was nearer to secondary and vocational schools than the one you now live in?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

e. Which allowed me to enjoy my time off much better than in my home community?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

f. Where a person would not have to go so far to enjoy a good dance or a good film?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

g. Where the community has better facilities for games than this one has?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

h. Where people showed more interest in games and organized clubs and teams for young people to play and enjoy themselves?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

i. Where there would be more people to go to films and dances with, and organize games with?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

j. Which is nearer to shops and good shopping facilities than the one you now live in?
S.A.( ), A.( ), U.( ), D.( ), S.D.( ).

(g). Family Obligations of the Respondent. - This was operationalized by using 3 questions in sequence, Questions 71, 72, and 73:

a) (71) "Do you help out your family or some other relation in any way?" ___Yes ___No

If yes, please give details of what you do

_____

_____

b) (72) "Do you think that your family or some relation depend on your help to any extent?" ___Yes ___No

If yes, how much? ( ) A great deal
( ) Somewhat
( ) Undecided
( ) Not very much

c) (73) "Now, if you were to leave your community and home, could somebody else do the work that you are doing for them?"

( ) Yes, very easily
( ) Yes, somewhat so
( ) I don't know
( ) No, not very easily
( ) Not except with difficulties

Respondents were categorized as having:

a) No Work Role Obligation if: 1) They were in boarding school or 2) answered "No" to Question 71; or 3) if answered "Yes", obligations, as detailed, did not require that the respondent remain at home to fulfill them.

b) Very Slight Work Role Obligations: 1) Works evenings at home while doing other work during the day, or at school during the day, and 2) family does not depend "a great deal" or "somewhat" on his help (Question 72), and 3) somebody else could do the work "very easily", "somewhat easily", or "don't know" (Question 73).

c) Medium Work Obligations: 1) Works evenings at home, while doing other work away from home or at school; 2) family do not depend "a great deal" or "somewhat"on his help (Q.72); 3) but could not be replaced "very" or "somewhat easily" (Q.73).

d) High Work Role Obligations: 1) Works full time at home; 2) family depends a "great deal" or "somewhat" (Question 72); and could be

replaced only "with difficulty" or "not very easily." (Question 73).

h. The Social Status or Prestige Level of the Respondents' Families

This variable proved to be a major problem, both conceptually and operationally. The clearest solution would have been to use some type of reputational technique, and to have the respondents' families placed on a relative prestige continuum. But the population was too large, and too widely scattered to allow for any small number of 'judges' to know the population, and thus to do this effectively. Classifying respondents by the occupational status level of their families seemed to be the next best approach and was in fact the approach taken for the non-farm sector of the population.

Occupations were classified into nine groupings on the basis of their type of work and their loadings on the North-Hatt scale. The validity of the North-Hatt scale in this setting was established by having respondents evaluate 51 well known occupations in terms of their local prestige level. By correlating 24 occupations which were common to the North-Hatt and Cavan scales, a Rank Order correlation of .90 was obtained. Furthermore, only 18 out of

the 1480 respondents were incorrectly coded had the Cavan occupational scale been used to order the occupational categories instead of the North-Hatt scale. (See Appendix No. four for the details of this occupational scaling, and comparisons with the North-Hatt scale.) The occupational categories used are as follows, ordered in descending order of status:

1. Higher Professional Workers. This category is as used in Vol. 111, Census of Population of Ireland, 1961, pp. 171-172. Chemists and Pharmacists have been included here, taken from their Lower Professional category, as well as all occupations that require a university degree.

2. Lower Professional Workers. As in Vol. 111, Census of Population of Ireland, op. cit. This category also includes Army Officers, Managers of large concerns, Senior Civil Servants, and local county officials.

3. Employers and Proprietors of Wholesale and Retail Shops, etc.

   As in the Census report quoted, but excludes those occupations elsewhere classified. It also includes all proprietors of Wholesale and Retail concerns, whether employers or not.

4. Farmers.

5. Intermediate Non-Manual Workers. This includes the remainder of the "Salaried Employees" category in the Census classification quoted. It also includes Managers of Small Retail and Wholesale Concerns, taken from the "Employers and Managers" category.

6. Skilled Manual Workers and Foremen. As in the Census report quoted.

7. Service and Sales Workers and Other Non-Manual Workers. This includes the category "Other Non-Manual Workers", and Shop Assistants and Bartenders, from the Intermediate Non-Manual Workers category. It excludes, however, "Maids and other Domestic Servants," and includes these with the Semi-Skilled Manual Workers and Lower Order Service Workers category described below.

8. Semi-Skilled Manual Workers and Lower Order Service Workers. This category includes all those in a similar category in the Census reports, and also includes Maids and other Domestic Service Workers from the "Other Non-Manual Workers" category.

9. Unskilled Manual Workers. Includes all occupations in the same category in the Census

report, as well as those in "Other Agricultural Occupations."

Occupations were coded individually using two columns. The first column represents the major occupational category, while the two columns in combination give the individual occupation. If necessary then, individual occupations can be treated separately in the analysis. See Appendix number three for details of this occupational classification used.

Farmers as an occupational group are far too heterogeneous in terms of social status and its correlates to be treated in this way.[12] It was decided to ignore this dimension of status for this category of respondents, since it could not be equivalently measured. Instead, attention will be focused on the income class or size and valuation of farms.

(i) The Family Income Class

Incomes were reported by non-farm respondents, and estimated for farm respondents from the farm production figures they supplied.

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[12] See Duncan, O.D., and Artis, J.W., Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community. Penn. A.E.S. Bull. 543, Oct. 1951; Vidich, A.J. and Bensman, J., Small Town in Mass Society. Princeton University Press, 1958, Ch. 3.

(Question 16, p. 5 of the schedule, Appendix 2). The income responses and estimates were coded as follows:

Up to £4 per week, or £208 per annum.
From £5-6 per week, or £209 to £312 per annum.
From £7-8 per week, or £313 to £416 per annum.
From £9-10 per week, or £417 to £520 per annum
From £11-12 per week, or £521 to £624 per annum
From £13-14 per week, or £625 to £728 per annum.
From £15-20 per week, or £729 to £1040 per annum.
Over £20 per week, or over £1041 per annum.

Farm production figures were supplied by respondents from farm backgrounds, and production unit 'incomes' were calculated from figures made available for 36 farms in the County.[13] Average 'profits' per unit of livestock and crops were computed for each farm, and summed to get the family farm income, a rough equivalent of nonfarm incomes. The variability of the method was estimated by comparing actual and estimated family farm incomes on these 36 farms. On 17 farms, the estimates and the actual income levels occupied the same code categories, and, in 13 additional cases, the estimates were found to

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[13] From figures kindly supplied by Dr. E A. Attwood of the Rural Economy Division, Agricultural Institute, Sandymount Avenue, Ballsbridge, Dublin.

be within two code categories of the true one. The farms used in the incomes study were very similar to the farms included in this research. Therefore, the income estimates should be approximately correct in over 40 % of the cases, and should be within two levels of the correct income category in over 90% of the cases.

(j) The Cultural Type of the Respondent's Family: Modern or Traditional?[14]

A Sewell type, socio-economic "living room" scale was used in the schedule. Sixteen of the nineteen items used in the scale were recently introduced.[15] During the pretests, it became clear that this might be a useful and easy way to distinguish between families with different cultural orientations. It was found that, if farm families of varying sizes and production levels were ranked on that basis, a comparison with scores on the living room scale showed that some farm families had reversed their positions on both scales. The cultural orientation of the farm decision-maker was the important

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[14] Benvenuti, Farming in Cultural Change, VanGorcum Press Assen N L., 1961.

[15] See Question 12, page 3 of the schedule, Appendix 2

variable. If his orientation was traditional, his living room items would also be of a traditional type. This would lead to a low score on the socio-economic scale used. On the other hand, a smaller farmer of a modernistic orientation would get a much higher score on the same scale. Income level is available for each farmer, and it is a very important determinant of socio-economic scale scores. It is then proposed to analyze the data in such a way that, controlling for income level, the lower tertile of the S.E.S. distributions within each income level should give a good estimate of the cultural orientation of the family.

(k). Birth Order or Position in the Family Cycle.

The position of the respondent in the family cycle was measured by asking respondents to give the number of their older and younger siblings. The responses were coded in the following way.

Position 1 in the family indicates that the respondent is the oldest child in the family.

Position 2 indicates that the respondent is the second child in the family, where the older child is a girl.

Position 3 indicates that the respondent is the second child in the family, where the older child is a boy.

Position 4 indicates all other situations.

The first position indicates a situation in the farm family in which there is the greatest proportion of young unproductive members, and the greatest pressure on family resources.[16] As a result, the family would be more likely to keep this older child at home to help out the parents with the farm and family problems. These persons are likely to get less education, and to exhibit different patterns of mobility than the younger members of the family. Positions two and three will be aggregated in many cases in the analysis.

Other minor variables which are used throughout the analysis are operationally defined in the footnotes or in the appendix.

Statistical Analysis of the Data

Due to the level of measurement established for the independent variables (nominal and ordinal) and for the dependent variable (ordinal in the case of migration plans) it is obvious that an analysis of variance technique cannot be employed, although it would have been theoretically the most appropriate.

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[16] Loomis, C.P., and Beegle, J.A., Rural Social Systems, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, pp. 77-87.

Some analogue to analysis of variance would be desirable which would provide information on the simple effects and interaction effects of the major independent variables. Such an analogue, however, is not available given the level of measurement.

The next most appropriate procedure which yields approximately equivalent information seems to be the use of bivariate and multivariate contingency tables, and this is the procedure employed.

Since we are dealing with a total population, statistical tests of significance are strictly unnecessary. However, as an aid in decision making, where relationships are small and not very consistent, a Chi Square test of significance will be employed.[17] Where the level of significance is more than .05 (i.e. the relationship is not significant) this will be stated for each table in Chapter four. It could be argued that very small relationships existing in the hypothesized direction in the tables (which might lead to the confirmation of the empirical hypothesis) could be accounted for by random factors which change from year to year, and are not due to the effect of the particular independent variable involved. This could hold particularly in the case of the two year age group treated in Chapter four. If one were to imagine this population to be a representative sample of the total five year

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[17] Walker, H.M., and Lev, J., Statistical Inference. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York, 1953, Ch. 4, pp. 81-109.

$$X^2 = \sum_{1}^{k} \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

cohort treated in Chapter three, random factors alone might account for some small relationships found in the hypothesized direction. Where the Chi Square statistic then does not reach a level of significance of .05 or less, it will be taken into consideration in the decision as to whether the trend in the table is clearcut enough to lead to the rejection of the null hypothesis.

The strength of the relationship will be measured by Goodman and Kruskal's Gamma,[18] where the variables are ordinal. In such a cross-classification, Gamma measures the difference in the conditional probabilities of like and unlike order. It tells how much more probable it is to get like than unlike order in the double classification, when two individuals are chosen at random from the population. If there is independence, the order within one classification has no connection with the order of the other. In this case Gamma is 0. If there is high positive association between the two, the order on one classification would generally be the same as that of the other classification, and Gamma in this case approaches plus 1. If there is high counterassociation, the order in one classification, would be directly opposite to that of the other, and in this case Gamma approaches minus 1.

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[18]Goodman, L.A. and Kruskal, W.H., "Measures of Association for Cross Classification," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 49:(1954):pp. 732-764. See Zelditch, M. Jr., A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1959, pp. 180-183, for the computational method.

CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY OF PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS

This chapter explores the relationship between the post-primary educational achievements of adolescents and certain social structural variables. Since the education level achieved by adolescents is thought to be a very important influence on aspirations and migration plans, this account of how educational mobility itself is structured sets the stage for the later analysis of migration planning. Sex, social status, family size, and birth order, and distance from the center, were the major variables proposed as affecting educational mobility. The relationships between these variables are explored in the following sections. Although these relationships were stated in the form of hypotheses in the first chapter, the conventional hypothesis testing style will not be followed here because the purpose of this chapter is descriptive and we are dealing with a total population.

Educational Mobility, Sex and Social Status

Social status refers to the occupational status level of parents, as defined in the previous chapter. Although risking the danger of some confusion, these occupational status groups will, for the sake of clarity and in accordance with

traditional usage, sometimes be referred to as in three main "class" groups: the Middle Class, Farmers, and the Working Class. The Middle Class is composed of professional and semi-professional workers, all employers, proprietors, and managers, and all intermediate non-manual workers. The Working Class includes all the manual occupations: skilled and service workers, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Each of these three categories will sometimes be dichotomized into upper and lower levels. (See Appendix III for details of the occupational coding used.)

As can be clearly seen from Table 1, both the occupational background and sex of adolescents is very closely related to post-primary educational careers. First, educational chances are obviously highly related to sex. Of the females in the cohort, 40.4% go to secondary schools as compared with 33.5% of the males. This difference lies mainly in the proportions of secondary school students from farm backgrounds attending the centre schools as day pupils (18.6% males compared to 27.1% females). Although only 39 more females than males attend secondary schools, 46 more farm females than farm males attend these schools. This difference may be due to the fact that a girls' secondary school in the centre offers a secondary education at lower fees than that available for boys. But since the differences do not hold in the same degree for adolescents from the unskilled worker category where the variable of cost should be of more importance, this is unlikely to be the explanation. On the other hand, it may be that even

where equal facilities exist, farm fathers, or more probably farm mothers, will see to it that their daughters get a better education than their sons.[1] This rationale seems to hold for farm adolescents in vocational schools. In these schools 6.3% more females than males in total attend. Here again the same pattern holds in regard to occupation. The difference occurs completely in the farm category, with other occupational groups generally showing no great sex differences. Indeed the reverse holds in the case of skilled and service occupations, where more males than females attend vocational schools. This sex difference for the farm category, however, does not lie in the centre schools but rather in outlying vocational schools.

It appears then that farm families will generally send more of their daughters on to post primary education, preferably to a secondary education. Where this is not available cheaply, (i.e. as in the outlying areas where only as boarders can secondary education be achieved), they will send the excess of females to vocational schools. This sex selection in educating farm families is probably related to the different work role obligations of farm girls and boys, with more boys having to stay home and work on the farm upon leaving primary school. Of the 104 farm boys and 66 farm girls who

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[1] McNabb, P., in Newman, J. (Rev.) The Limerick Rural Survey 1958-1964, Muintir na Tire Publications, Tipperary, Ireland, 1964, pp. 187, 204, 210.

Table 1.--The educational achievement of all adolescents from the community as related to sex and occupational background. Education received first year after leaving primary school.

Post Primary Education Received, if any.	The Middle Class: Professional & Semiprofessional Workers	The Middle Class: Proprietors, Managers, & Intermediate Non-Manual Workers	Farmers	The Working Class: Skilled Workers	The Working Class: Service Workers	The Working Class: Semi-Skilled Workers	The Working Class: Unskilled Workers
MALES	%*	%*	%*	%*	%*	%*	%*
Secondary	96.6	71.1	26.2	42.4	42.4	22.2	8.9
Vocational	3.4	17.8	24.4	40.7	35.2	31.1	35.1
Primary Only		10.0	46.6	16.9	20.4	46.7	55.2
Total %	100.0%	98.9	99.2	100.0	98.1	100.0	99.3
N	29	90	337	59	54	45	134
FEMALES							
Secondary	97.1	71.4	37.8	32.6	52.3	33.3	10.6
Vocational		15.5	42.7	33.5	27.2	39.4	37.5
Primary Only	2.9	11.9	19.1	25.0	20.5	27.3	50.0
Total %	100.0%	98.8%	99.6%	96.1	100.0	100.0	98.1
N	35	84	351	52	44	33	104

*The percentages given here are computed from the total N given at the bottom of each column but since information on education is not available for each respondent, the missing percentages are those for whom information on education is not available.

received only a primary education, 67% of the boys and only 56% of the girls stayed and worked on the home farm for the first year. Controlling for this opportunity to stay and work on the home farm; of those who did not stay at home on the farm, 78% of the boys and 90.7% of the girls received a post-primary education. Even with these controls, farm females received a better education; although this differential opportunity to stay on the home farm, which favors the farm male, accounts for the major part of the difference in attendance at post primary schools. The difference in percentages between males and females receiving a post primary education is reduced from 27.5% in the total farm youth population to 12.7% for those moving off the farm. McNabb, making a similar observation, theorizes that farm females, having greater difficulty in "establishing" themselves in their home community, are given a better education, in order to better find occupational and marriage opportunities of an acceptable status level in other areas.[2] The results found here, tend to confirm this explanation.

It is also very clear from Table 1 that educational life chances are very closely related to social status. The middle "class" almost exclusively ensure that their children get a post primary education, and almost always a secondary education. If we ignore the farmer category temporarily, and

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[2]McNabb, P., op. cit., pp. 187 and 210.

take the average figures for skilled and service workers, there is a clear linear relationship between the status level of fathers' occupations and (a) the proportion of adolescents getting only a primary education and (b) the proportion of adolescents getting a secondary education. The lower the occupational status of the father the greater the proportion getting only a primary education, and the smaller the proportion getting a secondary education. This relationship is most clear for males, but it is also clearly and consistently present for females if the skilled and service worker categories are aggregated. For vocational schools the picture is not as clear. This seems to be due to the great popularity of this form of education for the sons of skilled and service workers who, in comparison to unskilled workers, are much less content with a primary education for their children. Children in these two upper level manual occupational groups, who do not receive secondary education, are given a vocational education. The difference between semiskilled and unskilled workers is very obvious at the secondary level of education, with only 9-11% of the unskilled workers' children in secondary schools as compared to 22-33% for the semiskilled. However, the population size in the case of semiskilled workers especially is too small to be sure that these percentages are stable.

Because farmers are so heterogeneous in their class and status characteristics they cannot easily be fitted, as a

group, into an occupational status system.[3] If farms are categorized by valuation of farm, however, Table 2 shows clearly that somewhat equivalent distinctions within the farmer category are equally important in influencing the educational chances of farm adolescents.

The pattern is very clear for females: a consistent increase in the proportion attending secondary schools and a consistent decrease in the proportion attending vocational schools is associated with increasing valuation of the family farm. The proportion in secondary school jump from 29.2% for those from farms under 15 pounds valuation, to 73.5% for those from the highest valuation farms. The proportions in vocational schools decreases from 50% to 17.6% respectively for the same valuation categories. The pattern for males is less clear. If the two lowest and two highest valuation categories are aggregated, there is again a clear relationship between educational life chances and the valuation of the farm. The proportion in secondary schools jumps from 19 to 54% and those in vocational schools decrease from 28 to 20% approximately. If the two highest and lowest valuation categories are aggregated, the relationship between valuation of farm and the proportions receiving only a primary education is also very clear for males. The proportion receiving only a primary

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[3] See Duncan, O.D. and Artis, J., Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community. A.E.S. Bull. 543, Penn. 1951; and Vidich and Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society. Princeton University Press, 1958. Hollingshead, also, in Elmtown's Youth, takes note of the same phenomenon in regard to large and small shopkeepers. This probably holds here too, but cannot be controlled for.

Table 2.--The educational achievement of male and female farm adolescents, by valuation of farm.

Post-Primary Education Received, if any.	Under £ 15	£ 15-29	£ 30-44	£ 45 and over
MALES	%	%	%	%
Secondary	21.7	17.4	53.1	55.9
Vocational	24.3	31.3	25.0	14.7
Primary Only	52.2	50.7	21.9	29.4
	98.2	99.4	100.0	100.0
	N=115	N=144	N=32	N=34
FEMALES	%	%	%	%
Secondary	29.2	36.6	46.2	73.5
Vocational	50.0	46.2	30.8	17.6
Primary Only	20.0	17.2	23.1	8.8
	99.2	100.0	100.1	99.9
	N=120	N=145	N=39	N=34

education jumps from approximately 25% to 51% with decreases in farm valuation. For females, however, there is only a slight increase from 17% to 19% with decreases in valuation. Valuation of farms then is closely related only to the type of post-primary education received by females, but it is closely related both to the type of post-primary education received by males, and to the probability of receiving post-primary education of any type.

Both males and females from the highest valuation farms (over 45 pounds) exhibit educational patterns similar to those

from lower middle class backgrounds. On the other hand, males from the smallest farms (under 30 pounds) have educational patterns very similar to those from an unskilled manual background. One difference, however, is that a much larger proportion of manual workers' sons go to vocational school, whereas a larger proportion of farmers' sons go to secondary school. The pattern of educational mobility for females from small farms is very similar to that of females from skilled manual and service occupational backgrounds. Overall however, the poorest farmers are able to give their children a better education than are unskilled and semiskilled manual workers. The better off farmers are able to give their children an approximately equivalent education to that of lower middle class families.

Secondary education then is largely a middle class phenomenon, achieved by adolescents from professional, proprietor, managerial, and all non-manual occupational backgrounds, as well as the majority of those from large farms. Vocational education on the other hand, is a small farm and working class education. Those who receive only a primary education come almost exclusively from a small farm or working class background.

This class selectivity of the two school systems is brought out clearly in Table III. For both sexes, almost 90% of all those who receive only a primary education (and this is only 31% of all adolescents) come from a small farm background or from the working class. A similar situation holds for those receiving a vocational education. On the other hand,

Table 3.--The class characteristics of secondary and vocational school students. Percentage of total students within each school system, from the different occupational categories. (Percentages are computed across the rows)

Educational Level Achieved by Subjects		Class Characteristics of Families: Middle Class (All Professional, proprietorial and Non-Manual Occupations)	Farmers: Large (30 plus)	Farmers: Small (under 30)	Working Class (All manual Occupations)	Total
MALES			*	*		
Secondary		36.8	14.7	20.5	28.0	100.0%
Vocational		8.1	6.4	36.0	49.5	100.0%
Primary Only		3.2	6.3	49.4	41.1	100.0%
Total	%	15.9	9.2	35.8	39.0	99.9%
	N	119	(66)	(337)	(259) 292	
FEMALES						
Secondary		32.6	15.1	30.9	21.4	100.0%
Vocational		5.3	7.5	53.2	34.1	100.1%
Primary Only		6.7	8.2	33.4	51.6	99.9%
Total	%	16.9	10.8	39.1	33.1	99.9%
	N	119	(73)	(351)	(265) 233	

*Since information on valuation is not available for a small proportion of farmers (13/351 females and 12/337 males), the percentages are computed first for the total number of farmers and then this percentage is distributed on the basis of the proportion within each valuation category, for whom such data is available.

of those who receive a secondary education (37% of all adolescents), almost 50% come from the middle class or from the large farms, although these groups comprise only 25% of all adolescents. Besides their purely educational effects, the markedly different class profiles of these two school systems must exert very different socializing influences on their students, both in terms of interaction between students and staff, and in terms of peer group interaction. These influences should have major consequences for the development of aspirations and migration plans.

Post-primary Education and Ecological Factors

There are no school bus services in the community studied. And except for one restricted route, the public transport system is unsuitable as a means of getting to and from school; both in terms of schedules and coverage of services. Only a small proportion of families have cars and almost no family can afford the luxury of sending their children to school by car. Walking and cycling are virtually the universal modes of transport for school going. Consequently, the further away from the centre families live, the more difficult should attendance at post-primary schools in the centre become. Table 4 sets out the relation between distance from the centre and school attendance. Since occupation is so closely related to distance this factor is controlled.

Restricting observation to those attending secondary schools and those receiving only a primary education, it appears that up to four miles, increasing distance from the

centre has little consistent influence on educational achievement, for any occupational group. Indeed for the middle class group as a whole distance seems to have little influence on educational chances at any level. For the professional category distance has no discernible influence, while for the lower middle class group there is a slight tendency for decreasing attendance in secondary schools to be related to increased distance. For the other occupational groups, however, there is a clear decrease in attendance at secondary schools beyond a four mile radius, and there is a corresponding increase in the proportions receiving only a primary education. Beyond this four mile threshold however, there is no further consistent change with increasing distance. A comparison of those who live near the center with those living more than four miles away, on the level of education received by adolescents from farm and working class backgrounds, reveals a drop of approximately 45% in secondary school attendance for those living more than four miles from the centre. Almost the same pattern holds in reverse for those receiving only a primary education. Farm adolescents, living more than four miles from the center, show over a 70% increase over those living nearer in the proportions receiving only a primary education. There is a similar type of increase of over 100% in the proportions receiving only a primary education for the more remote adolescents from skilled and service worker backgrounds. For those from unskilled worker backgrounds, the proportion receiving only a primary education increased by over 50% for the more remote group.

Table 4.--Percentage primary school leavers attending secondary and vocational schools, and the percentage receiving only a primary education, by distance from the centre. Occupational background of subjects controlled.

Education of school leavers by occupation of fathers	Distance of home community from the centre						
	Centre	Up to 2 miles	2-4 miles	4-6 miles	6-8 miles	8-10 miles	10 & over
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(1) Non-Manual Occupations							
Sec. schs.	90.5	100.0	63.6	77.8	66.7	63.6	100.0
Voc. schs.							
- Centre	5.3		21.2	7.4	9.5	2.3	
- Other					9.5	25.0	
Primary only	4.2		15.2	14.8	14.3	9.1	
Total N =	95	10	33	27	21	44	6
(2) Farmers							
Sec. schs.	46.7	50.0	49.5	20.5	38.7	26.3	28.4
Voc. schs.							
- Centre	26.6	28.6	34.7	35.1	19.4	15.0	0.0
- Other			0.8	4.7	6.5	24.3	32.8
Primary only	26.7	21.4	16.9	39.8	35.5	34.4	38.8
Total N =	30	14	118	171	124	160	67
(3) Skilled & Service Workers							
Sec. schs.	52.6	50.0	57.1	25.0	35.0	28.0	11.1
Voc. schs.							
- Centre	35.8	37.5	23.8	32.1	30.0	4.0	
- Other					10.0	40.0	55.6
Primary only	11.6	12.5	19.0	42.9	25.0	28.0	33.3
Total N =	95	8	21	28	20	25	9
(4) Semiskilled & Unskilled Workers							
Sec. schs.	19.1	7.1	21.4	4.1	10.0	13.7	9.1
Voc. schs.							
- Centre	41.5	57.1	40.5	28.6	13.3	2.7	
- Other				14.3	20.0	21.9	
Primary only	39.4	35.7	38.1	53.1	56.7	61.6	90.9
Total N =	94	14	42	49	30	73	11

For those attending vocational schools the picture is less clear, largely because there are vocational schools convenient to students in the outer distance bands. There is one such school located within the 8-10 mile band and two more situated outside the community boundaries are very convenient to many students living over 10 miles from the centre. Despite this, attendance at vocational schools in the centre does not fall off quite as rapidly with distance as does attendance at secondary schools. For unskilled workers the break occurs at about the same point for both secondary and vocational schools. For farmers, however, it occurs at the six mile limit for vocational schools, while for semiskilled and service workers it does not occur until over eight miles. The population sizes in both the manual categories are very small, so that these percentage differences are probably very unstable. Overall, however, the major break for vocational school attendance at the centre occurs at a greater distance from the centre than is the case for secondary school attendance.

Up to four miles from the centre a higher proportion of those from farm, skilled, and service occupational backgrounds attend secondary schools than vocational schools, whereas beyond this point the reverse pattern holds. For the unskilled and semiskilled the relative proportions also change in favor of vocational education with increasing distance from the centre, but not quite so dramatically.

The ecological factor then plays a major role in the distribution of educational opportunities. This finding

should be complemented by an equivalent influence on the distribution of occupational and income opportunities, and this question will be explored in Chapter four.

Post-Primary Education, Birth Order, and Family Size

It was hypothesized that birth order would have an influence on the education received by different family members. This was expected to be especially true for farm males, with those born first having a much lower probability of getting a post-primary education. Is this so? The relationship found between these variables is summarized in Table 5.

As shown in Table 5, the hypothesis clearly does not hold for farm youth. In fact a slightly higher proportion of first-born family members received a post-primary education than those whose birth order was second or later. This holds for both males and females. The same reverse relationship holds even more clearly for the semiskilled and unskilled group. It also holds for females from the skilled and service occupations, and the lower status non-manual occupations.

This finding contradicts the rationale proposed which was based on the findings of Loomis et alia.[4] However, since the probability of falling in the later stages of the family cycle is closely related to the size of the family, and since

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[4]Loomis, C.P., Studies of Rural Social Organization, State College Book Store, East Lansing, Michigan, 1945, pp. 190-199.

Table 5 — Controlling for sex, the proportion of adolescents in occupational classes receiving a post-primary education, by birth order in the family.

Occupation of Father	Birth Order Within the Family					
	Males			Females		
	1st and oldest member of the family	2nd member of the family	3rd and older members of the family	1st and oldest member of the family	2nd member of the family	3rd and older members of the family
	The percentage figures refer to the proportions receiving a post-primary education					
Professionals and Semi-Professionals	100% (3)	100% (7)	100% (18)	100% (4)	100% (9)	95% (20)
Proprietors, Managers, and Int. Non Manual Occupations.	85.7% (21)	90.5% (21)	90.0% (40)	91.7% (24)	87.5% (16)	84.2% (38)
Farmers	51.0% (29)	52.9% (68)	52.0% (173)	85.9% (71)	81.3% (32)	78.6% (196)
Skilled and Service Workers	76.9% (26)	85.7% (28)	79.6% (54)	88.2% (17)	77.8% (18)	70.9% (55)
Semi Skilled and Unskilled Workers.	54.1% (39)	48.3% (29)	43.6% (141)	63.6% (22)	73.7% (19)	50.6% (87)

size of family should also be related to educational chances, the relationships found may be spurious. The following table examines this relationship between family size and educational chances, controlling for occupational background and sex.

Table 6 shows clearly that family size is indeed related to educational chances for adolescents, with those from large families getting a poorer education than those from smaller families. This relationship holds for both males and females and for all occupational groups except professionals and farmers. That there is no relationship between these two variables for professionals was to be expected, but it is not at all clear why it does not hold for farmers. Family size has the greatest effect on the unskilled and semiskilled manual group, where adolescents from the smaller families have a 27% higher probability of getting a post-primary education than those from the largest families.

Now if family size is controlled, what is the relationship between birth order and post-primary education? Table 7 below examines these relationships.

An examination of the table reveals that for the total population the unexpected relationship already found persists only for females. Indeed there is a slight tendency in the hypothesized direction for males from the largest and the smallest families. This relationship is not consistent, however, and the only clearcut relationship persisting for males is between family size and educational chances. For females, the larger the family and the later the birth order the poorer the education received. In this case the effect of birth order becomes more pronounced with increases in family size.

Table 6.--Controlling for sex, the proportions of adolescents in occupational classes receiving a post-primary education, by size of family.

Occupation of father	Family Size					
	Males			Females		
	1 - 3	4 - 6	7 & over	1 - 3	4 - 6	7 & over
	The Percentages Receiving a Post-Primary Education					
Professional & Semi-Professional	100.0% (3)	100.0% (14)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (6)	94.7% (19)	97.0% (8)
Proprietors, Managers, and Int.Non-Manual	95.8% (24)	94.9% (39)	68.5% (19)	94.7% (19)	87.2% (39)	80.0% (20)
Farmers	50.7% (71)	52.5% (138)	56.9% (109)	84.5% (84)	76.1% (142)	85.0% (113)
Skilled & Service	82.6% (23)	87.2% (47)	71.1% (38)	68.4% (19)	85.7% (36)	69.4% (36)
Semi-Skilled & Unskilled	68.7% (32)	44.8% (58)	41.2% (85)	75.0% (20)	59.1% (44)	48.4% (62)

There is a 5% difference in favor of the first over the last child for the smallest family sizes, of 10% for medium sized families, and of 17% for the largest families.

For farmers and for semiskilled and unskilled workers, the two most intriguing occupational groups, the hypotheses holds only for farm males from the smallest families and for both males and females from the largest manual laboring families. However, in all of these cases the percentage differences are not very great and the numbers involved are too small to be even sure of the stability of the percentages. The theoretical hypothesis then is not generally confirmed even in these cases. For all other groups, however, those

Table 7.--The proportions of adolescents receiving a post-primary education, by birth order, and family size: (total population, farmers, and semi-skilled and unskilled workers).

Occupation of Father	Family Size 1 - 3			4 - 6			7 & over		
Total Population	Birth Order 1st	2nd	3rd & over	Birth Order 1st	2nd	3rd & over	Birth Order 1st	2nd	3rd & over
	Percentages Receiving a Post-Primary Education								
Males	66.6% (65)	67.6% (68)	70.0% (20)	71.9% (64)	70.9% (55)	58.6% (162)	51.7% (29)	50.0% (30)	58.2% (205)
Females	79.2% (77)	85.1% (47)	74.2% (31)	83.3% (49)	86.0% (57)	73.3% (180)	88.2% (16)	74.3% (35)	70.9% (191)
Farmers									
Males	46.0% (37)	51.7% (29)	55.6% (9)	52.6% (38)	60.0% (25)	51.7% (89)	80.0% (10)	50.0% (16)	55.8% (86)
Females	85.4% (41)	88.9% (27)	76.5% (17)	87.8% (22)	76.7% (30)	74.4% (90)	100.0% (9)	86.7% (15)	83.1% (89)
Semi-skilled & Unskilled Workers									
Males	75.0% (12)	64.3% (14)	66.7% (6)	85.7% (7)	85.7% (7)	40.0% (45)	30.0% (10)	25.0% (8)	44.8% (67)
Females	69.2% (13)	100.0% (4)	66.7% (3)	86.7% (15)	100% (9)	54.3% (35)	33.3% (3)	50.0% (10)	50.0% (50)

coming first in the family generally received a better education than those coming later. The theoretical hypothesis then is clearly rejected in those cases.

To summarize, family size is definitely related to educational chances for all non-farm adolescents, both males and females. But in regard to birth order in the family, the hypothesis of a positive relationship between being later in the family cycle and receiving a better education, has to be rejected. In fact there is a consistent relationship in the opposite direction for females from all occupational groups. For males there is a less clearcut and much smaller relationship in this same direction for those from smaller families in the unskilled and semiskilled manual categories. The percentage differences for the other occupational groups are small and inconsistent, or the cell populations are too small to be sure of the stability of the percentage figures.

The rationale for the hypothesis was based on work role requirements in the farm family. The oldest male finishes primary school when there is the greatest pressure on family resources, with many younger consumer units in the family and only one older productive unit; in most cases, the father. It was thought that in this situation, there would be a much greater probability of retaining males at home on the farm, or of males from manual families being expected to work, to supplement family incomes. This is patently not the case, however. The reason for this may be located in the fact that family cash incomes are also related to the family cycle.

The income per equivalent adult in the family does not fluctuate very greatly over the life cycle, particularly over the period being focused on here. Total family income increases as the oldest members of the family finish their primary school education, and start working on the farm or for a wage. This trend continues as each of the succeeding children pass through the same stage, until the oldest leaves the family and establishes a separate residence or home of his own. However, expenditures also increase greatly as children enter the adolescent years, so that the adequacy of cash incomes to meet requirements per unit of the family may be static or actually decline. Loomis' summaries of the then literature showed that the adequacy of such cash incomes remained static;[5] But in some later studies income adequacy declined.[6] If either situation held true in this study, and it is very likely that it does, this would explain the findings of little difference by family cycle. It is apparently the adequacy of cash incomes to meet the increasing family needs that is the important variable in educational chances, even on farms, and not the varying work role requirements as originally thought.

However, for those farmers' sons who received only a primary education: of the 29 who were born first in their

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[5]Loomis, op. cit., pp. 193-196.

[6]Blackwell, G.W., "Correlates of Stage of Family Development Among Farm Families on Relief," Rural Sociology: 7:161-174:1942.

respective families, 55% stayed on the home farm. Of the 35 who came second in their respective families, 54% stayed at home. But of the 77 who came third in their respective families, 47% stayed at home. For the largest family size this trend becomes more pronounced. There is then a slightly higher probability that those coming first in the family will stay and work on the home farm. Not only do those coming later in the farm family not get a better education, but they also have a lower probability of inheriting the family farm.

This completes Chapter three. The following Chapter will be concerned with the tests of the hypotheses dealing with migration planning. These will be examined in a more formal manner than was the case in this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS: MIGRATION PLANNING

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present an analysis of the data and to determine the extent to which the results conform to those hypothesized in the first chapter. The hypotheses will be restated here in their operational form giving both the null and alternative forms, and the data pertaining to these will then be presented in contingency tables. Goodman and Kruskal's Gamma[1] is used as a summary measure of association for each contingency table. In the first part of this chapter, the major independent variables employed are evaluated and compared with respect to their ability to predict migration plans, and their additive and interactive effects are analyzed. The second part of the chapter analyzes the way in which the social structural positions of respondents are related to the independent variables employed, and to migration plans. Sex, education and level of aspiration, social class, remoteness of homes from the centre, and the cultural characteristics of respondents' families are the major structural variables used in the analysis.

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[1] Goodman, L.A. and Kruskal, W.H., "Measures of Association for Cross Classification," Journal of the American Statistical Association: 49:1954:pp. 732ff.

Statement and Tests of the Operational Hypotheses

Effects of the Major Independent Variables:

Hypothesis 1

H_o: Differences in plans to migrate will be unrelated to levels of occupational frustration.

H_1: Plans to migrate will be directly related to beliefs that occupational aspirations cannot be achieved locally.

The data bearing on this hypothesis are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.--The relationship between occupational frustration and migration plans.

Plans to Migrate	Levels of Occupational Frustration			
	Not Frustrated	Partly Frustrated	Definitely Frustrated	Total
Definite plan to stay	40.7%	9.7%	6.2%	121
Indefinite whether will stay or leave	40.2%	55.8%	17.7%	209
Definite plan to leave	19.1%	34.5%	76.1%	189
Total %	100%	100%	100%	
Total N	241	165	113	519

Gamma = 0.522

The null hypothesis must be clearly rejected, and since there is a very strong positive correlation between the frustration of occupational aspirations and plans to migrate, the alternative hypothesis is accepted. Over 76% of those who are occupationally frustrated definitely plan to migrate, compared with only 19.1% of those who are not frustrated. Conversely, almost 41% of the latter definitely plan to stay at home, compared with only 6.2% of the former. The order of the relationship also is very consistently reproduced. The Gamma measure indicates the magnitude of the relationship. It indicates that if one were to make a number of random draws from this double classification, picking two individuals on each draw; given the order of the two individuals relative to one another on the occupational frustration classification, the probability of estimating their relative ordering on the migration planning classification is increased by 52.2% over a random guess. That is, the probability of like order on both variables is 52.2%.

Hypothesis 2.

H_o: Differences in plans to migrate will be unrelated to levels of income frustration.

H_1: Plans to migrate will be directly related to beliefs that income aspirations cannot be achieved locally.

Again the null hypothesis must be clearly rejected. There is a very definite tendency for those who are frustrated to plan to migrate and for those not frustrated to plan to stay.

Table 2.--The relationship between income frustration and migration plans.

Plans to Migrate		Levels of Income Frustration			
		Not Frustrated	Partly Frustrated	Definitely Frustrated	Total
Definitely plan to stay		49.1%	11.9%	12.5%	124
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		33.1%	61.6%	29.8%	209
Definite plan to leave		17.8%	26.5%	57.7%	189
Total	%	100%	100%	100%	
	N	163	151	208	522

Gamma = 0.473

Almost 58% of those frustrated in their income aspirations plan to migrate, compared with only 17.8% of those not frustrated. Conversely, 49.1% of the latter plan to remain compared with only 12.5% of the frustrated. The relationship between income frustration and migration plans is almost as strong as that between occupational frustration and migration plans. The smaller Gamma measure here results from the lower extent to which those frustrated or partly frustrated (not sure) definitely plan to migrate, and their slightly higher tendency to plan to stay and to be indefinite in their migration plans. On the other hand, a greater proportion of those who are not frustrated definitely plan to remain than was the case for occupational aspirations.

Hypothesis 3:

H_o: Differences in plans to migrate will be unrelated to levels of Community Satisfaction.

H_1: Plans to migrate will be inversely related to levels of Community Satisfaction.

Here also there is a clear relationship between Community Satisfaction and plans to migrate. The null hypothesis must be rejected and the alternative hypothesis is clearly confirmed. Only 4 to 8% of those with low levels of Community Satisfaction plan to remain in the home community compared with 35 to 42.6% of those with high levels. The overall relationship between Community Satisfaction and plans to migrate, however, is not nearly as great as that between occupational or income frustration and plans to migrate.

Table 3.--The relationship between levels of Community Satisfaction and plans to migrate.

Plans to Migrate	Levels of Community Satisfaction: Lowest Score 0 & 1	2 & 3	4 & 5	6 & 7	Highest Score 8 & 9	Total
Definite plan to stay	4.1%	8.4%	18.6%	35.4%	42.6%	128
Indefinite whether will stay or leave	46.9%	41.1%	41.4%	35.4%	34.3%	203
Definite plans to leave	49.0%	50.5%	40.0%	29.2%	23.1%	191
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Total N	49	95	140	130	108	522

Gamma = -0.355

Hypothesis 4.

H_o: Differences in plans to migrate will be unrelated to levels of family obligation.

H_1: Plans to migrate will be inversely related to levels of family obligation.

Table 4 shows a strong relationship between family obligations and plans to migrate. The null hypothesis must be rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is confirmed. More than one-third (34%-45%) of those with no or very slight obligations, plan to migrate, while only about one-fourth (22%-25%) of those with medium to heavy obligations plan to migrate. However, only about one-sixth of all respondents have such pressing obligations. Even of those that do, a larger proportion plan to migrate than do those who believe that their occupational and income aspirations can be achieved locally, (19.1% and 17.8% respectively). The overall predictability of the family obligation variable therefore, is much lower than is that of occupational and income frustration.

Table 4.--The relationship between family obligations and plans to migrate.

Migration Plans		Levels of Family Obligation				
		None	Very Slight	Medium	High	Total
Definite plan to stay		11.7%	26.5%	34.4%	51.6%	128
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		43.3%	38.8%	40.6%	25.8%	213
Definite plan to leave		45.0%	34.6%	25.0%	22.6%	194
Total	%	100%	99.9%	100%	100%	
	N	180	260	64	31	535

Gamma = -0.281

Hypothesis 5.

H_o: Differences in plans to migrate will be unrelated to levels of Community Evaluation.

H_1: Plans to migrate will be inversely related to levels of Community Evaluation.

The data shown in Table 5 clearly indicates that the null hypothesis cannot be accepted. There is a clear relationship in the predicted direction between attitude toward the community's social provisions and plans to migrate. The relationship, however, is not consistent over all values of the independent variable, so that the overall relationship is not nearly as strong as for the other independent variables.

Table 5.--The relationship between attitudes toward the community's social provisions and plans to migrate.

Plans to Migrate		Attitude towards the Community's Social Provisions					
		Positive				Negative	
		0 & 1	2 & 3	4 & 5	6 & 7	8 & 9	Total
Definite plan to stay		32.1%	27.3%	20.2%	28.2%	20.9%	127
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		46.4%	45.5%	50.0%	34.4%	36.7%	208
Definite plan to leave		21.4%	27.3%	29.8%	37.4%	42.3%	190
Total	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
	N	28	44	94	163	196	526

Gamma = 0.137

Hypothesis 6 deals with the relative predictive efficiency of the five independent variables. The tables already analyzed can be used to test this hypothesis.

H_o: No differences will be found in the strength of the relationships between migration plans and any of the independent variables employed. (Occupational Frustration, Income Frustration, Community Satisfaction, Family Obligations, and Community Evaluation.)

H_1: The strength of the relationships between occupational and income frustration and plans to migrate will be much greater than those between other independent variable used and plans to migrate.

Table 6 below summarizes the preceding results which bear on this hypothesis, and, it also includes the results of another independent test of the hypothesis. The latter test is based on data elicited by means of a series of questions asked of respondents who were either definitely planning to migrate, or who were indefinite about whether they would leave or stay, (in total, 76.2% of all respondents). The questions were phrased as follows:

> "Now supposing that you could get the sort of (1) job (2) income (3) community facilities, that you have just considered (i.e. their aspirations) in or near your home community, would you take it and stay permanently there?"

First, the strength of the relationships between occupational and income frustration and plans to migrate is much greater than that between any of the other independent variables and plans to migrate. In fact, occupational and

income frustration are almost twice as predictive of plan to migrate, as measured by the Gamma statistic. Community satisfaction and family obligations are approximately equally predictive of migration plans, whereas community evaluation is the least important of the variables. The null hypothesis must be clearly rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is confirmed.

The second test of the hypothesis also demonstrates the overall importance of instrumental aspirations in plans to migrate. Of the prospective migrants, 73.0% said they would stay at home if their occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied there. The great majority of potential migrants therefore appear to have reached their decisions on the basis of beliefs about the adequacy of local economic opportunities. They appear to be relatively satisfied with other aspects of the community, or their dissatisfaction with these other aspects would not require their migration. All of this is very clear evidence for the validity of the alternative hypothesis.

Nevertheless, a sizable minority (27.0%) of prospective migrants said that they would not stay or return, even if their occupational and income aspirations could be attained locally. These respondents have aspirations for community social provisions, or for personal relationships in the community which they believe cannot be fulfilled there. For those who said they would return only if their aspirations for community social provisions were satisfied locally, the median score was 8.5 on the scale measuring attitudes toward the

Table 6.--A comparison of the relationships between the independent variables and migration plans, using Gamma as an index of association.

	Occupational Frustration	Income Frustration	Community Satisfaction	Family Obligations	Community Evaluation
Migration Plans	0.522	0.473	-0.355	-0.281	0.137

(2) Proportions of respondents having some intention of migrating, who say they would stay or return if:

	(1) Job Aspired to was available	(2) Income Aspired to was available	(3) Only if both Job and Income were available	(4) Would not return for 1,2,or 3 but only if community provisions were improved	(5) Would not stay or return under any circumstances	Total
N	20	86	178	45	64	393
% Total	5.1%	21.9%	45.3%	11.5%	16.3%	100.1%

community's social provisions.[2] This may be compared with a median score of 7.8 for those who would return if occupational or income aspirations were satisfied. The difference between these two groups was even greater on the Community Satisfaction scale. The median Community Satisfaction score for those saying they would return only if the community's social provisions were adequate was 4.5, compared with a median score of 5.9 for those who would stay or return if income and occupational aspirations alone were satisfied. It is apparent, therefore, that this group has more negative attitudes toward the community's social provisions, and that it is also more alienated from relationships in the community.

In regard to those who said they would not return under any circumstances, there is little difference between them and others in their attitudes toward the community's social provisions. Their level of Community Satisfaction, however, is much lower than that of the majority. They have a median score of 4.6, compared to a median score of 5.9 for those who would return if occupational and/or income aspirations were satisfied.

Neither of these community attitudes, however, distinguishes between those who would return for "community provision" reasons, and those who are so alienated that they would not return for any reason. In fact, those who say they would not

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[2] In the scale measuring attitudes toward the community's social provisions, the higher the score, the more negative the attitude. The Community Satisfaction scale runs in the opposite direction.

return under any conditions have a lower median score (6.7) on the scale measuring attitudes toward the community's social provisions than have any others (i.e. they have a more positive attitude toward the community's social provisions). Apparently this attitude does not play any role in this group's decision to migrate permanently. And there is no difference in the median Community Satisfaction scores between these "permanent" migration planners and those who say they would return if the community's social provisions were improved. Later sections will, however, explore some alternative distinctions between these groups.

Hypothesis 7.

H_o: The relationship between occupational frustration (and income frustration) and plans to migrate will not differ for differing levels of Community Satisfaction.

H_1: The relationship between occupational (and income) frustration and plans to migrate will be smaller at low levels of Community Satisfaction than at higher levels (i.e. those who are highly alienated from the community will plan to migrate whether or not their aspirations are frustrated).

The data required to test the hypothesis are presented in Table 7. Community Satisfaction is trichotomized as follows: Scores 0-3; 4-6; and 7-9.

While the null hypothesis must be clearly rejected, the alternative hypothesis cannot be accepted because the relationships are in a direction opposite to that predicted. There is

in fact, a higher overall relationship between occupational and income frustration and plans to migrate at the lower levels of Community Satisfaction. It should be noted, however, that this stronger relationship is due to the fact that much greater proportions of respondents who are frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations definitely plan to migrate, than do those characterized by any other value of the control variable. On the other hand, if they are not frustrated, far fewer of these relatively alienated respondents have definite plans to stay. If we restrict observation to one category of the table the proportions definitely planning to stay the theoretical hypothesis does receive some support. Far fewer respondents with low levels of Community Satisfaction definitely plan to stay at home than is true for any other level. In addition, whether or not these relatively alienated respondents believe that their occupational or income aspirations can be fulfilled locally, has far less effect on plans to stay than is true for respondents having higher levels of Community Satisfaction. Comparing those whose occupational aspirations are frustrated with those not frustrated, the difference between the percentages planning to stay between each of these groups is 15.5 for those with low levels of Community Satisfaction, 30.4 for those with medium levels of Community Satisfaction, and 44.4 for those with high levels of Community Satisfaction. The trends for income frustration are very similar. Thus, these two instrumental variables make less difference in plans to remain in the home community for persons with low levels of Community Satisfaction than it does for those with higher levels. So in terms of predicting

Table 7.--The relationship between Occupational (and Income) Frustration and plans to migrate by levels of Community Satisfaction.

Plans to Migrate		Community Satisfaction Low Levels 0 to 3			Community Satisfaction Med. Levels 4 to 6			Community Satisfaction High Levels 7 to 9		
		Occup. Frustration			Occup. Frustration			Occup. Frustration		
		Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.
Definite plans to stay		17.8%	2.1%	2.3%	39.1%	8.5%	8.7%	54.4%	22.5%	10%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		64.4%	58.3%	9.1%	43.7%	57.6%	21.7%	27.2%	47.5%	15%
Definite plans to leave		17.8%	39.6%	88.6%	17.2%	33.9%	69.7%	18.4%	30.0%	75%
Total	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.1%	100%	100%	100%
	N	45	48	44	87	59	46	103	40	20
		Gamma = 0.775			Gamma = 0.616			Gamma = 0.579		
Plans to Migrate		Income Frustration Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Income Frustration Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Income Frustration Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.
Definite plans to stay		31.8%	5.0%	3.8%	47.3%	11.9%	13.9%	57.8%	21.7%	30.0%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		50.0%	75.0%	23.8%	29.1%	61.0%	39.2%	27.7%	43.5%	25.0%
Definite plans to leave		18.2%	20.0%	72.5%	23.6%	27.1%	46.8%	14.5%	34.8%	45.0%
Total	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	99.9%	100%	100%	100%
	N	22	40	80	55	59	79	83	46	40
		Gamma = .729			Gamma = .402			Gamma = .445		

who will stay at home, the alternative hypothesis is supported while in terms of the certainty of plans to migrate, the alienation hypothesis is clearly rejected. However, for all values of the independent and dependent variables, variations in occupational and income frustration make a greater difference in migration plans at lower levels of Community Satisfaction than at higher levels.

Hypothesis 8.

H_o: The relationship between levels of occupational (and income) frustration and plans to migrate will not differ for differing levels of Family Obligation.

H_1: The relationship between occupational (and income) frustration and plans to migrate will be smaller for respondents with medium to high levels of Family Obligation than for those with lower levels of obligation.

Table 8 below has been set up to study these partial associations.

The null hypothesis cannot be accepted since there are major differences in the partial relationships between occupational and income frustration and plans to migrate. This is especially true in regard to occupational frustration. However, the alternative hypothesis cannot be accepted here either, since the differences are in a direction opposite to that predicted. This is due to relatively greater polarization in the medium - high obligation part of the tables. In this category, although

Table 8.--The relationship between occupational (and income) frustration and plans to migrate, by levels of family obligation.

Plans to Migrate		Level of Respondents' Family Obligations								
		None			Very Slight			Medium-High		
		Occup. Frustration			Occup. Frustration			Occup. Frustration		
		Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.
Definite plans to stay		19.0%	8.2%	4.4%	43.4%	7.2%	9.8%	60.4%	23.5%	0.0%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		55.2%	54.8%	13.3%	37.2%	59.5%	15.7%	31.3%	53.0%	21.4%
Definite plans to leave		25.9%	37.0%	82.2%	19.4%	33.3%	74.5%	8.3%	23.5%	78.6%
Total	%	100.1%	100%	99.9%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	58	73	45	129	69	51	48	17	14
		Gamma = .502			Gamma = .661			Gamma = .781		
		Income Frustration			Income Frustration			Income Frustration		
Plans to Migrate		Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.
Definite plans to stay		34.5%	6.3%	6.9%	51.8%	12.9%	17.2%	70.3%	26.1%	16.7%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		34.5%	67.2%	24.7%	29.4%	58.1%	25.8%	21.6%	52.2%	33.3%
Definite plans to leave		31.0%	26.6%	68.5%	18.8%	29.0%	57.0%	8.1%	21.7%	50.0%
Total	%	100%	100.1%	100.1%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	29	64	73	85	62	93	37	23	30
		Gamma = .535			Gamma = .513			Gamma = .662		

the proportion definitely planning to stay at home is the largest of all sub groups, those frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations plan to migrate in approximately equal proportions as do those with similar beliefs from lower obligation categories.

It would appear then, that high family obligations do not counteract the effects of beliefs about the fulfillment of aspirations on plans to migrate. However, this drawback is offset by the much smaller proportions of respondents with medium to high family obligations, who believe that their occupational and income aspirations cannot be achieved locally. Over 60% of this group believes that they can fulfill their occupational aspirations locally. The comparative percentages for those with no family obligations are 33% not frustrated in their occupational aspirations and 17.5% not frustrated in their income aspirations.

Looking at the table from the point of view of occupational beliefs, where respondents' aspirations are partly or fully frustrated, the table reveals that increasing family obligations have almost no influence on plans to migrate. On the other hand, if they have fulfilled or believe they can fulfill their occupational aspirations locally, the presence of obligations has a major influence on migration plans; only 19% of those with no obligations are definitely planning to stay, compared with over 60% of those with high obligations.

It appears that obligations operate to retard migration plans only if occupational aspirations can be fulfilled locally.

The variable has no influence on the migration plans of respondents who believe their occupational aspirations cannot be fulfilled locally.

The analysis of income frustration reveals a slightly different pattern. For those who are not frustrated, increasing levels of obligation have effects similar to these of occupational frustration. But for those whose income aspirations are frustrated, increasing levels of obligations do lead to increasing percentages who plan to stay at home, and decreasing percentages who plan to migrate. It is apparent, therefore, that many of those who have high obligations, and who intend to stay at home, have unsatisfied income aspirations. This, of course, may lead to migration at a later date.

Hypothesis 9. This hypothesis assumed the confirmation of hypotheses 7 and 8; namely, (a) that high alienation would lead to plans to migrate whether or not aspirations were thwarted locally, and (b) that major family obligations would lead to plans to stay in the community irrespective of beliefs about the possibility of fulfilling aspirations there. Had these hypotheses been confirmed, and had a large proportion of adolescents either been alienated or had such obligations, then the additive effects of both variables on migration plans would have been substantial. However, given that beliefs about the achievement of aspirations do have major effects in the case of both variables, the predominant influence of instrumental aspirations on migration plans is again demonstrated. Had the hypotheses held up, however, 15.7% of respondents had such major

obligations, and 31.6% were highly alienated. Their additive effects, therefore, would have accounted for the migration plans of approximately 40% of all respondents. Since those who have high obligations are also generally highly attached to their community, very few respondents would fall in both categories.

Summarizing the results up to this point shows that: (1) Beliefs about the fulfillment of occupational and income aspirations locally are the most predictive of all the variables used. (2) Low Community Satisfaction and high family obligations although highly related to migration plans, were not as predictive of migration plans as expected, and did not counteract the effects of beliefs about the fulfillment of aspirations locally. (3) Both alienation and high obligations are highly related to occupational frustration. Those who have high obligations tend either to have current occupations which satisfy them or to believe that they can achieve their aspirations locally (60.8%). Those who are highly alienated tend to be persons who believe that they definitely cannot achieve their occupational aspirations locally. (Only 31.1% of these respondents believe they definitely can achieve their aspirations locally, as compared with 45.6% of the total population.) Hence, the independent variables are highly intercorrelated. Table 9 summarizes these intercorrelations between the variables, using Gamma as an index of association.

This table shows that occupational and income frustration are highly correlated with each other and with most of the other variables except Community Evaluation. If it were

Table 9.--Table of interrelationships among the major independent variables, and the dependent variable. Gamma is used as an index of strength of relationships.

	Income Frustration	Community Satisfaction	Family Obligations	Community Evaluation	Migration plans
Occupational Frustration	.599	-.278	-.459	.062	.522
Income Frustration		-.369	-.241	.157	.473
Community Satisfaction			.237	-.025	-.355
Family Obligations				-.162	-.281
Community Evaluation					.137

possible to use a multiple correlation model, the best choice of variables would be: (1) occupational frustration, (2) income frustration, (3) Community Satisfaction, and (4) Community Evaluation. The Family Obligation variable is much less useful for a number of reasons.

First, the distribution of cases among the values of the variable is such that there are too few cases in the medium - high obligations category; secondly, there is a high intercorrelation between this variable and most of the other independent variables. Although the attitude toward the community's social provisions has a low overall relation to migration plans, it has such low intercorrelations with the other independent variables that it would probably add as much to the explanation of variance as would Community Satisfaction.

An analogue to multiple correlation was, in fact, attempted by multiple cross classification. This used occupational

frustration as a major control variable, and related each of the other independent variables in turn to migration plans. This analysis showed, that although occupational and income frustration were very highly correlated with each other, their joint effects on migration plans were greater than that between any other two variables. This again gives additional support to the major hypothesis.

These "intercorrelations" also provide some indication of the causes of variation in Community Satisfaction scores. Community Satisfaction is not apparently related to the attitude toward the community's social provisions. An important component of the attitude, however, apparently results from an evaluation of the adequacy of the community's economic opportunities. The medium level of association between the variables show that if respondents perceive that their occupational and income aspirations can be fulfilled locally, they will tend to "like" the community better; if not, then they tend to dislike it more. But this relationship may indeed operate in the reverse direction. Respondents first come to dislike the community for a number of reasons unrelated to occupational planning and are consequently biased in their perception of the adequacy of the community's opportunity structure. From the data collected, however, it is not possible to decide between these alternative interpretations.

Structural Factors Influencing Plans to Migrate

The Level of Occupational and Income Aspiration, and Educational Level Achieved:

In this section, an examination of the relationships between structural factors and the major independent and dependent variables will be undertaken. In any strict sense, the level of aspiration cannot be considered a structural variable. However, the high correlation between it and structural factors (social class and education especially) justifies treating it as a structural variable. It is employed as such in the following five hypotheses as the major independent variable.

Hypothesis 10.

H_o: The levels of occupational and income frustration will not vary by levels of occupational and income aspiration.

H_1: The higher the level of occupational and income aspiration, the greater the level of occupational and income frustration.

Both null hypotheses must be rejected, and both alternative hypotheses are supported. The higher the level of aspiration, the greater the tendency to believe that occupational and income aspirations cannot be achieved in the local community. Over 44% of those who aspire to semi-skilled and service occupations believe they can find such employment locally. For those who aspire to professional or semi-professional occupations, however, only 25.9% believe that they can find such employment locally. Almost the same situation obtains in the

case of income aspirations. While over 52% of those aspiring to incomes of 6 pounds or less believe that they can obtain such incomes locally only 22% of those who aspire to incomes of 20 pounds or more believe this to be possible.

Furthermore, it is evident that the beliefs of those who aspire to semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations are much more definite than are those of other groups. This is

Table 10.--The relationship between occupational and income aspiration and the level of frustration of these aspirations.

		Level of Occupational Aspiration				
		Higher and Lower Professional	Intermed. Non-Manual	Skilled	Service	Semi-skilled and Unskilled
Not frustrated		25.9%	31.3%	39.7%	44.0%	44.2%
Partly frustrated		40.7%	43.8%	41.4%	36.9%	14.0%
Frustrated		33.3%	25.0%	19.0%	19.0%	41.9%
Total	%	99.9%	100.1%	100.1%	99.9%	100.1%
	N	54	176	58	84	43
					Gamma = -.123	

Income Frustration		Level of Income Aspiration (Pounds per week)						
		Up to 6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-14	15-20	20 plus
Not frustrated		52.3%	40.3%	30.9%	29.4%	32.6%	21.7%	22.9%
Partly frustrated		23.1%	23.9%	24.2%	33.8%	30.2%	27.0%	31.3%
Frustrated		24.6%	35.8%	45.1%	36.8%	37.2%	51.3%	45.8%
Total	%	100%	100%	100.2%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	65	67	91	68	43	115	48
						Gamma = .202		

understandable since this group is primarily composed of those who have received only a primary education, have been working for a few years, and are relatively more advanced in their occupational decision-making.

Given that the level of aspiration is closely related to beliefs about the local fulfillment of these aspirations, is it also related to migration planning? Hypothesis 11 deals with this question, and Table 11 contains the relevant data.

Hypothesis 11.

H_o: There will be no relationship between the level of occupational and income aspiration and plans to migrate.

H_1: The higher the levels of occupational and income aspiration, the greater the tendency to plan to migrate.

For those who are not currently in full-time permanent occupations, there is no consistent relationship between the level of occupational aspiration and plans to migrate. This is true despite the fact that there is a clear positive relationship between levels of occupational aspiration and occupational frustration. A comparison of Tables 10 and 11 would suggest that this situation obtains because more aspirants to non-manual occupations plan to migrate than are frustrated in their occupational aspirations, and far fewer plan to stay than believe they can achieve their occupational aspirations locally. This is true to a relatively greater extent of those who aspire to manual occupations. At first sight, it would appear that

non occupational reasons per se are most important in the migration plans of persons who aspire to manual, than non-manual occupations, and that this is sufficient to cancel out the influence of the relatively greater occupational frustration of respondents at the non-manual level.

Table 11.--The relationship between occupational and income aspiration and plans to migrate.

Plans to Migrate		Lowest Level of Occupational Aspiration				
		Higher and Lower Professional	Intermed. Non-Manual	Skilled	Service	Semi-skilled and Un-skilled
Definite plans to stay		8.8%	10.7%	24.1%	7.1%	15.2%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		47.4%	44.9%	41.4%	46.4%	30.4%
Definite plans to leave		43.9%	44.4%	34.5%	46.4%	54.3%
Total	%	100%	100%	100%	99.9%	99.9%
	N	57	178	58	84	46
		(X^2 is not significant)			Gamma = .010	

Plans to Migrate		Level of Income Aspiration (Pounds per week)		
		15 and over	9 - 14	up to 8
Definite plans to stay		17.7%	23.7%	32.8%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		42.1%	34.3%	41.8%
Definite plans to leave		40.2%	42.0%	25.4%
Total	%	100%	100%	100%
	N	164	207	134
				Gamma = -.189

It should be remembered, however, that excluded from Tables 10 and 11 are respondents whose occupational aspirations were already satisfied by the time the survey had started. These were respondents who did not intend to change from their current full-time occupations. When these are included, both relationships become highly significant, as is apparent in Table 12.

A comparison of Tables 10 and 12 indicates that the association between level of occupational aspiration and beliefs about the fulfillment of these aspirations in the local community increases from a Gamma of .123 to .404. By comparing Tables 11 and 12, it may be seen that the association between levels of occupational aspirations and migration plans increases from a Gamma relationship of -.010 to a figure of -.140. The Chi Square test of independence also reaches the .05 level of significance. Therefore, if farmers are excluded, there is a definite relationship between the level of occupational aspiration/achievement of respondents and their plans to migrate. Between 17 and 37% of those who aspire to, or have achieved manual occupational levels plan to stay in the local area, compared to only 8 to 10% of those who aspire to non-manual levels. The null hypothesis must be rejected, and the alternative is confirmed.

Of the manual occupational groups, the service category has the lowest percentage who plan to stay. The semi-skilled and unskilled occupational aspirers/achievers are much more definite in their migration plans than are others, so that the

Table 12.--The relationship between the levels of occupational aspiration and current occupational achievement and (1) occupational frustration, and (2) migration plans.

Level of Occupational Achievement or Beliefs about Achievement		Level of Occupational Aspiration or Achievement			Level of Occupational Aspiration or Achievement		
		Professional and Semi-Professional	Farmers	Intermed. Non-Manual	Skilled manual	Service	Semi-skilled and Unskilled
Aspirations not frustrated; plus aspirations already achieved		25.9%	95.6%	32.0%	56.8%	53.5%	56.4%
Aspirations partly frustrated		40.7%	2.2%	43.3%	29.6%	30.7%	10.9%
Aspirations frustrated		33.3%	2.2%	24.7%	13.6%	15.8%	32.7%
Total	%	99.9%	100%	100% -	100%	100% -	100% -
	N	54	45	178	81	101	55
					(Excl. Farmers) Gamma = -.404		
Plans to migrate							
Definite plans to stay		8.8%	88.9%	10.2%	37.0%	17.0%	28.1%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		47.4%	6.7%	44.6%	38.3%	44.0%	29.8%
Definite plans to leave		43.9%	4.4%	45.2%	24.7%	39.0%	42.1%
Total	%	100.1%	99.9%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	57	45	177	81	100	57
					(Excl. Farmers) Gamma = -.140		

proportion of respondents from this category who definitely plan to migrate is higher than was expected. Because of these differences among occupational levels in the 'definiteness' of migration plans, the magnitude of any order statistic (such as Gamma) computed for the table is thereby reduced.

Thirty-six adolescents from the sample selected for study had already migrated by the time interviews had commenced. Since all of these migrants were primary educated, and consequently aspired to occupations which are primarily of a manual or service category their addition to the proportions of manual and service category respondents who plan to migrate would further reduce the already very small relationship between level of aspiration/achievement and migration plans. In this case the null hypothesis could not be as clearly rejected, although there would still be a much greater proportion of the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled manual categories who definitely plan to remain in the home community.

The relationship between occupational aspiration/achievement levels and occupational frustration is more clear-cut. While 53 to 56% of those who have achieved or aspire to manual and service occupations are not frustrated in these aspirations, only 25 to 32% of those aspiring to non-manual occupations are not frustrated. Again, because those who aspire to, or have achieved, semiskilled and unskilled occupations are more definite in their beliefs about the fulfillment of their aspirations, the proportion who are frustrated is higher than was expected. If the 'partly frustrated' and the

'frustrated' categories are aggregated, however, the overall relationship becomes very clear and consistent.

Although there is a very strong relationship between level of occupational aspiration/achievement and occupational frustration this variable has a very low relationship with migration planning. Apparently the additive and interactive effects of other variables on migration planning are sufficiently strong at lower levels of aspiration and achievement as to greatly augment the effects of the lower occupational frustration levels for those values of the contral variable.

Corollary to Hypothesis 10.

H_o: The proportion of respondents who are frustrated in their occupational (and income) aspirations will not vary by levels of education.

H_1: The higher the level of education received, the greater the proportion of respondents who are frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations.

The data pertaining to this hypothesis are presented in Table 13.

The null hypothesis must be clearly rejected in both cases. There are clear positive relationships between educational level achieved and occupational and income frustration. As revealed by the Gamma statistic, the overall relationship is much stronger for occupational frustration than for income frustration. While 64% of the primary educated are not frustrated in their occupational aspirations, this is true of

Table 13.--The relationship between (1) occupational frustration, (2) income frustration, (3) plans to migrate, and educational level achieved.

		Level of Education Achieved		
		Primary only or one year of vocational education	Two to three years of vocational education	Three to five years of secondary education
(1) Occupational Frustration				
Not Frustrated		64.3%	44.2%	32.8%
Partly Frustrated		9.5%	42.9%	42.1%
Frustrated		26.2%	12.8%	25.1%
Total	%	100%	99.9%	100%
	N	168	156	195
			Gamma = .259	
(2) Income Frustration				
Not Frustrated		48.1%	26.5%	18.1%
Partly Frustrated		11.8%	34.7%	41.5%
Frustrated		40.1%	38.8%	40.4%
Total	%	100%	100%	100%
	N	187	147	188
			Gamma = .188	
(3) Migration Plans				
Definite plans to stay		38.2%	21.1%	12.1%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		28.8%	47.2%	44.9%
Definite plans to leave		33.0%	31.7%	42.9%
Total	%	100%	100%	99.9%
	N	191	161	198
			Gamma = .244	

only 32.8% of the secondary educated. And while 48.1% of the primary educated are not frustrated in their income aspirations, this is true of only 18.1% of the secondary educated. The vocationally educated occupy an intermediate position in both cases.

However, because the primary educated are more definite in their beliefs about the possibility of fulfilling their aspirations locally, there is no consistent difference between these educational levels in the proportions frustrated in their aspirations. If the partly frustrated and the frustrated categories are collapsed, however, the trends become very clear, and are in the hypothesized direction. The alternative hypothesis is therefore clearly confirmed in both cases.

Corollary to Hypothesis 11.

H_o: The proportion of respondents planning to migrate will not vary by educational level.

H_1: The higher the level of education received, the greater the proportion of respondents who plan to migrate.

The data relevant to this hypothesis are presented in Table 13. The null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is strongly confirmed. The higher the level of education, the lower the proportion of respondents who plan to remain in the home community, and the higher the proportion who plan to migrate. While over 38% of the primary educated plan to remain in the home community, this is true only of 12.1% of the secondary educated. Again the vocationally educated occupy

an intermediate position here. Because the primary educated are more definite in their migration plans, the corresponding differences in the proportions who plan to migrate are not as great. Thirty three percent of the primary educated plan to migrate, compared to 42.9% of the secondary educated, and only 31.7% of the vocationally educated. However if the two lower categories of the migration variable are collapsed, the overall trends are in the direction predicted.

Because those who are working on the home farm are here included among the primary educated, the relationships between educational level achieved, the frustration of occupational and income aspirations and migration plans, is much greater than was the case with occupational aspiration levels. Since most of these farm employees are not frustrated in their aspirations, and plan to stay in the home community, the overall relationships are strengthened.

Hypothesis 12.

H_o: The strength of the relationship between occupational frustration and migration plans will not vary by level of occupational aspiration (or educational level).

H_i: The higher the level of occupational aspiration (and educational level) the greater the relationship between occupational frustration and migration plans.

Table 14 contains the data bearing on this hypothesis. Since the level of educational achievement and occupational

aspiration are so highly correlated, the former will be used here as the control variable.

The null hypothesis must be clearly rejected, since there are major differences among educational levels in the relationship between occupational frustration and migration plans. However, the alternative hypothesis cannot be accepted because the differences are in a direction opposite to that predicted. Occupational frustration is in fact more predictive of migration plans for the primary educated than for any other level of educational achievement. This, again, is partly the result of the fact that the plans of the primary educated are more definite than are those of any other educational group. Moreover, when the primary educated are not frustrated, they plan to remain in the home community in much greater proportions than do respondents from any other educational group. The respective figures being 57.6% for the primary educated, 33.3% for the vocationally educated, and 20.3% for the secondary educated. But when they are frustrated, the primary educated also plan to migrate in much greater proportions than do respondents with a vocational education, and in slightly lesser proportions than do those with a secondary education. Of those frustrated, if the two lower migration plan categories are collapsed, the respective proportions planning to migrate would be 95.5% of the primary educated, 85% of the vocationally educated and 95.9% of the secondary educated. As can be clearly seen from these figures, and from other results in Table 14, the smallest relationship between occupational frustration and migration occurs for the vocationally educated, and not for the primary educated as predicted.

Table 14.--The relationship between occupational frustration and migration plans, by educational level.

Plans to Migrate		Education Level								
		Primary Educated plus those with 1 year of vocational Education			2-3 years Vocational Education			3-5 years Secondary Education		
		Occup. Frustration			Occup. Frustration			Occup. Frustration		
		Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.
Definite plans to stay		57.4%	6.3%	4.5%	33.3%	10.4%	15%	20.3%	9.8%	4.1%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		28.7%	56.3%	11.4%	42.0%	61.2%	25%	57.8%	51.2%	20.4%
Definite plans to leave		13.9%	37.5%	84.1%	24.6%	28.4%	60.0%	21.9%	39.0%	75.5%
Total	%	100%	100.1%	100%	99.9%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	108	16	44	69	67	20	64	82	49
		Gamma = .856			Gamma = .368			Gamma = .560		

Hypothesis 13.

H_o: The strength of the relationship between income frustration and migration plans will not vary by level of occupational aspiration (or educational level).

H_1: The lower the level of occupational aspiration (or level of education) the greater the relationship between income frustration and migration plans.

The data bearing on this hypothesis are presented in Table 15.

The null hypothesis must be rejected. But the alternative hypothesis is not confirmed since the results are in a direction opposite to that predicted. The overall relationship between the two variables is much stronger in the secondary educated group. If frustrated in their income aspirations, the secondary educated plan to migrate in much greater proportions than do respondents from any other educational group. the respective proportions being 75% for the secondary group, 49% for the vocational, and 46.7% for the primary educated. This greater tendency of the secondary educated to migrate when frustrated, is more than sufficient to counteract the effects of the much smaller proportions who definitely plan to stay if their aspirations can be fulfilled locally. For those whose aspirations are not frustrated, only 35.3% of the secondary educated plan to stay compared to 48.7% of the vocationally educated, and 54.4% of the primary educated.

The results obtained with respect to the effects of occupational and income frustration on migration plans, for

Table 15.--The relationship between income frustration and migration plans, by educational level.

Plans to Migrate		Educational Level Achieved: Primary Educated plus those with 1 year of vocational Education			2-3 years Vocational Education			3-5 years Secondary Education		
		Income Frustration			Income Frustration			Income Frustration		
		Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.
Definite plans to stay		54.4%	40.9%	18.7%	48.7%	11.8%	12.3%	35.3%	3.8%	6.6%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		26.7%	13.6%	34.7%	33.3%	64.7%	38.6%	50.0%	73.1%	18.4%
Definite plans to leave		18.9%	45.5%	46.7%	17.9%	23.5%	49.1%	14.7%	23.1%	75.0%
Total	%	100%	100%	100.1%	99.9%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	90	22	75	39	51	57	34	78	76
		Gamma = .481			Gamma = .275			Gamma = .574		

the different educational levels are, in both cases, directly opposite to those predicted. Occupational frustration is more predictive of migration plans for the primary educated, while income frustration is more predictive of migration plans for the secondary educated. The reasons why these particular correlations are the highest, however, should be taken into consideration.

The relationship between income frustration and migration is greater for the secondary educated, because relatively greater proportions of these respondents plan to migrate if they believe that their income aspirations cannot be fulfilled locally. On the other hand, the relationship between occupational frustration and migration is greater for the primary educated, because relatively greater proportions of these respondents plan to stay if they believe that their occupational aspirations can be fulfilled locally. There are minor differences among educational groups, in the proportions planning to migrate, if occupational aspirations are frustrated. On the other hand, using income frustration as the independent variable, the smallest differences among educational groups occurs in the 'not frustrated' category.

In terms of the marginal distribution of cases among the values of the independent variable,[3] however, some support is given to hypothesis 12. For the secondary educated, of

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[3]Boyle, R.P., "Causal Theory and Statistical Measures of Effect: A Convergence." American Sociological Review: 31: 6:pp. 843-850:1966.

those who plan to migrate or are indefinite in their migration plans 70.3% are frustrated or partly frustrated in their occupational aspirations. The equivalent figures are 57.3% for the vocationally educated, and 55.3% for the primary educated. Therefore, although those who are occupationally frustrated or partly frustrated plan to migrate in approximately equal proportions among all educational levels, a relatively greater proportion of the secondary educated are frustrated or partly frustrated. However, the same situation obtains in the case of income frustration. Not only does the frustration of income aspirations lead to higher rates of migration for the secondary educated, but a relatively greater proportion of this educational group are frustrated or partly frustrated in their income aspirations.

Over all values of the variable, occupational frustration is more predictive of migration plans at the primary level of educational achievement while income frustration is more predictive of migration plans for those with a secondary education. It may be, that these two independent variables are more highly correlated at the higher levels of education than at the lower. If this is so and if the effects of occupational frustration on migration plans are controlled, the additional effects of income frustration on migration plans might be much greater at lower levels of educational achievement than at higher. Table 16 has been set up to determine if this is the case.

The results, are directly opposite to those predicted. Occupational and income frustration are, in fact, more highly

correlated at lower levels of education than at higher. Moreover, when the effects of occupational frustration have been controlled, the additional effects of income frustration on migration plans are greater at higher levels of education, than at lower. For those who are not occupationally frustrated, being frustrated or partly frustrated in income aspirations lead to plans to migrate for 36 to 58.3% of the primary educated. The equivalent figures for the vocationally educated are 75 to 76.5%, and for the secondary educated 81 to 91.6%. Income frustration, therefore, has much greater effects at the vocational and secondary level of education. Contrary to expectations, therefore, the combined effects of occupational and income frustration are much greater at the secondary and vocational level of education than at the primary level.

The intent of hypotheses 12 and 13 was to ascertain whether occupational aspirations played a greater role in migration planning at the higher levels of aspiration. It was thought that social mobility aspirations would play a more important role in this group, whereas purely economic considerations would play a relatively greater role at the lower manual levels of aspiration. Neither of these hypotheses were confirmed. Another test of this rationale can be carried out by examining "conditional migration". Of those who are considering migration, do a greater proportion of the higher occupational aspirers say they would return if suitable jobs were available locally than is true of the low aspirers. And do a greater proportion of those who aspire to lower status occupations say they would return if acceptable incomes were available than is

Table 16.--The relationship between income frustration and migration plans by level of education and occupational frustration.

Income Frustration	Level of Education Received								
	Primary and 1 year Vocational			Vocational 2 - 3 years			Secondary 3 - 5 years		
	Occup. Frustration			Occup. Frustration			Occup. Frustration		
	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.	Not Frust.	Partly Frust.	Frust.
	% Indefinite and Definitely planning to migrate								
Not frustrated	38.9% (72)	80% (5)	100% (4)	50% (28)	62.5% (8)	0.0% (1)	63.1% (22)	50% (8)	75% (4)
Partly frustrated	36.4% (11)	100% (4)	100% (4)	75% (16)	93.5% (31)	100% (3)	91.4% (24)	97.4% (39)	100% (13)
Frustrated	58.3% (24)	100% (7)	94.2% (34)	76.5% (17)	95.5% (22)	87.5% (16)	81.3% (16)	96.6% (29)	96.8% (31)
Total N	107	16	42	61	61	20	62	76	48
Relationship between occup. and income frustration for each educat. level	Gamma = .763			Gamma = .534			Gamma = .472		

true of the higher aspirers? Table 17 has been set up to test this hypothesis. It can also be used to determine whether other factors, not in any way related to either occupational or income aspirations, vary by level of occupational aspiration in their effects on migration planning.

Unfortunately, the question asked respondents to test this hypothesis did not sufficiently distinguish between the status and income aspects of occupational aspiration. However, the table does show some major differences among aspiration levels in the proportions who say that they would return to the community if their occupational and income aspirations could be met there. Whereas, only 64 to 68.6% of those aspiring to non-manual occupations, say they would stay or return for these reasons; from 81 to 86.8% of those planning to migrate from the service, semiskilled and unskilled manual aspiration levels, say they would return under the same conditions. There are also systematic differences among the remainder who refuse to return for occupational or income reasons. The lack of recreational and other modern urban type social amenities in the home community appear to be a more important variable for the high than the low aspirers. From 15 to 16% of those aspiring to non-manual occupations say that they would not return unless besides the ability to fulfill their occupational and income aspirations locally, the community's social provisions were also considerably improved. The corresponding figure for the manual group runs from 2 to 7.7%. What is more important, however, is that a much higher proportion of those who aspire to non-manual occupations (15 to 20.6%), as against those who aspire to manual

Table 17.--Controlling for those considering migration (those who definitely plan to migrate and those who are indefinite whether to go or stay) the relationship between level of occupational aspiration and conditional migration.

Respondents who say they would return if the following were available locally		Level of Occupational Aspiration				
		Higher Prof. Lower Prof.	Intermed. Non-Manual	Skilled Manual	Service	Semi-skilled and un-skilled
Suitable jobs		2.0%	3.9%	7.1%	10.3%	2.6%
Suitable jobs and suitable income		43.1%	37.4%	45.2%	51.3%	57.9%
Suitable income		23.5%	21.9%	28.6%	23.1%	28.9%
Only if community social provisions were improved		15.7%	16.1%	2.4%	7.7%	5.3%
Not return under any condition		15.7%	20.6%	16.7%	7.7%	7.9%
Total	%	100%	99.9%	100%	100.1%	100.6%
	N	51	155	42	78	38

occupations, (7 to 16.7%) say that they would not return to the community under any conditions.

Substituting the level of educational achievement for the level of occupational aspiration as the major control variable, gives even more pronounced results. Whereas, only 11.4% of the primary educated state that they would not return to, or remain in, the home community even if their occupational and income aspirations were satisfied locally, 23.1% of the vocationally educated and 40.7% of the secondary educated made similar statements. The differences among educational groups in the proportions who state that they would not return to the community under any conditions, are almost as great. Here, the

secondary and vocationally educated groups approach each other very closely. (21.5% of the secondary educated, and 16.2% of the vocationally educated). The corresponding figure of 7.6% for the primary educated is much lower.

It is therefore apparent that occupational and income factors are most important in the migration decisions of the primary educated. The perceived inadequacy of the local community's social provisions, on the other hand, is relatively more important in the migration decisions of the secondary educated, and least important in the migration decisions of the primary educated (19.2% of the secondary group, 6.9% of the vocational group, and only 3.8% of the primary group state that they would stay or return only if the community's social provisions were satisfactory).[4] On the other hand, there are very small differences between the secondary and vocational groups in the proportions who state that they would not return under any conditions, whereas very few of the primary educated made such statements.

A summary of the results bearing on hypotheses 12 and 13 reveals that: (1) occupational frustration is most predictive of migration plans at the primary level of education; (2) income frustration is most predictive of migration plans at the secondary level of education; (3) the lowest correlation between

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[4]There is in fact, a stronger relationship between Community Evaluation and migration plans for the secondary educated group, than for any other. Gamma comes to 0.220 for the secondary group, 0.039 for the vocational group, and 0.117 for the primary group.

occupational or income frustration and migration plans occurs for the vocationally educated; (4) both independent variables are most highly correlated with each other at the primary educational level, and least at the secondary level; (5) the greatest joint effects of the two variables on migration plans occur at the secondary educational level.

However, the results of the analysis of "conditional migration" revealed that: (1) if occupational and income aspirations were fulfilled locally, the lower occupational aspirers and the primary educated were much more likely than others to remain in the home community, (2) if in addition to the satisfaction of these, aspirations for the community's social provisions were also satisfied locally, the better educated and those who aspire to higher status occupations are more likely than others to remain, and (3) far greater proportions of the better educated and the high occupational aspirers than of others would not remain in the home community under any conditions.

The results from these two sources seem to contradict one another at many points. It should be remembered, however, that in the former case, we are dealing with correlations between two independent variables, and inferring from correlation to cause. In the latter case, however, we are concerned with the "causes" of migration in a more direct sense. Although the combined effects of occupational and income frustration are more predictive of migration plans at the secondary level of education, nevertheless, far fewer of these than others would remain

at home even if these frustrated aspirations could be satisfied locally. Aspirations for community social provisions, and attitudes toward the local community's social provisions are important here. While there are no significant differences among educational achievement levels in Community Evaluation scores, the effects of negative attitudes toward the community's social provisions are nevertheless much greater at the secondary educational level. This variable, however, explains only part of the variation here. In addition to these effects, there appears to be a complex of aspirations and attitudes highly correlated with high levels of occupational aspiration which are operating here. These can probably be satisfied only be leaving the community to reside in a highly urban environment.

Hypothesis 14.

H_o: The level of respondents' family obligations will not vary by:

(a) Occupational background, whether farm or non-farm.

(b) Sex.

(c) Educational level.

H_1: (a) Farm respondents have higher levels of family obligations than have non-farm.

(b) Farm males have higher obligations than non-farm males or females, or farm females.

(c) Those who are primary educated and presently employed will have the highest levels of obligations; while those in secondary schools will have the lowest levels.

The data classified in Table 18 may be used to test this hypothesis.

Table 18.--The relationship between levels of family obligations and (1) occupation of father, (2) sex of respondent, and (3) educational level of respondent.

A. Occupation of Father and Sex of Respondent	Level of Respondents' Work Role Obligations					
	None	Light	Medium	Heavy	Total	
	% Computed by Row				%	N
1. All Non-Manual Occupations						
Males	52.3%	34.1%	11.4%	2.3%	100.1%	44
Females	53.1%	42.2%	4.7%	0.0%	100%	64
2. Farmers						
Males	27.1%	45.2%	15.5%	12.3%	100.1%	155
Females	26.8%	58.0%	7.1%	8.0%	99.9%	112
3. All Manual Occupations						
Males	28.9%	55.4%	14.5%	1.2%	100%	83
Females	34.2%	49.4%	15.2%	1.3%	100.1%	79
B. Education of Respondents						
Primary educated and working	10.8%	51.3%	20.9%	16.9%	99.9%	148
Vocational educated mostly not working	27.3%	59.1%	12.3%	1.3%	100%	154
Secondary educated and not working	59.6%	33.7%	6.2%	0.5%	100%	193

The null hypothesis must be clearly rejected in each case, and the alternative hypotheses are supported. Farm youth have by far the highest levels of obligation. Over 10% of farm youth have high obligations, while less than 2% of manual respondents have such obligations. These occupational differences are particularly evident for males. Farm males have much higher levels of obligation than any others, with over 27% having medium to high levels of obligations, as compared to 15% for farm

females. Only 15.7% of males and 16.5% females from manual backgrounds have such obligations. While less than 5% of the females from non-manual backgrounds have such obligations, 13.7% of the males do. Females from non-manual backgrounds, therefore, have the lowest levels of obligations of all respondents, male or female. Farm females, however, do not differ greatly from females from manual backgrounds, in their levels of obligation. Farm males, however, have by far the highest levels of obligation of all respondents, male or female.

The primary educated, and those presently employed, have the highest levels of obligation. Almost 38% of the primary educated, as compared to 13.6% of the vocationally educated, and only 6.7% of the secondary educated have medium to high obligations. The alternative hypothesis is, therefore, borne out in every detail.

Among the primary educated, and those from farm backgrounds, high family obligations are most typical of those presently employed on the home farm. Of those 60.6% have medium to high obligations. This percentage may be compared to the 24.3% of those working in manual occupations who have such obligations. All of the alternative hypotheses can therefore clearly be confirmed.

Obligations act as a strong deterent in migration decisions. They are disproportionately distributed among educational levels, and between farm and nonfarm respondents. The previous sections, dealing with hypothesis 12 and 13, showed that if the primary educated believe that their occupational aspirations

can be fulfilled locally, a far greater proportion plan to remain than is true of any other educational group. Their higher level of obligations is the important factor in explaining this phenomenon.

The Sex, Education, and Occupational Background of Respondents and Factors Influencing Migration Plans

One of the few consistent findings on rural-urban migration differentials is that migration is highly selective by sex. Whether this is so here and why it should be so, are questions explored in hypotheses 15-18.

Hypotheses 15-18.

H_o: There will be no differences between farm males and females, or non-farm males and females in the proportions who: (a) plan to migrate; (b) are frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations; (c) have low levels of Community Evaluation; and (d) have low levels of Community Satisfaction.

H_1: (1) A greater proportion of farm females than farm males will (a) plan to migrate; (b) feel frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations; (c) have lower levels of Community Evaluation; and (d) have lower levels of Community Satisfaction. (2) There will be no consistent differences between the sexes from non-farm occupational backgrounds on all of these variables.

The results pertaining to these hypotheses are presented in Table 19.

A comparison of males and females in the total population reveals that 15% more females are definitely planning to migrate or are seriously considering migration. Is this general throughout all occupational groups or as predicted, do those from a farm background account for most of this difference?

The results presented in Table 19 reveal that the farm category does, in fact, account for most of the difference. But there are also consistent sex differences in plans to migrate among adolescents from skilled manual and service occupational backgrounds, although the X^2 statistic computed for the latter category does not reach the .05 level of statistical significance. Nevertheless, 13% more males than females plan to stay, and almost 14% more females than males plan to migrate. In the case of farm adolescents, the sex differences are highly significant. Almost 20% more farm males than females plan to stay, whereas 7.5% more females are considering migration but are indefinite in their plans; and 12.5% more females definitely plan to migrate. Moreover, there are nearly four times as many farm youth as those from skilled and service backgrounds. Therefore, the farm category would account for the major part of the sex difference in the population. There are differences also in the semiskilled and unskilled worker category, but these are not consistent over all values of the migration variable. The smallest sex differences appear for the non-manual category.

Generally, the null hypothesis must be rejected and the alternative hypothesis is confirmed. The major part of the sex

Table 19.--The relationship between sex, and father's occupation, and (1) migration plans, (2) occupational frustration, (3) income frustration, (4) attitude toward the community's social provisions, and (5) community satisfaction.

Plans to Migrate and Sex		Occupation of Father							
		Non-Manual Occupations		Farmers		Skilled and Service Occupations		Semi-skilled and Unskilled Occupations	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Definite plans to stay		13.3%	10.9%	39.7%	19.8%	24.3%	11.4%	24.0%	17.0%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		35.6%	51.6%	36.5%	44.0%	37.8%	37.1%	26.0%	48.9%
Definite plans to leave		51.1%	37.5%	23.7%	36.2%	37.8%	51.4%	50.0%	34.0%
Total	%	100%	100%	99.9%	100%	99.9%	99.9%	100%	99.9%
	N	45	64	156	116	37	35	50	47
		X^2 = 2.75 (n.s.)				X^2= 4.66 (n.s.)		X^2= 5.47 (n.s.)	
Occupational Frustration									
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Not frustrated		32.6%	35.5%	57.9%	43.6%	58.3%	42.9%	53.1%	33.3%
Partly frustrated		32.6%	43.5%	29.3%	38.2%	19.4%	22.9%	18.4%	37.8%
Frustrated		34.9%	21.0%	12.9%	18.2%	22.2%	34.3%	28.6%	28.9%
Total	%	100.1%	100%	100.1%	100%	99.9%	100.1%	100.1%	100%
	N	43	62	140	110	36	35	49	45
		X^2= 2.60 (n.s.)		X^2= 5.2 (n.s.)		X^2= 1.9 (n.s.)		X^2= 5.4 (n.s.)	
Income Frustration									
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Not frustrated		20.5%	26.2%	43.3%	23.0%	31.4%	28.6%	29.8%	20.0%
Partly frustrated		34.1%	39.3%	22.7%	31.8%	34.3%	22.9%	19.1%	33.3%
Frustrated		45.5%	34.4%	34.0%	45.2%	34.3%	48.6%	51.1%	46.7%
Total	%	100.1%	99.9%	100%	100%	100%	100.1%	100%	100%
	N	44	61	150	107	35	35	47	45
		X^2=0.30 (n.s.)				X^2= 1.70 (n.s.)		X^2= 2.25 (n.s.)	

Table 19.--Continued

Community Evaluation		Occupation of Father							
		Non-Manual		Farmers		Skilled and Service Occupations		Semi-skilled and Unskilled Occupations	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Negative (7 - 9)		54.5%	66.7%	53.9%	51.9%	70.3%	38.2%	65.2%	48.9%
Moderate (4 - 6)		31.8%	22.2%	30.9%	35.8%	27.0%	35.3%	28.3%	28.9%
Positive (0 - 3)		13.6%	11.1%	15.1%	12.3%	2.7%	26.5%	6.5%	22.2%
Total	%	99.9%	100%	99.9%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	44	63	152	106	37	34	46	45
		X^2=1.667 (n.s.)		X^2= .88 (n.s.)					
Community Satisfaction									
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Alienated (0 - 3)		31.1%	23.8%	20.7%	29.4%	34.3%	32.4%	31.9%	34.1%
Moderate (4 - 6)		33.3%	38.1%	34.7%	44.0%	40.0%	35.3%	44.7%	41.5%
Positive (7 - 9)		35.6%	38.1%	44.7%	26.6%	25.7%	32.4%	23.4%	24.4%
Total	%	100%	100%	100.1%	100%	100%	100.1%	100%	100%
	N	45	63	150	109	35	34	47	41
		X^2= .75 (n.s.)				X^2= .38 (n.s.)		X^2 (n.s.)	

differences in migration plans is accounted for by the farm category. There are small or no consistent differences among other occupational categories in this respect.

Approximately the same pattern is repeated for occupational frustration. Almost 14% more males than females are not occupationally frustrated, whereas 11% more females than males are partly frustrated, and another 3% more females are frustrated. Are these sex differences general throughout all occupational groups, or do those from a farm background again account for most of this difference?

The same general trends apparent in migration planning occur here. The only occupational categories within which consistent sex differences appear are the farm and skilled manual and service categories. However, the sex differences among these are not as great as they were for migration plans, and the X^2 statistic does not reach the .05 level of significance for either of these categories. However, since the sex difference for these two categories are so consistent over all values of the frustration variable the null hypothesis can be rejected. Over 14% more farm males than females are not occupationally frustrated, whereas 9% more farm females than males are partly frustrated, and a further 5.3% more females are frustrated.

The trends for those respondents from skilled and service occupational backgrounds are similar. Over 15% more males than females are not frustrated, whereas 3.5% more females than males are partly frustrated, and 13.1% more females are

frustrated. Sex differences for the semi-skilled and unskilled occupational category are large, but they are not consistent over all values of the frustration variable. Minimal sex differences appear in the non-manual group.

Only the first part of the alternative hypothesis is therefore supported. The major sex difference in occupational frustration, which accounts for the greater part of the total population sex differential does occur in the farm category. However, consistent sex differences also occur for the skilled and service categories.

The overall pattern of sex differences is much clearer for income frustration. In the total population, 9.7% more males than females are not frustrated, whereas 7% more females than males are partly frustrated, and 2.5% more females than males have income aspirations which are frustrated. Except for the farm category, however, the probabilities associated with the X^2 computed for these partial tables are so small, that random variation could easily account for these differences. There are no significant sex differences, therefore, except among the farm group. For the farm category, 15.3% more males than females are not frustrated in income aspirations, 9.1% more females than males are partly frustrated, and 6.2% more females are frustrated. The null hypothesis must be clearly rejected for the farm group. Both parts of the alternative hypothesis are therefore supported. The major sex difference in income frustration is accounted for by the farm category. There are no consistent differences among other occupational groups.

Only in the case of respondents attitudes toward the community's social provisions (Community Evaluation) is the previous pattern disrupted. Here, surprisingly, the relative position of males and females is reversed. Males in general have more negative attitudes toward the community's social provisions. Almost 5% more have highly negative attitudes, and 4% fewer have highly positive attitudes. The breakdown by occupational groups reveals that the manual worker categories account for these sex differences. No consistent differences occur among farm or non-manual groups. In fact, among all of the variables studied the largest sex differences are found in these two groups on this variable. Over 32% more males than females from skilled and service occupational backgrounds have highly negative attitudes, while 8.3% more females than males have moderate attitudes, and almost 24% more females have positive attitudes. The sex differences for the semi-skilled and unskilled are similar: 16.3% more males than females have negative attitudes, and 15.7% more females than males have positive attitudes. It should also be noted that males from these manual occupational groups generally tend to have more negative attitudes toward the community's social provisions than do farm or non-manual males. On the other hand, females from these manual groups tend to have more positive attitudes toward these provisions than do females from any other group. Although the null hypothesis must be clearly rejected in this case, the alternative hypothesis is not confirmed. The major sex differences do not occur for the farm group.

Somewhat the same pattern occurs in the case of Community Satisfaction. Males have more negative attitudes than females. In total, 7.2% more males than females are alienated, whereas 4.1% more females have moderate scores, and 3.1% more females than males have positive scores. An examination of the remainder of the table shows, however, that these sex differentials occur primarily for those with farm backgrounds, as was predicted. There are no significant differences among other occupational groups. Almost 9% more farm females than males are highly alienated from their communities, and a further 9.7% more females than males have moderate scores. On the other hand, over 18.1% more farm males than females have high attachment scores. There are some small, but consistent sex differences among those from non-manual occupations and skilled and service occupations, but they are in the opposite direction. More males are highly alienated, and more females have high attachment scores. These sex differences, however, are not very great. What is worthy of note, however, is that except for farm males, both males and females from non-manual backgrounds tend to be more satisfied with their community relationships than do respondents from any other group. Their relatively more advantaged position in the community class and status structure, with all its concomitants, appears to be expressed here in their greatly superior subjective evaluation of the community's satisfactoriness. Farm females, and both sexes of the manual categories, are similar in their less sanguine attitudes toward the community. Overall, however, the major deviant category in the whole table, is that of farm males.

Their relatively greater satisfaction with the community probably springs from being ascribed to more advantaged occupational roles in the farm family, and to their, oft remarked, more traditional values.

Hypotheses 19, 20, 21.

Since each of these hypotheses contains two different assertions about migration and the frustration of aspirations, they will be treated separately.

(a) H_o: Differences between males and females in plans to migrate will be unrelated to educational level achieved.

H_1: (a) Secondary educated males and females will plan to migrate in approximately equal proportions.

(b) Primary and vocationally educated females will plan to migrate in greater proportions than will males from similar educational backgrounds.

(c) For all primary educated respondents who seek off-farm occupations, proportionately more males than females will plan to migrate.

(b) H_o: Difference between males and females in the proportions frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations will be unrelated to educational level achieved.

H_1: (a) Secondary educated mal es and females will be frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations in approximately equal proportions.

(b) Vocationally educated females will be frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations in

greater proportions than will similarly educated males.

(c) For all primary educated respondents who seek off-farm employment, more males than females will be frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations.

Tables 20 and 21 contain the data pertinent to these hypotheses.

Of all educational levels, the secondary educated display the least sex differences in migration plans. Only with respect to the certainty of plans do any major differences exist: males being far more definite in their plans. However, because there is such a high probability that these differences could have occurred by chance alone, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. Since this was the trend predicted, the original rationale is upheld.

In regard to the vocationally educated, 22.1% more males than females have definite plans to remain in the home community. Here again, males are far more definite in their plans than females. Consequently, there is little difference between the sexes in those definitely planning to migrate. However, if the two lower migration plan cells are combined far more females than males are considering migration, or are definitely planning to migrate. Therefore, the null hypothesis must be rejected and the alternative hypothesis is confirmed.

15% more primary educated females than males definitely plan to migrate, and 9.1% more males plan to remain in the home community. It must be remembered, however, that far more primary educated males than females enjoy ascribed occupational

Table 20.--The relationship between sex and level of education and (1) plans to migrate, (2) occupational frustration, and (3) income frustration.

1. Plans to Migrate	Education of Respondents					
	Primary Educated only		Vocational Educated		Secondary Educated	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Definite plans to stay	41.5%	32.4%	32.1%	10.0%	14.3%	10.5%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave	30.9%	25.0%	37.0%	57.5%	33.1%	50.0%
Definite plans to leave	27.6%	42.6%	30.9%	32.5%	47.6%	39.5%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	123	68	81	80	84	114
	X^2= 4.46 (n.s.)				X^2= 2.67 (n.s.	
	P > .75 < .90				P > .50 < .75	

2. Occupational Frustration							
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Not frustrated	68.9%	56.5%	54.4%	34.6%	31.3%	33.9%
Partly frustrated	10.4%	8.1%	32.9%	52.6%	41.0%	42.9%
Frustrated	20.8%	35.5%	12.7%	12.8%	27.7%	23.2%
Total %	100.1%	100.1%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total N	106	62	79	78	83	112
	X^2= 4.40 (n.s.)				X^2= .52 (n.s.	
	P > .75 < .90				P > .10 < .25	

3. Income Frustration							
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Not frustrated	49.6%	45.5%	32.9%	20.0%	18.3%	13.7%
Partly frustrated	14.0%	7.6%	27.4%	41.3%	40.2%	42.1%
Frustrated	36.4%	47.0%	39.7%	38.7%	41.5%	39.3%
Total %	100%	100.1%	100%	100%	100%	100.1%
Total N	121	66	73	75	82	107
	X^2= 2.86 (n.s.)		X^2= 4.44 (n.s.)		X^2= .09 (n.s.	
	P > .75 < .90		P > .75 < .90			

roles within the farm family system. For those seeking off-farm occupational opportunities, however, the situation is different, as is indicated by Table 21. The Chi Square analysis indicates that the probability of getting results as extreme as those in the table by chance alone is so great that the null hypothesis

Table 21.--The relationship between type of work of respondents, and (1) occupational frustration, (2) income frustration, and (3) plans to migrate, by sex of respondent.

		Occupation of respondents			
		Working on the home farm		Others now working	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
(1) Migration Planning					
Definite plan to stay		54.2%	42.9%	35.7%	27.5%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		35.4%	28.6%	25.7%	25.5%
Definite plans to leave		10.4%	28.6%	38.6%	47.1%
Total	%	100%	100.1%	100%	100.1%
	N	48	14	70	51
				$X^2 = 1.10$	
				$P > .25 < .50$	
(2) Occupational Frustration					
Not frustrated		82.4%	63.6%	61.4%	54.9%
Partly frustrated		8.8%	9.1%	11.4%	7.8%
Frustrated		8.8%	27.3%	27.1%	37.3%
Total	%	100%	100.0%	99.9%	100%
	N	34	11	70	51
				$X^2 = 1.54$	
				$P > .50 < .75$	
(3) Income Frustration					
Not frustrated		59.6%	38.5%	44.9%	44.9%
Partly frustrated		12.8%	23.1%	15.9%	4.1%
Frustrated		27.7%	38.5%	39.1%	51.0%
Total	%	100.1%	100.1%	99.9%	100%
	N	47	13	69	49
				$X^2 = 4.58$	
				$P < .90$	

cannot be rejected. There are no significant overall sex differences in the migration plans of primary educated farm adolescents who work off the home farm.

The very limited occupational opportunities for females in farm areas is clearly demonstrated by the results in Table 21. Only 14 farm females out of the total of 117 were working on the home farm or in the farm household, at the time of the survey. And only 6 of these planned to remain there. On the other hand, out of the two year cohort of 160 farm males, 48 were then working on the home farm; but only 26 to 30 of these planned to remain there. Although this is much higher than the female total, it represents no more than 16 to 19% of the total farm male cohort.

In summary, the major sex differentials in migration plans, as indicated by the results in Tables 19, 20, and 21, occur among those from farm backgrounds who have received only a primary education or some additional vocational education. Not only do farm males stay on the home farm in much greater proportions than females, but even when they seek work off the farm, they plan to remain in the home community in greater proportions than do farm females. This appears to be particularly true for those who attend vocational schools.

The same trend recurs in the case of occupational and income frustration. There are no significant sex differences for the secondary educated. The only groups within which clear and consistent sex differences appear are the primary and vocationally educated. However, the probability associated

with these differents does not reach the .05 level of significance. Since we are dealing with a population, and the probability is less than 0.25 that these differences could occur by chance, the null hypothesis can be safely rejected in these cases. More vocationally educated females than males are frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations. Almost 20% fewer females than males are not frustrated in their occupational aspirations, and 12.9% fewer females than males are not frustrated in their income aspirations. The alternative hypotheses are clearly confirmed in these cases.

Considerably more primary educated females than males are frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations. However, as the results in Table 21 indicate, for those seeking off farm employment the differences between males and females who have received only a primary education are considerably reduced, although not eliminated. Higher proportions of females than males are frustrated, and slightly lower proportions of females are not frustrated. In this latter case then the alternative hypothesis is not confirmed.

The major sex differences in occupational and income frustration occur therefore in two educational groups. Among the primary educated it occurs in two major occupational groups. First among the farm employed, because of the relatively greater proportions of farm males than females who have ascribed occupational roles within the farm family. And secondly for those employed off the farm, because of the apparently greater opportunities for males locally. It also occurs among the vocationally educated where males have much better chances of finding acceptable jobs than have females.

Hypothesis 22

H_o: For females, differences in plans to migrate are unrelated to educational level.

H_1: The proportion of females planning to migrate, will be greatest among the secondary educated, less amongst the vocationally educated, and least amongst the primary educated.

The null hypothesis must be rejected, as the results in Table 20 show major differences among educational groups in the migration plans of females. As compared to the secondary educated, almost three times as many primary educated females plan to remain in the home community (32.4% compared to 10.5%). However, because primary educated females are far more definite in their migration plans than others, slightly more of them plan to migrate than others. If the two lower migration plan categories are collapsed, however, the trends become very clear. From 25 to 32% more females who have received a secondary or vocational education plan to migrate, or are indefinite whether to remain or migrate, than are females who have received a primary education.

Although the null hypothesis is clearly rejected, the alternative hypothesis is not fully confirmed. There are no major differences in the migration plans of the secondary and vocationally educated females, although the primary educated do plan to remain in the home community to a significantly greater extent than others.

Table 20 also shows that an almost identical pattern holds in the case of occupational and income frustration. There are minimal differences among the secondary and vocationally

educated, while the primary educated believe that they can fulfill their aspirations locally to a significantly greater extent than others.

Hypothesis 23.

Since the theoretical hypothesis contains two different assertions they will be stated here in separate hypotheses.

H_o: For males, differences in plans to migrate are unrelated to educational level.

H_1: (a) The proportion of males planning to migrate will be greatest among those who have received a secondary education, less among those who have received a vocational education, and least among those who have received a primary education.

As the results in Table 20 indicate, the null hypothesis is clearly rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is clearly and consistently confirmed. Eighteen percent more vocational than secondary educated males definitely plan to remain in the home community, while 9.4% more primary than vocational educated males definitely plan to remain. This trend is clearly and consistently reversed in the case of those who are not definite whether to go or stay, and amongst those who are definitely planning to migrate.

However, if we partial out from the primary educated males, those who have ascribed occupational roles on the home farm, do the same trends appear? The following hypothesis deals with this question.

H_1: (b) Males who have received only a primary education, and who have to seek off-farm employment,

will plan to migrate to a greater extent than will males who have received a vocational education.

A comparison of results in Tables 20 and 21 reveals that this is not so. There are no consistent differences in migration plans between primary educated males working off farms, and vocationally educated males. Almost 36% of the primary educated definitely plan to stay, compared to 32% of the vocationally educated. But because of differences in the how definite migration plans are, 38.6% of the non-farm primary educated plan to migrate, compared to 30.9% of the vocationally educated. Overall, however, the differences are too small to be significant. The alternative hypothesis is not supported.

Distance from the Centre and Factors Influencing Migration Plans

In chapter 3 it was shown that distance from the centre clearly affected educational chances. Adolescents living more than four miles from the centre had a much lower probability of receiving a post-primary education. Does this also hold true for occupational and income frustration; and consequently for migration plans? Do those living in more remote districts have more negative attitudes toward their actually poorer social provisions? And have they also more negative attitudes toward their community relationships? Hypotheses 24 to 28 are concerned with these questions, and the pertinent results are presented in Tables 22 to 25.

Hypothesis 24.

H_o: Differences in occupational and income frustration are unrelated to the distance respondents live from the centre.

H_1: The greater the distance from the centre the greater the level of occupational and income frustration.

The results relevant to this hypothesis are presented in Table 22.

Table 22 yields a very complex picture of the relationship between ecological factors and the major variables affecting migration plans.

In regard to occupational and income frustration, the null hypothesis is rejected, as distance from the centre is clearly related to variations in occupational and income frustration for both males and females. For males, however, the trend is directly opposite to that predicted, since frustration actually decreases as distance from the centre increases. Over 31% of the males from the centre are frustrated, compared to 26.5% frustrated in intermediate areas, and 14.3% frustrated in the most remote areas. Income frustration levels decrease similarly for males; from 80% frustrated or partly frustrated at the centre to 70.2% in medium areas, to 50.4% in the most remote areas. The alternative hypotheses cannot be accepted for males therefore.

However, since the proportion of farm adolescents in the total popopulation increases very rapidly with distance from the centre the proportion of males employed full time on the family farm also increases, as section B of Table 22 indicates. Only 17.4% of males from the centre have jobs which satisfy them and none of these work on farms. On the other hand, almost 24% of the males from intermediate areas, and 35.6% of the males from the most remote areas have such satisfactory jobs, and

Table 22.--The relationship between remoteness and occupational and income frustration.

	Level of Remoteness from the Centre					
	Centre plus area within two miles of Centre		All large towns in the community plus country areas within four miles of Centre		All others, mostly open country areas more than four miles from the Centre	
A. Occupational Frustration(1)	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Not frustrated	46.7%	37.3%	51.0%	39.5%	65.5%	41.8%
Frustrated	31.1%	21.1%	26.5%	23.3%	14.3%	27.3%
Total	(46)	(52)	(49)	(43)	(119)	(110)
B. Occupational Frustration(2)						
Have job at present and satisfied (% of total respondents)	17.4%	1.9%	24.0%	11.6%	35.6%	12.7%
	(46)	(52)	(50)	(43)	(135)	(118)
Of Remainder:						
(1) Not occupationally frustrated	35.1%	36.0%	35.1%	31.6%	45.3%	33.3%
(2) Occupationally frustrated	37.8%	22.0%	35.1%	26.3%	22.7%	31.3%
Total	(37)	(50)	(37)	(38)	(75)	(96)
C. Percentage of all adolescents aspiring to non-manual occupations	31.3%	65.4%	22%	67.4%	17.7%	53.4%
Total	(46)	(52)	(50)	(43)	(135)	(118)
D. Income Frustration						
(1) Not frustrated	20.0%	27.5%	29.8%	22.5%	49.6%	30.9%
Total	(45)	(51)	(47)	(40)	(129)	(110)

E. Occupation of Respondents by Plans to Migrate		% who def. plan to stay	% who def. plan to leave	% who def. plan to stay	% who def. plan to leave	% who def. plan to stay	% who def. plan to leave
Working on Farm	M	50.0%	0.0%(2)	80.0%	(5)	61.4%	6.8%(44)
	F					43.8%	31.3%(16)
Working off Farm	M	53.8%	30.8%(13)	16%	60%(25)	48.8%	30.1%(43)
	F	37.5%	37.5%(8)	38.5%	38.5%(13)	23.7%	42.1%(38)

most of the satisfactorily employed males from remote areas work on home farms.

Table 24 shows similar differentials in the case of those with medium to high family obligations. Only 13% of those from the centre have medium-high obligations; whereas 20.8% of those from intermediate areas, and 30% of those from the most remote areas have such obligations. Consequently this increasing tendency of males to hold ascribed occupational and family roles on the home farm may account for much of this variation of occupational frustration with remoteness. Of the remaining males, however, working at off-farm occupations, occupational frustration levels remain relatively constant for the two least remote areas, but decrease again in the most remote area. Almost 65% of the males from the centre and the intermediate area, are partly or fully frustrated, compared to only 54.7% of those from the most remote area. Hence although the differences are considerably reduced, they are still in a direction opposite to that predicted.

Perhaps the more remote males, having lower levels of occupational aspiration, (as indicated by section C of Table 22), are better able to fulfill these aspirations locally. Occupational opportunities, however, are not distributed evenly throughout the community, but are more concentrated at the centre. As a result, unless a considerable proportion of the more remote respondents commute to the centre, the influence of their lower aspiration levels would be offset by the relatively sparse occupational opportunities available near their homes. However, Table 23 indicates that such commuting does occur since low

aspirers from the more remote areas take up a disproportionate number of jobs in the centre.

Over 50% of the males and 47.4% of the females from the most remote areas have jobs in the centre or near it. Adolescents from the two more remote areas, in fact, account for

Table 23.--The relationship of place of work to the remoteness of respondents' homes, for respondents now working.

Remoteness of Place of Work	Remoteness of Homes of Respondents now Working					
	Center and up to 2 miles from centre		All small towns and all open country areas up to 4 miles from the Centre		All open country areas more than 4 miles from the Centre	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Centre and up to 2 miles from the centre	100%	100%	40%	28.6%	51%	47.4%
Small Towns and Open country areas up to 4 miles from the centre			60%	64.3%	12.2%	23.7%
Open country areas more than 4 miles from the centre				7.1%	36.7%	28.9%
Total No. of Cases	13	8	25	14	49	38

73% of the 78 respondents then working in the centre. These more remote youth, having lower levels of occupational aspiration, fill lower level service and manual jobs in the centre. Those nearer the centre, having higher levels of aspiration, have also higher levels of frustration.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, 36 prospective respondents had already migrated by the time the survey had started.

Thirteen of these were males, of whom 12 came from the most remote areas. If we assume that these were occupationally frustrated, their addition to the relevant cells in Table 22 alters the distribution there. Of the centre males, 31.1% would be frustrated, compared to 28% of males from the intermediate area, and 22.1% of the males from the most remote area. The differences are considerably reduced. But even with these additions, compared to the most remote, 9% more males from the centre are frustrated in their occupational aspirations. The alternative hypothesis cannot be accepted, since the results clearly indicate that the more remote respondents have lower levels of income and occupational frustration than have others nearer the centre.

At first sight, the position is not very different for females. Although there is an increase in the proportions frustrated in occupational and income aspirations, with increasing distance from the centre, there is also a similar slight increase in the proportions not frustrated. This is accounted for by the fact that those near the centre are much more indefinite in their beliefs about the possible fulfillment of occupational and income aspirations locally. However, if 50% of these who are indefinite were to finally decide that they could get a suitable job locally, there would be no significant differences among remoteness levels.

For those not now satisfactorily employed, however, there is a definite increase in occupational frustration with increasing remoteness. Twenty two percent of those nearest the centre are frustrated in their occupational aspirations, compared to 26.3% of those in the intermediate areas, and to 31.1%

of those in the most remote areas.

In addition, 23 prospective female respondents from the community had already migrated by the time the study had started. Eighteen of these came from the most remote area, two from intermediate areas, and three from the centre. If we assume that these were occupationally frustrated, their addition to the relevant cells in Table 22 alters the trends there in the direction predicted. At the centre, 25.5% of females would be frustrated, compared to 26.7% of those from intermediate areas, and 37.5% of those from the most remote areas. The alternative hypothesis can therefore, be accepted in the case of females.

Hypothesis 25.

H_o: Differences in Community Satisfaction and Community Evaluation scores, will be unrelated to the remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre.

H_1: (a) For females, the greater the remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre, the lower the level of Community Satisfaction, and the more negative the evaluation of the community's social provisions.

(b) For males, the greater the remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre, the higher the level of Community Satisfaction and the more positive the evaluation of the community's social provisions.

The results bearing on this hypothesis are presented in Table 24. The null hypothesis is clearly rejected in both

cases, and the alternative hypotheses are both confirmed. As the distance of homes from the centre increases, the proportion of females with low Community Satisfaction scores progressively increases from 19.6% in the centre to 32.4% in the most remote areas. The proportion who are highly satisfied correspondingly decreases from 39.2% to 27.9%.

Table 24.--The relationship between remoteness and (1) Community Satisfaction, (2) Community Evaluation, and (3) Family Obligations.

	Level of Remoteness from the Centre					
	Centre		Towns & areas 1-4 miles		4 Miles plus	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
A. Community Satisfaction						
Alienated (0 - 3)	40.0%	19.6%	34%	27.5%	15.6%	32.4%
Highly satisfied (7 - 9)	26.7%	39.2%	38%	20%	40.6%	27.9%
Total	45	51	50	40	128	111
B. Community Evaluation						
Negative (7 - 9)	76.0%	40.8%	51.0%	60.0%	57.3%	56.8%
Positive (0 - 3)	4.3%	26.5%	14.3%	15.0%	13.7%	11.7%
Total	46	49	49	40	131	111
C. Family Obligations						
% with Med. High family obligations	13.0%	9.6%	20.8%	17.1%	30.0%	15.9%
Total	46	52	48	41	130	113

For males, however, the proportions with low Community Satisfaction scores decreases with distance and at a much greater rate. The proportions alienated drop from 40% at the centre to only 15.6% in the most remote areas. The proportion of males with highly satisfied scores, on the other hand, increases from

26.7% at the centre, to 40.6% for those from the most remote areas. The alternative hypothesis is clearly confirmed in this case.

The proportion of females with negative Community Evaluation scores also increases greatly with remoteness, while that of males decreases. Over 40% of females near the centre have highly negative attitudes, compared to 60% with negative attitudes in intermediate areas, and 56.8% with negative attitudes in the most remote areas. The proportions with highly positive attitudes similarly declines for females from 26.5% at the centre to 11.7% in the most remote areas. The alternative hypothesis, therefore, is clearly confirmed in this case.

The trends for males are directly opposite to those for females. The proportions with highly negative attitudes decreases from 76% at the centre to 57.3% in the most remote areas. The proportions with highly positive attitudes correspondingly increases from 4.3% to 13.7%. The alternative hypothesis is also confirmed here. Although there is actually an improvement in the adequacy of social provisions nearer the centre, males from the centre have more negative attitudes toward these provisions than have more remote males.

The rationale on which these hypotheses were based is not confirmed for both cases by these results, however. It was assumed that there would be an increasing difference between males and females in their attitudes toward the community's social provisions, as remoteness increased: the proportion of males with positive attitudes increasing with remoteness, while that of females decreased with remoteness. It was expected that

the more remote females, living in largely male centered communities, with very limited leisure, sport, and entertainment facilities (5 of 9 items in the scale), for girls, would have much more negative attitudes toward these facilities, than would the relatively more advantaged males in that community. Females from less remote areas of the community where facilities are better, were expected to have more positive attitudes. Males from the centre were expected to have less positive attitudes than those from more remote areas, because of the more traditional values and attitudes of the latter. However, no major differences were expected in attitudes between males and females from the centre.

This rationale seems to hold up in the case of Community Satisfaction, at least in regard to differences between thd sexes from the more remote areas. But the results completely contradict the rationale in the case of attitudes toward the community's social provisions. There are no important differences between the more remote males and females in their attitudes toward these social provisions, whereas there are major differences between the sexes at the centre. And it is these differences between the sexes near the centre that has led to the confirmation of the second part of the hypothesis. Females from the centre have the most positive attitudes of all respondents, male or female, and males from the centre have the most negative attitudes of all respondents, male or female.

Some previous results indicate why this might be so. The results set out in Table 19 have shown that males from manual backgrounds have, by far, the most negative attitudes

toward the community's social provisions of all occupational groups. However, the same table also shows that the females from manual backgrounds have, by far, the most positive attitudes toward the community's social provisions than is true of females from any other occupational group. Since these manual groups are concentrated in the centre, these previous results account for the unexpected findings in Table 24. The centre males are the most negative because they contain a much higher proportion of highly dissatisfied manual males. The centre females are the most satisfied because they contain such a high proportion of the highly satisfied manual females. Of course, why these differences should exist between males and females from manual backgrounds, or why there should be such a great difference between the manual group and others in their attitude toward these provisions, has not been explained. This will have to await further research.

Hypothesis 26.

H_o: Differences in the level of family obligations for males will be unrelated to the remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre.

H_1: The greater the remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre the greater the level of family obligations.

The results pertinent to this hypothesis are presented in Table 25. Family obligations do indeed increase greatly with distance from the centre, for both males and females. For males, the proportions with medium to high levels of family obligations increases from 13% at the centre, to 20.8% at

intermediate areas, and to 30% at the most remote areas. The null hypothesis is therefore rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is confirmed.

Hypothesis 27.

H_o: Differences in migration plans will be unrelated to the remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre.

H_1: Proportions of respondents planning to migrate will increase directly with remoteness of their homes from the centre.

Presented in Table 25 are the results bearing on this hypothesis. The null hypothesis is rejected, as there is a clear relationship between remoteness and the level of migration plans. But the trend is in a direction opposite to that predicted. In general, the more remote the homes of respondents, the lesser the tendency to migrate. This holds for both males and females.

The differences between the centre population and that of the next most remote area are not very great or consistent. However, compared to these two groups, the most remote respondents plan to stay in the home community in much greater proportions. For males, 23 to 26% plan to stay from the two least remote areas, compared to 44.4% of those from the most remote area. The differences for females are much smaller, but in the trend is in the same direction. Nine to 16.3% of females from the centre and the next most remote area, plan to stay in the home community, compared to 19.7% of those from the most remote

areas. Over 48% of those from the centre plan to migrate, while only 38.5% of those from the most remote areas plan to migrate. Overall then the alternative hypothesis cannot be accepted for either sex.

However, most of those who had already migrated came from the most remote areas, and if these are included with the cases who now definitely plan to migrate, they may alter this conclusion. When included, 39.1% of the males from the centre plan to migrate. Over 45% of those from intermediate areas plan to migrate or have already migrated, but only 27.6% of those from the most remote areas have already migrated or plan to do so. Hence, the alternative hypothesis is not confirmed in the case of males. The respective figures for females indicate that 49.1% of those from the centre have already migrated, or plan to migrate, whereas 37.8% of the females from intermediate areas, and 46.7% from the most remote areas are equally prone to migration. Hence the alternative hypothesis is not supported for females either.

Instituting controls for educational level achieved by respondents give similar results, as indicated by the results in Table 25. For those who are primary educated and presently working, those who live further from the centre plan to migrate in smaller proportions than do those nearer the centre. This holds true for both males and females. If the numbers who had already migrated are added to these figures for the primary educated, the results are altered to some extent. Sixty per-cent of females from the two least remote areas plan to migrate or have already migrated, compared to 56.1% in the most remote

Table 25.--The relationship between remoteness and plans to migrate.

		Remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre					
		Centre plus open country area within 2 miles of the centre		All small towns plus open country areas within 4 miles of the centre		Open country areas over 4 miles from the centre	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Plans to Migrate							
Definite plans to stay		23.9%	9.6%	26.0%	16.3%	44.4%	19.7%
Indefinite whether will stay or leave		37.0%	42.3%	30.0%	51.2%	34.6%	41.9%
Definite plans to leave		39.1%	48.1%	44.0%	32.6%	21.1%	38.5%
Total	N	46	52	50	43	133	117
	%	100%	100%	100%	100.1%	100.1%	100.1%
Education of Respondents by Plans to Migrate		% who def. plan to stay	% who def. plan to leave	% who def. plan to stay	% who def. plan to leave	% who def. plan to stay	% who def. plan to leave
Primary only and presently working	M	37.5%	50.0%(16)	25.1%	47.8%(23)	48.1%	18.5%(81)
	F	28.6%	57.1% (7)	38.5%	46.2%(13)	31.3%	39.6%(48)
Vocational	M	36.4%	18.2%(11)	31.3%	31.3%(16)	60.9%	8.7%(23)
	F	25.0%	50.0%(12)	0.0%	30.0%(10)	5.9%	29.4%(34)
Secondary	M	5.3%	52.6%(19)	18.2%	54.5%(11)	20.7%	37.9%(29)
	F	0.0%	45.5%(33)	10.0%	25.0%(20)	17.1%	45.7%(35)
Total			(98)		(93)		(250)

areas. These differences are not very important. And only 29% of the males from the most remote areas plan to migrate or have already migrated, compared to 51.2% from the two least remote areas combined. The alternative hypothesis is not supported in the case of males either. The same pattern persists for both males and females who have received a vocational or secondary education. The greater the distance from the centre the lower the tendency to plan to migrate, and the greater the tendency to plan to stay in the home community.

The fact that the more remote respondents have lower levels of aspiration and in the case of males are more attached to the home community, and are less dissatisfied with its social provisions, accounts for part of these unexpected findings. It also appears that increasing distance from the centre does not act as a barrier to participating in the centre's labor market. It may also be true that the sons and daughters of farmers from areas outside the centre are being given preference by employers of manual and service workers there. In any case, it appears that adolescents from these more remote areas are contributing a disproportionate share to the young manual and service labour force in the centre. It may be, of course, that these will migrate from the area at a later date, although they seem determined to stay at the present time.

Another factor that may be operating here may be, that the more optimistic beliefs about local opportunities that characterize the more remote respondents may be due to their less adequate knowledge of opportunities in the community. Furthermore, the more positive attitudes of the more remote males

toward the community may also be influencing their views of the opportunities available there. In any case, unless trends have reversed in very recent periods, in the long run we can expect greater migration from the more remote areas of the community. (See Chapter 2.) The manner in which this occurs, however, will have to be left for later research to answer.

Hypothesis 28.

H_o: Sex differences in occupational and income frustration, and plans to migrate, are unrelated to the remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre.

H_1: Differences between the sexes in their rates of occupational and income frustration, and plans to migrate widen as the remoteness of respondents' homes increases.

Results in Tables 21 and 25 show that the null hypothesis is clearly rejected, and that the results conform to the alternative hypothesis. At the centre, 9.4% more males than females are not frustrated in their occupational aspirations. This sex difference increases to 11.5% at the intermediate area, and to 23.3% at the most remote area. Section B of Table 22 shows that of those not presently satisfactorily employed, 0.9% more females than males from the centre are not occupationally frustrated. This changes to 3.5% more males than females not occupationally frustrated in the intermediate areas, and to 12.0% more males in the most remote areas. The figures for those occupationally frustrated or partly frustrated gives coroborrating results, with females becoming relatively more frustrated than males as remoteness increases. Not only then do progressively greater

proportions of males relative to females enjoy ascribed occupational roles on the family farm as remoteness increases; but even for those seeking off farm jobs, increasingly greater proportions of males, relative to females, can find acceptable jobs locally.

The trends for income frustration are similar, 7.5% more females than males from the centre are not frustrated, whereas 7.3% more males than females are not frustrated in intermediate areas, and 18.7% more males than females are not frustrated at the more remote areas. The figures for those frustrated corroborate these results. The alternative hypothesis is clearly supported here.

The results on migration plans are presented in Table 25. At the centre 14.3% more males than females definitely plan to remain locally. This declines to 9.7% more males than females planning to remain at intermediate areas, but alters to 24.7% more males than females planning to remain locally at the most remote areas. The figures for those planning to migrate support these trends. The alternative hypothesis is again confirmed here.

In each case the null hypothesis has been rejected and the alternative hypothesis confirmed. The greater the distance from the centre, and the more farm dependent the area, the greater becomes the sex differential in occupational and income frustration, and in migration plans. Occupational and income opportunities are relatively evenly balanced near the centre for males and females, but with increasing distance from the centre, and with increasing rurality, opportunities for females

steadily decrease while those for males actually increase.

The Cultural Orientation of Respondents' Families and Factors Influencing Migration Plans

Hypothesis 29.

H_o: Controlling for education; differences in the level of (1) occupational and income aspiration, (2) occupational and income frustration, (3) Community Satisfaction and Community Evaluation, and (4) plans to migrate, are unrelated to the cultural orientation of respondents' families.

H_1: Controlling for the educational level achieved, respondents from traditional families (those in the lowest socio-economic status scale tertile within each income level), will have: (1) lower levels of occupational and income aspiration, (2) lower levels of occupational and income frustration, (3) higher levels of Community Satisfaction and Community Evaluation, and (4) lower tendencies to migrate, than will respondents from modern families.

The results pertinent to this hypothesis are presented in Table 26. A traditional cultural orientation is assumed to exist where families within particular income brackets, fall in the lowest tertile of the socio-economic status scale of that income bracket. Those with scores in the other tertiles are assumed to be "modern".

The null hypothesis is rejected in the case of occupational and income aspirations; as there are major differences between the socio-economic groups on these two variables. The alternative hypothesis is clearly confirmed for income aspiration, since a greater proportion of those from traditional families aspire to lower income levels. For the primary educated, 42 to 58.6% of the 'traditionals' aspire to incomes of 7 pounds or less, compared to only 23 to 31.7% of those from 'modern' families. From 29 to 36.7% of the 'moderns' in vocational schools aspire to incomes of 15 pounds or over per week, compared to only 16 to 30% of the 'traditionals'. And while 28 to 50% of the 'traditionals' in secondary schools aspire to income of 15 pounds and over per week, 47 to 63% of those from 'modern' families have similar aspirations.

The same pattern holds only for the secondary educated in regard to occupational aspirations. Here only 17 to 17.9% of the 'traditionals' aspire to professional occupations, compared to 22 to 34.4% of the 'moderns'. This pattern is reversed, however, in the case of the vocational and primary educated. From 31 to 47% of primary educated respondents from traditional families have achieved only lower level manual occupations. While 47 to 63% of the 'moderns' have these occupations. And in regard to the vocationally educated, 48 to 50% of the 'traditionals' aspire to non-manual occupations, whereas only 23 to 38.6% of the 'moderns' do so. The alternative hypothesis is not confirmed in these cases, therefore. Although the 'traditionals' then have lower levels of income aspiration, they do not have correspondingly higher levels of occupational

Table 26.—The relationship between the cultural orientation of respondents' families, and plans to migrate.

Level of Occupational Aspiration	Respondents' Educational Level: Primary — Income Level of family: Less than £ 7 per week		Primary — More than £ 7 per week		Vocational — Less than £ 7 per week		Vocational — More than £ 7 per week		Secondary — Less than £ 10 per week		Secondary — More than £ 10 per week	
	Proportion non-farm workers in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations				Proportions aspiring to non-manual occupations				Proportions aspiring to professional occupations			
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Lowest S.E.S. Tertile	47.1%	(17)	31.6%	(19)	50%	(10)	48.1%	(27)	17.9%	(28)	17.6%	(17)
Other Tertiles	63.6%	(22)	47.6)	(42)	23.3%	(30)	38.6%	(57)	22.7%	(44)	34.4%	(32)
Total N		39		61		40		84		72		49

Occupational Frustration
(Proportions not frustrated in occupational aspiration)

Lowest S.E.S. Tertile	68.2%	(22)	83.9%	(31)	33.3%	(12)	37.0%	(27)	20.7%	(29)	35%	(20)
Other Tertiles	51.4%	(35)	61.7%	(60)	51.4%	(35)	50.7%	(67)	36.2%	(47)	39.4%	(33)

Level of Income Aspiration
(Proportions aspiring to:)

	Less than £ 8 per week				Over £15 per week				Over £ 15 per week			
Lowest S.E.S. Tertile	58.6%	(29)	42.4%	(33)	30%	(10)	16%	(25)	28%	(25)	50%	(16)
Other Tertiles	31.7%	(41)	23.0%	(61)	29.4%	(34)	36.7%	(60)	47.7%	(44)	63.3%	(30)

Table 26.--Continued

	Respondents' Educational Level											
	Primary				Vocational				Secondary			
	Income Level of family				Income Level of Family				Income Level of family			
	Less than £ 7 per week		Over £ 7 per week		Less than £ 7 per week		Over £ 7 per week		Less than £ 10 per week		Over £ 10 per week	
Income Frustration (Proportions not frustrated in income aspirations)												
Lowest S.E.S. Tertile	46.4%	(28)	66.7%	(33)	30%	(10)	20.8%	(24)	14.8%	(27)	11.1%	(18)
Other Tertiles	40.5%	(42)	45.9%	(61)	37.1%	(35)	24.2%	(62)	22.9%	(48)	21.9%	(32)
Community Satisfaction (Proportions who are alienated i.e. scores 0-3)												
Lowest S.E.S. Tertiles	37.9%	(29)	17.6%	(34)	66.7%	(12)	0.0%	(23)	14.8%	(27)	36.8%	(19)
Other Tertiles	21.4%	(42)	16.1%	(62)	28.1%	(32)	13.1%	(61)	33.3%	(45)	15.2%	(33)
Community Evaluation (Proportions with highly negative attitudes (scores 7-9)												
Lowest S.E.S. Tertiles	48.3%	(29)	62.5%	(32)	58.3%	(12)	57.6%	(33)	48.1%	(27)	31.6%	(19)
Other Tertiles	52.4%	(42)	57.1%	(63)	47.2%	(36)	63.3%	(49)	60%	(48)	62.5%	(32)
Migration Plans (Proportions planning to stay)												
Lowest S.E.S. Tertile.	41.4%	(29)	48.5%	(33)	15.4%	(13)	15.6%	(32)	10.3%	(29)	20%	(20)
Other Tertiles	30%	(43)	38.1%	(63)	22.9%	(35)	23.4%	(64)	18.4%	(49)	3%	(33)

aspiration except for the secondary educated.

The null hypothesis is also rejected in the case of occupational and income frustration. But the alternative hypothesis is confirmed only for the primary educated respondents. Here respondents from traditional families have lower levels of occupational and income frustration than have those from modern families. Sixty eight to 84% of those from traditional families are not frustrated in their occupational aspirations, as against 51 to 61.7% of those from modern families. And 46 to 66.7% of those from traditional families are not frustrated in their income aspirations as against 40 to 45.9% of those from modern families.

The relative position of the two types of respondents is reversed however, for respondents from vocational and secondary schools. A greater proportion of the 'moderns' than the 'traditionals' are not frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations. While 33 to 37% of the 'traditionals' in vocational schools are not frustrated in their occupational aspirations, 50 to 51.4% of the 'moderns' are not frustrated. And while 20 to 30% of the 'traditionals' in vocational schools are not frustrated in their income aspirations, 24 to 37.1% of the 'moderns' are not frustrated. The same trend holds true for the secondary educated; a greater proportion of the moderns than the traditionals are not frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations.

Here again the alternative hypothesis is supported only for the primary educated. This has occurred despite the fact

that the 'moderns' have higher levels of income aspiration in all cases, and have higher levels of occupational aspiration for the secondary educated.

In regard to Community Satisfaction and Community Evaluation, the only consistent differences between 'moderns' and 'traditionals' occurs for Community Satisfaction. Here, for the primary educated 'traditionals' have slightly lower levels of satisfaction than have moderns. In all other cases no consistent overall differences appear. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected; differences in Community Satisfaction and Community Evaluation scores appear to be unrelated to the family's cultural orientation, as measured here.

In regard to migration plans, the null hypothesis can only be rejected in the case of the primary educated and the vocationally educated. There are no consistent differences between the two groups in the case of the secondary educated. The alternative hypothesis is supported, however, only for the primary educated. Here from 41 to 48.5% of the 'traditionals' plan to stay compared to 30 to 38.1% of the 'moderns'. The alternative hypothesis cannot be accepted in the case of the vocationally educated, since a greater proportion of the 'moderns' plan to stay locally. From 15.4 to 15.6% of the 'traditionals' plan to stay compared to 22 to 23.4% of the 'moderns'.

Overall then the only consistent differences between the two groups occur for the primary educated and the vocationally educated. The alternative hypothesis is confirmed only for the primary educated. Here the 'traditionals' have lower

levels of income aspiration, and lower levels of occupational and income frustration than have the 'moderns'. As an apparent consequence, relatively fewer of the 'traditionals' plan to migrate. However, the reverse position holds in the case of the vocationally educated. Here, although the 'traditionals' appear to have lower levels of income aspiration, they do have higher levels of occupational aspiration, and higher levels of occupational and income frustration. Again as an apparent consequence, relatively more of the 'traditionals' plan to migrate.

Why should these two educational groups exhibit such different patterns of migration planning? The original rationale holds up only in the case of the primary educated. The conservative influences of a traditional cultural environment is nicely illustrated in their lower levels of aspiration and frustration.

One factor that may explain part of the lower levels of occupational and income frustration of the 'moderns' in vocational school, could be that the more modern families have better contacts with local employers, and have more influence in procuring satisfactory employment for their children. The more modern farmers, for example, would be more mechanized, and consequently have more contact with local garages, etc. Consequently they would be in a better position to influence local employers.

The method of isolating traditional from modern families may also be introducing extraneous variables into the analysis. It was assumed that income and status values were the two most important predictors of the score that families would receive on the socio-economic scale. Controlling for the effects of

income, it was assumed that peoples' values would then predict in large measure the score received by each family. If of an equal income level, families of a traditional orientation would have fewer of the recently introduced items included in the scale, than would families of a more modernistic frame of reference. These assumptions are perhaps too simple. It may well be, that given the errors involved in estimating family income, and errors in the report of family income, etc., a lower score on the socioeconomic scale is an indication that the income estimate is too high. The overall trends are too consistent, however, to support this inference. And the fact that the position of the vocational and primary educated respondents is so consistently reversed, would also suggest that this is not the case. It may well be that adolescents from traditional families attending post primary schools, change their orientations to a more modern frame of reference; and in reaction to the cultural conservatism of their families etc. are more biased in their views of the home community's opportunities, and so plan to migrate in proportionately greater numbers. Future research would need to explore all these possibilities in greater depth.

Summary

Presented in Chapter four were the results of an empirical study of the relationships between certain attitudes and aspirations, beliefs about the local fulfillment of these aspirations, and plans to migrate. Also explored was the

manner in which these independent attitudinal type variables mediate the effects of the major structural factors on migration plans. These interrelationships were examined in terms of the rationale presented in Chapter one for their existence. In Chapter five the research will be summarized, the impact of the results on the theoretical rationale will be examined, and changes necessary in the theory proposed. Some limitations of the study will be pointed out, and some further problems for research suggested.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The tasks of the present Chapter are fourfold. The first is to summarize the results. The second is to evaluate the results in terms of their consequences for the theoretical rationale proposed. The third is to examine the limitations of the research procedure. And the fourth is to suggest the course that future research should take in this area.

Summary of Results

Introduction

This summary is in two parts. The first deals with the relationship of five major social psychological variables to the migration plans of individuals. The second deals with how these mediate the effects of some major social structural factors on migration planning.

The Five Independent (Social Psychological) Variables.

Of the five variables proposed, beliefs about one's ability to fulfill occupational and income aspirations in the home community, (occupational and income frustration) were the most predictive of migration plans. And although they were

highly correlated with each other, their joint effects on migration plans were greater than those of any other variables.

After these, Community Satisfaction was the next most predictive variable. This variable refers to evaluations of how satisfactory local social relationships are. If respondents have a low regard for the community, they plan to migrate in much greater proportions than others. However, even at these low levels of Community Satisfaction, the frustration of occupational and income aspirations plays a major role in migration. In fact, when Community Satisfaction is used as a control variable, occupational frustration has a higher correlation with migration plans at low levels of Community Satisfaction than at higher. However, differences in beliefs about the ability to fulfill occupational aspirations locally have less influence on plans to definitely remain in the community (only one of three values of this variable) than at any other level of the control variable. That is, if respondents are highly alienated from the community, whether occupational aspirations can or cannot be fulfilled there makes less difference in plans to stay locally for this value of the control variable than for any other value.

The fourth variable refers to respondents' work role expectations within the family. If respondents perceive that their families have work expectations for them, which they can only fulfill by remaining in the home community, respondents will plan to remain in the home community to a much greater extent than others. Of the five variables it is the fourth most predictive of migration plans. It was thought that such obligations would lead to plans to remain locally irrespective of the

level of frustration of occupational and income aspirations. This did not prove to be so, however. If frustrated in their occupational aspirations respondents will plan to migrate irrespective of their level of family obligations. High levels of obligation, therefore, do not counteract the effects of occupational and income frustration. On the other hand, when occupational and income aspirations are satisfied, high levels of obligation lead to plans to remain in the home community in much greater proportions than is true of others. Only 17.6% of the respondents have such obligations, however.

The fifth variable, attitude toward the community's social provisions, or Community Evaluation, is the least predictive of migration plans.

In general, beliefs about the ability to fulfill occupational and income aspirations predominate in the migration decisions of rural adolescents. Additional evidence for this conclusion comes from answers to questions asked all respondents who were definitely planning to migrate, or who were not sure whether they would migrate or not (76.2% of all respondents). Of these, 72% said they would remain in the home community provided that they could achieve their occupational and income aspirations there. An additional 11.5% said that they would remain only if, besides their ability to fulfill occupational and income aspirations locally, the local community social provisions were improved considerably. The remaining 16.3% said that they would not remain in the home community under any circumstances.

Those who said they would remain only if the community's social provisions were improved, had lower levels of Community Satisfaction and of Community Evaluation than others. However, those two variables did not distinguish between those who would remain only for social provision reasons and those who would not remain in the home community under any conditions.

Structural Factors.

Sex, education, level of occupational aspiration, occupational background of respondents, remoteness of respondents' homes from the centre, and the cultural orientation of respondents' families were the major structural variables employed.

Excluding the farm category, the level of occupational aspiration although highly related to the level of occupational frustration, had a very low relationship with migration plans. Apparently at low levels of occupational aspiration, or current achievement, variables other than occupational frustration are intervening in the relationship between level of occupational aspiration and migration plans. However, if farm employees are included, and level of education received is used as the major independent variable, the relationship between level of education and migration plans was very strong. Only 12% of the secondary educated plan to remain in the home community, whereas 21.1% of the vocationally educated and 38.2% of the primary educated plan to do so.

When the level of education of respondents is used as a control variable, occupational frustration is most predictive of migration plans at the primary level of education, whereas income

frustration is most predictive of migration plans at the secondary level of education. But the joint effects of occupational and income frustration on migration plans are greatest at the secondary level of education, and least at the primary level. All of these results are contrary to those hypothesized.

However, when respondents who were planning to migrate, or who were unsure whether they would migrate or not, were asked whether they would remain in the home community if their occupational and income aspirations were fulfilled there, the answers conflicted with the above results. Only 11.4% of the primary educated said that they would not remain there, whereas 23.1% of the vocationally educated, and 40.7% of the secondary educated made similar statements. Therefore, although the joint effects of occupational and income frustration on migration plans are greatest for the secondary educated, these are the least likely to remain in the home community if occupational and income aspirations are satisfied. A number of other variables, apparently highly correlated with high levels of education and high levels of occupational aspiration, are interfering here. Attitudes toward the community's social provisions is one of these factors. This attitude is more highly correlated with migration plans for the secondary educated than for any other educational group. And, of those who said that they would not remain in the community even if occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied there, considerably more of the secondary educated than others said that they would remain if, besides these aspirations, the community social provisions were brought up to their expectations. The remaining respondents said that they would not remain at home

under any circumstances. This comprised almost three times as many secondary educated respondents, as primary educated respondents (21.5% of the secondary educated, and only 7.6% of the primary educated). The vocationally educated occupied an intermediate position.

Therefore, noneconomic factors become increasingly more important in migration as respondents level of education, and level of occupational aspiration, increases. Economic factors predominate for the primary educated, but other noneconomic factors become almost as important for the secondary educated.

There is an apparent contradiction between the "correlation" results, and those from the questions about "incentives" to remain in the home community. Although occupational and income frustration are most highly correlated with migration plans for the secondary educated, considerably fewer of these would actually remain in the home community if their occupational and income aspirations were satisfied, than would respondents from lower levels of education. Attitudes toward the local community's social provisions explain part of this problem. These have higher interaction effects at high levels of education. But other variables are just as important. Individuals with high levels of education and with high levels of occupational aspiration are the socially mobile section of the population. Apparently other aspirations and attitudes are highly correlated with these high levels of occupational aspiration. That is, social mobility aspirations involve a whole complex of highly intercorrelated variables, of which occupational and income aspirations are only a part. So that even if these latter aspirations are

satisfied in the home community, these other aspirations are not, and therefore migration will result to places where these other noneconomic aspirations can be satisfied. What these aspirations are, however, cannot be determined from the present research.

Sex differentials in migration planning occur almost exclusively in the farm category. Almost 20% more farm males than females plan to remain in the home community. Except for much smaller differences in the skilled and service category, there are no other consistent sex differences among groups from other occupational backgrounds. These sex differentials in the farm category are primarily explained by the much greater proportion of farm males employed on farms. No consistent sex differences in occupational and income frustration occur for any other group, except again for those from a skilled and service background. Farm females also have much lower levels of Community Satisfaction than farm males, while no such sex differences occur for other groups.

Sex differentials in occupational and income frustration and migration plans are also limited to the primary and vocationally educated groups. There are no consistent differences between the sexes on these variables for the secondary educated. Proportionately more females than males who have received only a primary level of education, or a vocational education, are frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations, and proportionately more of them plan to migrate. These sex differentials are partly explained by the relatively greater proportions of primary educated farm males who remain to work on the

home farm. In addition, for those not receiving a secondary education who move off the home farm, there are relatively greater opportunities locally for males than females. This is particularly true for those receiving a vocational education. There are minor differences between nonfarm males and females in this respect.

Sex differentials in the structure of off-farm occupational opportunities, therefore, are greatest for the vocationally educated, moderate for the primary educated, and least in the case of the secondary educated, where opportunities for both sexes are minimal.

There are no differences between secondary and vocationally educated females in migration plans. On the other hand, on a percentage basis, over three times as many primary educated than secondary or vocationally educated females plan to remain in the home community. These migration differences are explained by almost exactly corresponding differences in occupational and income frustration.

Conversely, on a percentage basis, over twice as many vocational as secondary educated males plan to remain in the home community, and approximately 10% more of the primary than the vocationally educated males plan to remain. There are corresponding differences for occupational and income frustration. However, there are no significant differences in occupational and income frustration or in migration plans, between vocationally educated males and primary educated males who are working off the home farm.

Contrary to expectations, the more remote male respondents are less frustrated in their occupational and income aspirations than are those nearer the centre. The hypothesis of increasing levels of frustration, however, receives some support in the case of females but only where these females who have already migrated are included as frustrated. While 25.7% of the females from the centre are frustrated, 26.7% of those from intermediate areas, and 37.5% of those from the most remote areas in the community are frustrated.

As expected the level of community satisfaction of males increases with remoteness from the centre whereas that of females decreases. And, also as expected, the proportions of males employed on farms increases greatly with remoteness from the centre.

Despite the fact of the higher levels of occupational and income frustration, and of the lower levels of community satisfaction of females from the most remote areas of the community, both male and female respondents from the most remote areas of the community plan to remain in the home community in greater proportions than do those from less remote areas.

A number of factors account for this unexpected finding. First, as the remoteness of the home community increases, increasing proportions of males are satisfactorily employed on home farms, and have higher levels of family obligations. Secondly, the more remote respondents of both sexes, have lower levels of education, and lower levels of occupational and income aspiration than have the less remote respondents. Since local off-farm occupational opportunities are generally of a lower

status level, and pay a relatively low wage level, the aspirations of the more remote respondents can be more easily satisfied. These off-farm opportunities are, however, concentrated in the centre, so that geographical factors might have counteracted the effects of their lower aspiration levels. This did not happen, however, as disproportionate numbers of such jobs at the centre were occupied by respondents from the more remote areas of the community. On the other hand, respondents from the centre, having aspirations for occupations and incomes of a much higher level than others, plan to migrate to other centres in Ireland or abroad so that they can fulfill these aspirations.

Respondents from all educational levels who come from traditional families (families which are in the bottom tertile of the socio-economic status scale) had significantly lower levels of income aspiration than others. Primary educated respondents from traditional families, also had lower levels of occupational and income frustration, and a much lower proportion planned to migrate than did others. Quite the opposite was true, however, of the vocationally educated respondents, where the traditionals had higher levels of occupational and income frustration, and greater tendencies to migrate than others. There were no consistent differences between the traditionals and others in migration plans for the secondary educated.

Conclusions

The utility of the theoretical orientations which guided this research has generally been validated. The approach taken

has elucidated many aspects of migration planning and migration differentials hitherto unexplained.

One of the basic assumptions guiding the research was that instrumental aspirations, and in particular occupational and income aspirations, were the major variables involved in the migration planning of rural adolescents. It was hypothesized that Community Satisfaction defined as "attachments to particular people, and to the style of relationships in the home community", played only a minor role in migration planning.

Variations in the levels of Community Satisfaction could result from two sources. The first could result from feelings of relative deprivation.[1] In this case adolescents, in comparing their own situation with that of significant others would feel relatively more satisfied than others, (as those from higher social statuses do), or relatively more deprived than others, (as those in vocational schools tend to do). But variation in Community Satisfaction could also result from variations in the criteria used to evaluate the satisfactoriness of the community's relationships.[2] If these criteria, or values, were of a 'modern' order then the evaluation of the local community, which is of a largely traditional structure, would be less favorable than would be the case if traditional values were used. The former type of

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[1]Merton, R., Social Theory and Social Structure, Free Press, 1963, Chs. 8 and 9, pp. 225-386.

[2]Williams, R.M. Jr., American Society, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1961, Ch. 9, pp. 397-470.

evaluation could lead to alienation from the traditional culture and social structure of the rural community. Feelings of relative deprivation could lead to alienation from particular people and relationships in the home community, irrespective of their structure. The effects of both are assumed to be effectively index by the Community Satisfaction scale.

It was assumed that neither type of alienation was widespread in rural areas, and that both played only a minor role in migration planning. As a result, it was assumed that if occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied locally, the great majority of potential migrants would remain in the home community. The results of this research support this point of view. Nearly 75% of those who plan to migrate or who are seriously considering migration from the community, would remain in the home community if their occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied there. And another 11.5% said that they would remain there if along with the satisfaction of their occupational and income aspirations, the home community's social provisions were brought up to their expectations. This latter reason cannot be considered as direct proof of cultural or structural alienation, but rather of the intrusion of other instrumental aspirations. On the other hand, the relative poverty of these social provisions may be a direct consequence of how the community is structured.

Even for those who said that they would not remain in the home community under any circumstances, it was strongly suggested by the results that this phenomenon could better be explained by social mobility motives than by cultural or structural alienation.

It may be that such alienation does play a major role in migration from other rural communities in Ireland, but this is thought to be very unlikely. It may be that such alienation is more widespread and more effective in causing migration in other Western countries, but the evidence available would not suggest this.

However, if the ruralistic values, that presently support the rural social structure, were to change these conclusions would be void. Migration would then result, even if instrumental aspirations could be satisfied locally.

It was clearly demonstrated by this research that it is useful to view migration as the resultant of a matching of adolescents' aspirations with the opportunities available in the home community to satisfy these aspirations. It was proposed that a simple matching of the number of adolescent entrants to the labour force, and the number of local job opportunities available for them, would give an incorrect estimate of migration levels. The level of aspirations and the level of opportunities has also to be taken into consideration. In the present case, job opportunities were very scarce at the higher levels of occupational aspiration, but they were also rather scarce at the lower levels. Had the community's job opportunities a different structure, migrants would have been selected out on a different basis.

A comparative study of a number of rural communities varying along the dimension of job opportunity structure, and along the dimension of the occupational aspiration structure of the local adolescent "replacements", would lead to very fruitful findings about the dimensions on which migrants are selected.

The utility of structural variables was again demonstrated in the use of educational level and the level of occupational aspirations, as major control variables. The joint effects of occupational and income frustration on migration plans were greatest at the secondary level of education, and at higher levels of occupational aspiration, and least at the primary level of education and lower manual levels of occupational aspiration. However, over 40% of the secondary educated respondents who planned to migrate or who were considering migration, would not remain in the home community even if their occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied there, while this was true of only 11.4% of the primary educated. These apparently contradictory findings were resolved by suggesting that higher levels of occupational aspiration were part of a complex of social mobility aspirations and attitudes, so that even where occupational and income aspirations were satisfied locally, these other aspirations were not. Consequently it was suggested that it was these nonoccupational and noneconomic variables that were responsible for their unwillingness to remain in the home community. However, it should be cautioned that there is no direct evidence for this interpretation. It may well be that cultural and structural alienation which are not adequately indexed by the Community Satisfaction scale are the responsible factors.

The above argument, however, may tend to underestimate the effects of purely economic factors on the migration plans of the high occupational aspirers. Only one third of the secondary educated believed that they could fulfill their aspirations

locally, and only one fifth believed that their income aspirations could be fulfilled locally. Even these beliefs are likely to be rather optimistic. The secondary educated aspire almost exclusively to non-manual occupations. Non-manual job opportunities are, however, in very short supply in rural communities of the types studied here. The small urban centres, scattered throughout the countryside, are largely market and service centres, with some light industry. Even if the light industries were expanded rapidly, the increase in non-manual occupations would not be very great. The structure of opportunities therefore, must necessarily be biased against the higher aspirers. Overall, then, even for the socially mobile respondents, economic factors are the most important ones. Consequently, although the question posed as to whether they would remain in the home community if their occupational and income aspiration could be satisfied, does reveal very important information about their migration motives, there is, in fact, a very small probability that these aspirations could realistically be satisfied on any large scale basis.

Rural economies, however, could be developed to satisfy the aspirations of the primary and vocationally educated respondents, or for those aspiring to skilled, service, semi-skilled, and unskilled occupations, and to a lesser extent to those aspiring to secretarial type non-manual occupations. Occupational and income opportunities to satisfy respondents with these aspirations are almost equally scarce in the present community as are non-manual opportunities. Only one third of the primary educated, and less than one third of the vocationally educated

definitely plan to remain in the home community. Of the remainder, 77 to 90% said that they would remain if their occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied there. A program of economic development for rural centres should therefore be aimed at these "economic migrants".

Aspirations of youth, even primary educated youth, are rising rapidly. A stagnant economy therefore will not only lead to a continuation of the present high migration rates, but to ever increasing rates because of these rising aspirations.

Sex differentials in migration planning were satisfactorily explained as due to the nature of the farm occupation, which is highly male selective. Opportunities for females educated in vocational schools, however, were also significantly lower than those available for similarly educated males. This is partly due to the fact that primary educated females can successfully compete with the vocationally educated for the service jobs available locally. And the primary educated are more likely to be satisfied with these jobs. Furthermore, proportionately more females than males in vocational schools aspire to non-manual occupations, largely clerical occupations. These are in much shorter supply than the skilled and semi-skilled jobs to which the vocationally educated males aspire. Industrial expansion could greatly increase these particular non-manual occupations and so could minimize the excessive female migration rates.

The role of the ecological factor in migration plans was not anticipated. The more remote respondents, having lower levels of education and lower levels of occupational and income

aspiration, were better able to satisfy these aspirations locally than were respondents from the centre whose aspirations were much higher. A disproportionate number of these respondents commuted to work in the centre, while respondents from the centre, with higher levels of aspiration planned to migrate.

This unexpected support for one of Ravenstein's much earlier findings,[3] may however, only amount to a temporary postponement of migration, since population decline in the long run is most rapid in the more remote areas of the community. (See Chapter 2, Table 2.) On the other hand, people from the more remote areas of the community may gradually be replacing the more migratory centre population. This is unlikely to be so, however; but a more complete answer to this problem will have to await future research.

It is worth noting that if the more remote respondents had not found jobs in the centre, their migration rates would have been much higher. It is probable, however, that the 'job service area' of Cavan would approximate its educational service area, and that outside this the availability of off-farm jobs would decline rapidly. Consequently, if even more remote areas of the county had been included within the survey area, it is likely that their aspirational frustration and migration levels would be much greater than those from the centre.

In conclusion, the theoretical rationale which guided this research study has generally been validated although

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[3] Ravenstein, E.G., "The Laws of Migration," The Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vol. 48, pp. 198-199, and Vol. 52, pp. 261ff.

adjustments are necessary at many points. Instrumental aspirations are the major variables involved in the migration planning of rural adolescents. The satisfaction of these aspirations or goals of adolescents depend primarily on local economic opportunities. The level of these aspirations has been rising continuously over the past century, and at an increasing pace since World War II. Unfortunately rural economic structures have remained relatively static. This increasing discrepancy between aspirations and opportunities has resulted in increasing rates of migration.

Although the values of adolescents growing up in rural areas generally appear to support those values incorporated in local social structures, and the norms governing day to day interaction in the community, a small proportion of rural adolescents are alienated from these structures, and from particularistic relationships in the home community. Whether this alienation is due to feelings of relative deprivation, which would lead to alienation from particularistic relationships, or to a changed ('urbanized') system of values about how these relationships should be structured--which would lead to structural alienation--has not been determined by this research. Where such alienation occurs, however, respondents plan to remain in the home community in significantly lesser proportions than do others, irrespective of the level of satisfaction of occupational and income aspirations. This is not true of the great majority of potential migrants, however, most of whom would remain in the home community if their occupational and income aspirations were satisfied there.

Some aspirations other than occupational and income aspirations have also been shown to be important, and should be considered in future research. Those relating to the community's social provisions, and others relating to noneconomic and nonoccupational social mobility aspirations, have been shown to be important. Both of these, however, are important only in the case of respondents with high levels of occupational aspiration. And since the occupational and income aspirations of these particular respondents cannot realistically be satisfied within small rural communities or rural trade centres except on a very limited basis, these aspirations alone would predict migration.

Limitations of the Study, and Proposals for Future Research

The research design generally proved satisfactory, and its use provided clearcut answers to most of the research questions posed. There were, however, some weaknesses in the design.

The advantages of viewing migration from a community perspective were clearly demonstrated. Examining the mobility of a total cohort growing up within particular community boundaries, gives more comprehensive and more precise information about migration planning than any alternative strategy. This is particularly true in examining the role of ecological factors in migration planning. However, this approach has its corresponding weaknesses. A considerable proportion of rural farm people are not as tightly integrated into service areas surrounding market centres as is the case for the community studied in this research. Many of the outlying farm communities of Co. Cavan, which were

excluded from the community delineated, seek educational services and off-farm occupational outlets for their adolescents in centres which are widely scattered, and which are more distant from the home community. Had some of these more remote farm areas been included in the survey area, the effects of remoteness on educational mobility, level of aspiration, occupational and income frustration, and level of migration plans could have been investigated in a more comprehensive way. It is highly probable that nonfarm occupational opportunities fall off very rapidly in these more remote areas , and that much fewer adolescents find occupational outlets in Cavan or in similar local employment centres. Consequently the hypothesis of migration rates increasing with distance from the centre may be true as one moves out of the effective employment range of the centre.

The fact that the study was limited to one centre and its surrounding service hinterland, is also an important limitation on the study. A comparative study of a number of rural communities, which varied widely in the structure of local occupational opportunities, would have more adequately tested the basic assumption of the study that such variation would lead to variation in the type of migrants leaving these communities. The effect of variations in the structure of adolescents' aspirations could also have been observed in such a study. An investigation of these facets of migration would add greatly to the knowledge about the factors which give rise to variations in migration differentials.

A number of very important variables were not considered in this research. "Migration systems" and the migration

expectations of parents are two of these.[4] Since the major concern of the thesis was with the relationship between aspirations and opportunities, it was decided to exclude these variables for the immediate purposes of this research. It was assumed that the aspirations and attitudes of adolescents would generally correspond with those of their parents. Except for family obligations it was assumed that parental expectations would not act as barriers to migration where the independent variables used would have predicted it or would not act as a stimulus to migration where the variables used would not have predicted migration. Similar assumptions were made in regard to migration systems. Except as their influences were expressed in the attitudes and aspirations of respondents it was assumed that these variables were not relevant for the purposes of this research. The assumptions about the independent influence of these two variables obviously need to be investigated in future research.

It was also assumed that the level of occupational aspiration was a sufficient index of social mobility motives. This assumption has proved to be too simple. This research indicates that high levels of occupational aspiration appear to be part of a complex of aspirations and attitudes. Consequently even if occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied locally

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[4]See Hillery, G.A., et al., "Migration Systems of the Southern Appalachians: Some Demographic Observations," Rural Sociology, 30:1:pp. 33ff, 1965; and Brown, J.S., et al., "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem Family: An American Variation on a Theme by LePlay," Rural Sociology, 28:1:pp.48-69: 1963; and Crawford, C.O., "Family Attachments and Support for Migration of Young People," Rural Sociology, 31:3:pp. 293-310: 1966.

the remaining unfulfilled aspirations would lead to migration. The content of these aspirations have not been considered in this study, but should be the subject of some future research.

Aspirations for, and attitudes toward, community social provisions appear to be closely related to these social mobility aspirations, as evidenced by the large proportion of high occupational aspirers, and secondary educated respondents who stated that unless these were considerably improved they would not remain in the home community, even if occupational and income aspirations could be satisfied there. However, the attitude scale used to measure attitudes toward the community's social provisions has some major limitations. It was constructed in too summary a manner, insufficient attention having been given to the universe of relevant items, and to the selection of items from this universe. It was assumed that "community provisions" were viewed as a single dimension by respondents, although the items included in the scale varied very widely in reference. Five of the items referred to recreational provisions and aspects of the community, two referred to the schools, one to the roads, one to shopping facilities, and one to the remoteness of the community itself. It is highly likely that this is a multidimensional construct, however. Any future research, therefore, should attempt to separate these dimensions from one another. This could be done by devising a number of Guttman type scales for each area as it appears to the researcher. Alternatively, a large number of items could be devised which referred to all these aspects of the community's social provisions and institutions. These could be administered to a test population, and the results

factor analyzed into a number of unidimensional scales.[5]

Some of the same problems arise for Community Satisfaction. The conceptualization contains two distinct ideas. The first refers to cultural or value differences among respondents, which leads to differences in evaluations of the satisfactoriness of the local community relationships. The second refers to feelings of relative deprivation in these relationships. As a consequence the relationship between the conceptual definition of the variable and its operationalization is rather tenuous. It is strongly recommended that these two dimensions be separated in future research.

The measurement of social status used made it impossible to compare the farm and nonfarm segment of the population on this variable. It is possible that some modification of the reputational technique could have been used for this population. Had it been available, the relation of class and status factors to migration plans could have been investigated in greater depths. This aspect of migration planning should be pursued in future research.

The study indicated some unusual patterns of occupational recruitment within the community. Either employers from the centre discriminate in favor of more remote farm adolescents over manual adolescents from the centre, or the primary educated farm

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[5]See Guilford, J.P., Psychometric Methods, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1954, pp. 341-370; and Edwards, A.L., Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction, Appleton Century Crofts, New York, 1957, Chs. 6 and 7, pp. 149-200 for techniques of attitude scale construction.

adolescents are the only ones with sufficiently low levels of aspiration to be satisfied with the low paying service, semi-skilled and skilled jobs available there. These and other factors responsible for the disproportionate recruitment of remoter respondents for these jobs in the centre need to be investigated in greater depth than was attempted here.

The method used to measure the cultural orientation of families has many defects. A more direct measure of the variable would have been more satisfactory. Failing that, future use of the method should first investigate some of the non-economic factors that might be related to variations in socio-economic scores. Such factors as place of residence--town or open country--distance from the centre, other expenses of the family which cut down the money available for the household items included in the socioeconomic status scale, may all be affecting the status score received. If this is so, the lower tertile scores isolated may be indicative of factors other than values.

In general, despite the limitations of the design, the study does contribute some significant knowledge on migration planning and migration differentials. As indicated, however, there are still major gaps in our knowledge of both processes. It is, therefore, appropriate to include these remarks with the conventional exhortation that future research in this area is both necessary and desirable.

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APPENDIX I

Appendix I - District Electoral Divisions in the Community

The Names of the District Electoral Divisions Included within the Community, Arranged by Distance from Cavan.

1. Center: Cavan Urban.
2. Up to 2 miles from the center: Cavan Rural.
3. Districts 3 to 5 miles from Cavan: Killykeen, Moynehall, Clonervy, Ballyhaise, Butlersbridge, Ballinagh, Denn.
4. Districts 6 to 10 miles from Cavan: Cuttragh, Carragin, Crossdoney, Crosskeys, Ballintemple, Stradone, Drumcarban, Drung, Castlesaunderson, Corr.
5. Districts 10 miles and over from Cavan: Drumcarn, Milltown, Ardue, Kilconny.
6. Towns 10 miles and over from Cavan: Killashandra, Belturbet

APPENDIX II

Appendix II--The Questionnaire.

THE OCCUPATIONAL AND RESIDENCE PLANS OF IRISH YOUTH

Every year thousands of young people like yourself face the problem of choosing a life occupation and making their own way in the world. Although each individual has to make his own decisions and face his own problems, the experience of others can provide valuable information which can help you to solve your problems. Similarly, your experience with the problems you are meeting can help others, if it is brought to their attention. The information that we are gathering in this survey will be of great value in developing ways to help people like you in the problems that they are meeting, when setting out to find a suitable job for the first time. It is for these reasons that we ask you to answer the questions that follow, as seriously, and as sincerely as possible. We are interviewing about 600 people in Cavan on this survey.

The information that you give will be treated in the strictest confidence, and will be used only for research purposes. Your name and address is required only for sampling purposes, and will never be published in any connection.

1. Name: _____

2. Home Address: _____

3. Name of Primary School that you attended: _____

4. What year did you leave primary school? 1960 (0) 1961 (1) 1962 (2) 1963 (3)

5. What was your age on last birthday? 14 (0) 15 (1) 16 (2) 17 (3) 18 (4)
19 (5) 20 (6) 21 (7)

6. What did you do when you finished up in primary school?

(Please check off (✓) that statement that is most true in your case.)

( ) I didn't go on for any more education (0)

( ) I went to the vocational school for one year (1)

( ) I went to the vocational school for two years (2)

( ) I went to the vocational school for three years (3)

( ) I went to the secondary school for one year (4)

( ) I went to the secondary school for two years (5)

( ) I went to the secondary school for three years (6)

( ) I went to the secondary school for four years (7)

( ) I went to the secondary school for five years (8)

( ) I went to the secondary school for six years (9)

7. How many older, living brothers have you? _____

How many older, living sisters have you? _____

How many younger living brothers have you? _____

How many younger living sisters have you? _____

8. Please write in below the names, sex, age, educational level achieved, occupation, and current place of residence of each of your brothers and sisters. Start off with the oldest member of the family and include <u>all</u> living brothers and sister, leaving a blank space for your own place in the family.

Christian Name	Sex	Present Age	What is the highest educational level reached by each person so far				Occupation of each person. State job, and type of employment, trade, or profession	Present place of residence
			Primary School only	Vocational school	Secondary school	University		
1								
2								
3								

9. How many uncles have you? (a) on your father's side?___ no.

(b) on your mother's side?___ no.

How many aunts have you? (a) on your father's side?___ no.

(b) on your mother's side?___ no.

10. As far as you know, did any of these have a secondary school education?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Not sure ( )

If yes, how many? Uncles - father's side _____

Uncles - mother's side _____

Aunts - father's side _____

Aunts - mother's side _____

11. What are, or were, the occupations and residences of your uncles and aunts? If your aunts are married, what are the occupations of their husbands?

Names of all your uncles and aunts	State whether each one is your father's or mother's blood relation	What is each one's occupation or that of their husbands	Where does each one live? Name of place
1			
2			
3			

12. How many people live in your house at home? _____

How many separate rooms in the house? _____
(Do not include hallways, porches, bathrooms, or toilets, etc.)

What kind of lighting do you have in the house?
(Please check off the statement that is most true in your case.)

( ) electricity
( ) gas
( ) oil lamps
( ) other. If this, what kind? _____

(d) Do you have a piped water tap in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(e) Do you have hot water on tap in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(f) Do you have an indoor flush toilet in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(g) Do you have a bathroom in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(h) Do you have a telephone in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(i) Do you have a radio in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(j) Do you have a TV set in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(k) Do you have a washing machine in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(l) Do you have a kitchen range in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(m) Do you have an electric or gas cooker in the house? Yes ( ) No ( )
(n) Do you usually eat your meals in the kitchen at home? Yes ( ) No ( )
(o) Does your family have a car? Yes ( ) No ( )
(p) Do you have a carpet in the sitting room? Yes ( ) No ( )
(q) Do you have linoleum on the floors of some of the rooms in your house? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, which rooms? _____
(r) Have any new tiled fireplaces been put in your home in the past few years? Yes ( ) No ( )
(s) Is there an electric doorbell on the front door of your home? Yes ( ) No ( )

13. Do you get the daily newspaper at home every day? Yes ( ) No ( )
(b) Do you get the local newspaper at home every week? Yes ( ) No ( )
(c) Does your father read books regularly? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, what kind of books does he read?

_____

_____

(d) Does your mother read books regularly? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, what kind of books does she read?

_____

_____

(e) Do you get any weekly magazines at home? (incl. the 'Farmers' Journal') Yes ( ) No ( )
(f) Does your family listen to the news on the radio every day? Yes ( ) No ( )
(g) Would they 'miss' the news if they didn't hear it? Yes ( ) No ( )

14. Is your father a member of any organization? Yes ( ) No ( )
(e.g. N.F.A., Muintir na Tire, Red Cross, etc.)
If yes, what organizations is he a member of?

_____

_____

(b) Is your mother a member of any organization? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, what organizations is she a member of?

_____

_____

15. (a) Have you ever gone on holidays outside your home county? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, where did you go to?_____
(b) About how many times have you gone on holidays outside the county? _____
(c) Do your parents ever go on holidays away from home, even for a day or two? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, about how many times have they done so in the past ten years? _____
If yes, where do they usually go to? _____

(d) About how often do you have visitors at home?
( ) Less than once a year
( ) A few times a year
( ) About once a month or so, or less
( ) A few times a month
( ) Weekly, or more frequently

(e) What proportion of these visitors come from outside the county?
( ) Most of them
( ) More than half
( ) About half or maybe less
( ) Very few
( ) None

(f) Have you ever been to Dublin or Belfast? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, about how many times were you in these towns altogether? _____ times

16. (a) What is the principal occupation of your father? _____
(b) Does he have another occupation? If yes, what is it? _____
(c) If he is employed: (i.e. paid a wage or salary while working for somebody) State:
(1) Type of work done? _____
(2) Where he is employed? _____

(3) Approximately how much is he paid per week?
(Please check off that response that is most true in your case)

( ) £ 2 - £ 4 per week	(1)
( ) £ 4 - £ 6 per week	(2)
( ) £ 7 - £ 8 per week	(3)
( ) £ 9 - £ 10 per week	(4)
( ) £ 11 - £ 12 per week	(5)
( ) £ 13 - £ 14 per week	(6)
( ) £ 15 - £ 20 per week	(7)
( ) Over 20 per week	(8)
( ) Paid a salary on a monthly basis	(9)
( ) I don't know	(0)

(d) If he is self employed (owns a farm, some kind of business, or has a profession)
(1) State exactly the kind of business or profession?
_____

(e) If he is a farmer, please state:
(1) Size of farm in acres _____ (Are these Statute ( ) or Irish ( ).)
(2) If land is rented as well, about how many acres are rented? _____
(3) How many milking cows are kept on the farm? _____
(4) What is done with the milk if cows are kept? _____
_____
(5) How many other cattle are kept on the farm?

Store Cattle _____
Fat Cattle _____
Calves or yearlings _____
Dry cows _____

(6) How many pigs are kept?
Sows _____
Weaners _____
Bacon pigs _____
Bonhams _____

(7) How many sheep are kept? _____
(8) About how many acres of tillage are cultivated on the total farm, including rented land, this year?
_____
(9) How many acres of each crop?
_____
_____
_____

Are they Irish ( ) or Statute ( ) acres?

17. What did your father's education consist of? Answer to the best of your knowledge. (Please check off (✓) that statement that is most true in your case.)

( ) A National School education only (0)
( ) 1-2 years of secondary school education (1)
( ) 3-4 years of secondary school education (2)
( ) Finished secondary school education (3)
( ) Some vocational school education (4)
( ) Completed vocational school education (5)
( ) Some University education (6)
( ) Completed University education (7)

18. What did your mother's education consist of? Answer to the best of your knowledge: (Please check off (✓) that response that is most true in your case.)

( ) A National School education only (0)
( ) 1-2 years of secondary school education (1)
) 3-4 years of secondary school education (2)
) Completed Secondary school education (3)
) Some Vocational School education (4)
) Completed Vocational School education (5)
( ) Some University education (6)
( ) Completed University education (7)

19. What your father talks about his brothers and sisters, and compares the education that he got to what they obtained, does he thinks that: (Please check that response that is most true in your case)

( ) His education was better than theirs (3)
( ) His education was about as good as theirs (2)
( ) His education was not as good as theirs (1)
( ) I have never heard him discuss the question (0)

20. Has he ever mentioned that he would have liked to get a better education?

( ) Definite yes (2)
( ) Yes, in a general sort of way (1)
( ) No (0)

21. Now about your mother, when she talks about her brothers and sisters, and compares the education that she got to what they obtained, does she think that: (Please check only that response that is most true in your case)

( ) Her education was better than theirs (3)
( ) Her education was about as good as theirs (2)
( ) Her education was not as good as theirs (1)
( ) I have never heard her discuss that question (0)

22. Has she ever mentioned that she would have liked to get a better education?

( ) Definitely yes (2)
( ) Yes, in a general sort of way (1)
( ) No (0)

23. Now, in regard to yourself, in comparing yourself to most of your brothers and sisters, do you think that the education you received or are receiving was

( ) Better than theirs (2)
( ) As good as theirs (1)
( ) Not as good as theirs (0)

24. Would you have liked to get a better education, than the one you did get?

( ) Definitely yes (2)
( ) Yes (1)
( ) No (0)

25. When you finished up in primary school did any of your parents want you to go on for further education?

( ) Yes
( ) No (0)

If yes, which of them?

( ) Father (1)
( ) Mother (2)
( ) Both (3)

If yes, how strongly do you think they/he/she felt about this?

( ) Very strongly (3)
( ) Strongly (2)
( ) Didn't seem to care that much (1)

(0 = No in 20)

If yes, what kind of school did they/he/she want you to go to?

( ) Secondary
( ) Vocational
( ) Other. If this, what kind?

26. Did your Primary school-teacher ever encourage you to go on for further education beyond primary school?

( ) Yes
( ) No (0)

If yes, how strongly did he encourage you?

( ) Very strongly (3)
( ) Strongly (2)
( ) Didn't seem to care that much (1)

If yes, what kind of school did he want you to go to?

( ) Secondary
( ) Vocational
( ) Other. If this, what kind?

27. Are you now, or have you been, working full time on a job, or on your home farm or business? Yes ( ) No ( ) 0
If no, go on to question no. 29
If yes, and you have been working on your home farm, or in the family business go on to question no. 28.
If at other type of work, please answer the following questions.
(a) What kind of work have you been doing? _____
(b) Where or what organization have you been working with? _____
(c) Do you live at home? Yes ( ) No ( )
(d) About how much do you earn per week? _____
(e) Is this a whole time job? Yes ( ) No ( )
(f) Do you like this type of work? Yes ( ) No ( ) Undecided ( )
(g) Do you think that you will stay permanently at this particular job? Yes ( ) No ( ) Not sure ( )
0 2 1
(h) If yes skip to question no. 51 or 53
(i) If no, skip to question 29

28. If you have been working on the home farm or in the family business, please answer the following questions. (If you haven't skip to the next question)
(a) Have you been paid a regular weekly or monthly wage for your work? Yes ( ) No ( )
(b) If yes, how much have you been paid, about? £ ___s___d___per week
(c) If no, about how much pocketmoney do you get? _____ per week
(d) Is this a whole time job? Yes ( ) No ( )
(e) Do you like this work? Yes ( ) No ( ) Undecided ( )
(f) Do you think that you will get to own the home farm or business eventually? Yes ( ) No ( ) Not sure ( )
0 1
If yes, how sure are you of this?
( ) Very sure (5)
( ) Somewhat sure (4)
( ) No opinion (3)
( ) Somewhat unsure (2)
(g) If yes, (you think that you will get to town the home farm or business), how old do you think you will be when you get to own it? _____years old
(h) How sure are you of this?
( ) very sure
( ) somewhat sure
( ) no opinion
( ) somewhat unsure
( ) very unsure
(i) Has your father ever discussed this question with you? Yes ( ) No ( )
(j) Has your mother ever discussed this question with you? Yes ( ) No ( )

(k) Do you think that you will stay on working at this job permanently? Yes ( ) No ( ) Not sure ( )
If yes, please skip to question no. 51 or 53.

(l) If no, at what age do you think you will start looking for another job? _____ years old

(m) If no, what plans have you of what you might do when you finish up? (If you have answered this question, skip to q. 29 next)

_____

_____

_____

29. If you think that you will stay working at what you are doing now, please skip to q. 51 or 53. If not and you are thinking of getting another job, or you are to start working yet, please answer the following questions. (All students in secondary and vocational schools should answer these questions as well.)

(a) What jobs (occupations) have you thought of going into?
1 _____ 3 _____
2 _____ 4 _____

(b) What job(s) would you really like to get?
1 _____ 3 _____
2 _____ 4 _____

(c) What is the first job(s) that you think you will get?
1 _____ 3 _____
2 _____ 4 _____

(d) What job(s) would you like to have when you are 30 years old?
1 _____ 3 _____
2 _____ 4 _____

(e) What is (are) the best job(s) you think you can get by the time you are 30 years old?
1 _____ 3 _____
2 _____ 4 _____

30. Now in regard to choosing a job, how deeply have you thought about it? (Please check off that statement that is most true in your case.)
( ) I have thought a great deal about it.
( ) I have thought somewhat about it.
( ) I have not thought very much about it.

31. Now in regard to choosing a job, how sure are you of your choice? (Please check off that statement that is most true in your case)
( ) I am sure that my mind is made up.
( ) I am not sure that my mind is made up but I think so.
( ) I am not sure that my mind is made up.
( ) My mind is not made up.

32. In regard to choosing and getting a job, how anxious do you feel about it.
( ) I feel very anxious.
( ) I feel somewhat anxious.
( ) I feel just a little anxious.
( ) I don't feel anxious at all.

33. Of the jobs that you have just considered, do you think that you will be able to get any of them, in or near your home community?
( ) Yes (0)
( ) No (2)
( ) Not sure (1)
If yes, which one(s)? _____

33a. What kind of jobs could you get around here if you wanted them?
_____

34. Now supposing that you could get the sort of job(s) that you have just considered, in or near your home community, would you take it and stay permanently there?
( ) Yes (0)
( ) No (2)
( ) Not sure (1)

35. Do you intend to leave this part of the country to get a job and live your life elsewhere?
( ) Yes (2)
( ) No (0)
( ) Not sure (1)

36. If you intend to leave, do you know of any place, either in Ireland or abroad, where you could go to get a suitable job?
( ) Yes
( ) No
( ) Not sure
If yes, where is this place? _____
How, or from whom, did you hear about this place? _____

37. Has anybody offered to help you find a good job? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, who is this person? _____

38. Do you have a definite job waiting for you?
( ) Yes
( ) No
If yes, is it one of the jobs that you have just considered? Yes ( )
No ( )
If it is not, what kind of job is it? _____
Do you intend to take it? Yes ( ) No ( )
Where is it located? _____

39. Which of the jobs that you have just considered, do you know most about? _____

40. From whom, or how did you get your information about that (these) jobs? _____

40a. Who could give you the most help in getting a job? _____

41. Now, about choosing a job, and getting a job: about how fully, if ever, have you discussed this with your father?
( ) very fully
( ) rather fully
( ) vaguely discussed it
( ) never discussed it

42. How fully have you discussed this matter with your mother, if ever?
( ) very fully
( ) rather fully
( ) vaguely discussed it
( ) never discussed it

43. About the type of job you should get, do you think that: (Please check that response that is most true in your case.)
( ) Your father wants you to have a more important job than the one he has
( ) Your father wants you to have a job at least as important as the one he has
( ) Your father would not mind if you took a job that was not as important as the one he has

44. About the type of job that you should get, do you think that: (Please check that response that is most true in your case.)
( ) Your mother wants you to have a more important job than the one your father has
( ) Your mother wants you to have a job that is at least as important as the one your father has
( ) Your mother would not mind if you took a job that was not as important as the one your father has

45. About getting a job, do you think that: (Please check that response that is most true in your case)
( ) Your father wants you to get a job that pays better than the one he has
( ) Your father wants you to get a job that pays about as well as the one he has
( ) Your father does not mind if you get a job that does not pay as well as the one he has

46. About getting a job, which of the following do you think your mother wants? (Please check that response that is most true in your case.)
( ) A job that pays somewhat better than the one your father has.
( ) A job that pays as well as the one your father has.
( ) She wouldn't mind if you took a job that does not pay as well as the one your father has.

47. Now, what about your own feelings about a job, do you want: (Please check that response that is most true in your case.)
( ) A job that pays better than the one your father has.
( ) A job that pays as well as the one your father has.
( ) You don't mind if you take a job that does not pay as well as the one your father has.

48. What jobs do your parents think that you should go into?
1 _____ 3 _____
2 _____ 4 _____

(b) Would you like to take up the kind of jobs that they want you to take up? Yes ( ) No ( )
(c) If not, what is there about their selection of jobs that you don't like? _____
_____

(d) Could they help you to get a job that you wanted?
Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, in what way could they help you? _____
_____

49. Do you think that your parents expect you to take up a job locally?
Yes ( ) No ( )
Would they be disappointed if you go away to get a job?
Yes ( ) No ( )
Do they expect you to leave to get a good job?
Yes ( ) No ( )

50. What does your father think of farming as an occupation? _____
_____

51. (FOR BOYS ONLY, GIRLS GO ON TO Q. NO. 53)

For the following list of occupations, please check off (✓) all those occupations that you feel you would be "letting down" your family, if you were to take them up!

( ) Co. Council road worker
( ) Farm laborer
( ) General unskilled labor
( ) Street sweeper
( ) Caretaker

( ) Manual worker on the buildings
( ) Factory worker - unskilled
( ) Messenger boy
( ) Doorman or Porter
( ) Creamery worker unskilled
( ) Laundry worker
( ) Petrol pump attendant
( ) Lorry driver's helper
( ) Milk delivery man
( ) Bread roundsman
( ) Bus conductor
( ) Lorry driver
( ) Factory worker - semiskilled
( ) Bus driver
( ) Ticket collector on train
( ) Shoemaker or cobbler
( ) Barber
( ) Corporal in the army
( ) Assistant in a grocery shop
( ) Assistant in a drapery shop
( ) Postman
( ) Foreman over laborers
( ) Foreman on a building site
( ) Skilled factory worker
( ) Garage mechanic
( ) Painter
( ) Carpenter
( ) Plasterer or bricklayer
( ) Butcher
( ) Plumber
( ) Tailor
( ) Book keeper in shop etc.
( ) Clerk in insurance or other office
( ) Clerk in the county council
( ) Bank clerk
( ) Inspector on the buses, etc.
( ) Garda
( ) Rate collector
( ) Reporter on a local newspaper
( ) Insurance agent
( ) Farmer, owning own farm
( ) Commerical traveller
( ) Primary school teacher
( ) Inspector for farm buildings or drainage, etc.
( ) Cashier in the bank or equivalent
( ) Agricultural Advisor
( ) Secondary school teacher
( ) Engineer
( ) Accountant
( ) Solicitor
( ) Bank Manager
( ) Dentist

( ) Chemist
( ) Architect
( ) Doctor
( ) Judge

52. (FOR BOYS ONLY, GIRLS GO ON TO THE NEXT QUESTION)

For the following list of occupations, please check off (✓) all those occupations you feel sure you would not be able to get, even if you tried; and if plenty of these jobs were available!

( ) Co. Council road worker
( ) Farm laborer
( ) General unskilled laborer
( ) Street sweeper
( ) Caretaker
( ) Manual worker on the buildings
( ) Factory worker - unskilled
( ) Messenger boy
( ) Doorman or Porter
( ) Creamery worker unskilled
( ) Laundry worker
( ) Petrol pump attendant
( ) Lorry driver's helper
( ) Milk delivery man
( ) Bread roundsman
( ) Bus conductor
( ) Lorry driver
( ) Factory worker - semiskilled
( ) Bus driver
( ) Ticket collector on train
( ) Shoemaker or cobbler
( ) Barber
( ) Corporal in the army
( ) Assistant in a grocery shop
( ) Assistant in a drapery shop
( ) Postman
( ) Foreman over laborers
( ) Foreman on a building site
( ) Skilled factory worker
( ) Garage mechanic
( ) Painter
( ) Carpenter
( ) Plasterer or bricklayer
( ) Butcher
( ) Plumber
( ) Tailor
( ) Book keeper in shop, etc.
( ) Clerk in insurance or other office
( ) Clerk in the county council
( ) Bank clerk
( ) Inspector on the buses, etc.

( ) Garda
( ) Rate collector
( ) Reporter on a local newspaper
( ) Insurance agent
( ) Farmer, owning own farm
( ) Commercial traveller
( ) Primary school teacher
( ) Inspector for farm buildings or drainage, etc.
( ) Cashier in the bank or equivalent
( ) Agricultural Advisor
( ) Secondary school teacher
( ) Engineer
( ) Accountant
( ) Solicitor
( ) Bank manager
( ) Dentist
( ) Chemist
( ) Architect
( ) Doctor
( ) Judge

53. FOR GIRLS ONLY: BOYS GO ON TO Q. NO. 56

For the following list of occupations, please check off (✓) all those occupations that you feel you would be "letting down" your family if you were to take them up!

( ) Domestic servant
( ) Wardsmaid in a hospital
( ) Unskilled factory worker
( ) Clothes presser in a laundry
( ) Housework at home
( ) Housekeeper for a Priest or doctor, etc.
( ) Cinema usherette
( ) Barmaid
( ) Waitress in hotel or restaurant
( ) Cook in an hotel
( ) Assistant in a grocery shop
( ) Assistant in a drapery shop
( ) Chemist's assistant
( ) Bookkeeper in a shop or office
( ) Telephone operator
( ) Post Office clerk
( ) Dressmaker
( ) Hairdresser
( ) Clerk in solicitor's office
( ) Clerks in other offices
( ) Clerk typist
( ) Civil servant clerk
( ) Bank clerk
( ) Nurse

( ) Executive officer in the civil service
( ) Teacher in a primary school
( ) Librarian
( ) Poultry Instructress
( ) Domestic Science Teacher
( ) Teacher in a Secondary School
( ) Manageress of an Hotel
( ) Fashion Model
( ) Chemist
( ) Air Hostess
( ) Architect
( ) Dentist
( ) Doctor

54. (FOR GIRLS ONLY: BOYS GO ON TO Q. 56)

For the following list of occupations, please check off (✓) all those occupations that you feel sure you would not be able to get, even if you tried; and if plenty of these jobs were available.

( ) Domestic Servant
( ) Wardsmaid in a hospital
( ) Unskilled factory worker
( ) Clothes presser in a laundry
( ) Housework at home
( ) Housekeeper for a Priest or doctor, etc.
( ) Cinema usherette
( ) Barmaid
( ) Waitress in hotel or restaurant
( ) Cook in an hotel
( ) Assistant in a grocery shop
( ) Assistant in a drapery shop
( ) Chemist's assistant
( ) Bookkeeper in a shop or office
( ) Telephone operator
( ) Post Office Clerk
( ) Dressmaker
( ) Hairdresser
( ) Clerk in solicitor's office
( ) Clerks in other offices
( ) Clerk typist
( ) Civil servant clerk
( ) Bank clerk
( ) Nurse
( ) Executive officer in the civil service
( ) Teacher in a primary school
( ) Librarian
( ) Poultry Instructress
( ) Domestic Science Teacher
( ) Teacher in a Secondary School
( ) Manageress of an Hotel

( ) Fashion Model
( ) Chemist
( ) Air Hostess
( ) Architect
( ) Dentist
( ) Doctor

55. (FOR GIRLS ONLY: BOYS GO ON TO THE NEXT QUESTION)

(a) Do you feel that when you are to get married, that you would like to be a farmer's wife? (Please check off that response that is most true in your case.)

( ) Definitely yes
( ) Yes
( ) Undecided
( ) No
( ) Definitely no

(b) What is there about being a farmer's wife that you would particularly dislike?

_____

(c) Is there anything about being a farmer's wife, that you would particularly like? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, what is it? _____

(d) Some people have said that even if good jobs were available in this part of the country for girls, that they would not stay here anyway; because there is so little chance of getting married in this part of the country.
Do you agree with this? Yes ( ) No ( )

(e) For most girls of your age, what age do you think they should be married at? _____years old

(f) If they stayed around home do you think that they would get married at that age? Yes ( ) No ( )

56. (For both boys and girls)
Below each line represents two facts people think to be important in getting a job, or in getting promotion. For each pair, you should underline that fact that you believe to be the more important of the two? This is not a test. There are no right and wrong answers to this. It is just different peoples' opinions that we are interested in.

1. Fact 1. The person with the best qualifications gets the job.
   Fact 2. The person who has the most pull with the boss gets the job.

2. Fact 1. Although ability is important in promotion, you should be always willing to pull some strings to get ahead.
   Fact 2. Even when you are on the friendliest terms with the boss, he should never consider this factor in making a promotion.
3. Fact 1. There are some jobs, where no matter how much pull you have if you haven't got the ability you will not get ahead.
   Fact 2. There are no jobs where pull is not important.
4. Fact 1. The first thing that you should do in looking for a job, is to see that you have the proper qualifications, and to improve these to better your chances.
   Fact 2. The first thing that you should do in looking for a job, is to see if you have some relative or friend of the family, who can put in a good word for you, or who knows somebody who can.
5. Fact 1. People should not compete with one another for promotion; it should be given to the oldest one present.
   Fact 2. Competition among equals for jobs and promotion is good, it makes people work harder, and also improves their working ability.

57. Below, each pair of statements represents two facts that people consider when they are choosing a job. You should underline the fact that you consider to be the more important one of the two for you.

1. Fact 1. A job where you can meet a lot of people.
   Fact 2. A job where you work with your hands and with machines and things.
2. Fact 1. A job which requires spending a lot of the time just thinking things out.
   Fact 2. A job which requires spending a lot of time working with one's hands.
3. Fact 1. A job which allows one to meet a lot of new people and do business with them.
   Fact 2. A job which requires spending a lot of time just thinking things out.
4. Fact 1. A job which allows one to work outside.
   Fact 2. A job which allows one to work inside.
5. Fact 1. A job where you can help people to solve their problems.
   Fact 2. A job where you can keep on improving your own abilities, and your own position.

58. How strongly do you agree, or disagree, that young people like yourself should provide for themselves, in the future, the following sorts of things? (Please check that response that is most true in your case.)

(a) A better house than their parents have.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).

(b) Electric light and power in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).

(c) A piped water supply for the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(d) Hot water on tap in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(e) An indoor flush toilet in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(f) A bathroom in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(g) A telephone in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(h) A radio in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(i) A T.V. set in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(j) A washing machine in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(k) A kitchen range in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(l) An electric or gas cooker in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(m) A dining room, separate from the kitchen,in the house.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(n) A car.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(o) A daily newspaper.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(p) The house papered and cleaned every year or so.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree ( ).

(q) Carpets on the floors of the house, at least in the sitting room.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ).
Strongly Disagree.

59. For the things that you have just mentioned above, and other things like them, that you feel people should have, do you think that if you stay in your home community or near it, that you will be able to achieve these things that you want?

( ) Yes (0)
( ) No (2)
( ) Not sure (1)

60. Now, supposing that you could get all these things and a suitable job by staying around here, would you stay here permanently?

( ) Yes (0)
( ) No (2)
( ) Not sure (1)

61. Now, if you could get a permanent and otherwise suitable job, in a place of your own choosing, how much would the job need to pay per week before you would be satisfied with it? (Please check only that response that you agree most with.)

( ) £ 2 - £ 4 per week (1)
( ) £ 4 - £ 6 per week (2)
( ) £ 7 - £ 8 per week (3)
( ) £ 9 - £ 10 per week (4)
( ) £ 11 - £ 12 per week (5)
( ) £ 13 - £ 14 per week (6)
( ) £ 15 - £ 20 per week (7)
( ) Over £ 20 per week (8)
( ) I don't know (0)

62. Now, for the type of income that you want to earn, do you think that if you stay in or near your home community, that you will be able to earn this income?

( ) Yes (0)
( ) No (2)
( ) Not sure (1)

63. Now supposing that you could get the sort of income that you want, in or near your home community, would you stay there permanently?

( ) Yes (0)
( ) No (2)
( ) Not sure (1)

64. Do you intend to leave this part of the country so that you can get a better income elsewhere?

( ) Yes (2)
( ) No (0)
( ) Not sure (1)

65. If you are thinking of going, as a reason for leaving, is the fact that you cannot get a suitable income here (i.e. if you cannot get it) an important reason for leaving?
Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, it is ( ) more important than the lack of jobs as a reason for leaving.
( ) about as important as the lack of jobs as a reason for leaving.
( ) less important than the absence of jobs, as such, as a reason for leaving.

66. Some young people from your community have said that they would not live there always, but only in a community which had the following characteristics. How much do you agree with them?
(a) Which was nearer to a big town than the one you live in?
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(b) Which has better roads than the one you now live in?
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(c) Which has better primary schools than the one you now live in?
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(d) Which was nearer to secondary and vocational schools than the one you now live in?
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(e) Which allowed me to enjoy my time off much better than in my home community?
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(f) Where a person would not have to go so far to enjoy a good dance or a good film?
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(g) Where the community has better facilities for games than this one has?
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(h) Where people showed more interest in games, and organized clubs and teams for young people to play and enjoy themselves.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(i) Where there would be more young people to go to films and dances with, and to organize games with.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(j) Which is nearer to shops and good shopping facilities than the one you live in?
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).

67. Now, suppose that you could enjoy all these things, and similar amenities in your home community would you stay there permanently?
( ) Yes (0)
( ) No (2)
( ) Undecided (1)

68. If you have some idea of leaving your home community for elsewhere, is the fact that your home community lacks the amenities that you would like it to have, an important reason for this decision?
( ) Yes ( ) No

If yes, is it:
( ) more important than the lack of jobs?
( ) more important than the fact that you wouldn't be able to earn enough money locally?
( ) less important than jobs, as a reason
( ) less important than the fact of being unable to earn enough money locally, as a reason.

(Please check off (✓) only those statements that are true in your case.)

69. Do you know of any place in which you could make more money than at home, and which has all the amenities and advantages that you think are satisfactory?
( ) Yes
( ) No
( ) Don't know.
If yes, where is this place? _____

70. For the following set of statements, please check off (✓) only that one response that you agree most with in each case.
(a) I am looking forward to leaving this community.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(b) Any young people worth their salt should leave this community.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(c) Not much can be said in favor of this community.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(d) No one seems to care how young people get on in this community.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(e) There is too much bickering among people in this community.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(f) This community is not too bad really.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).
(g) The future of this community looks bright.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).

(h) The people of this community are very friendly and helpful to one another.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).

(i) This community is a good place to live in.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).

(j) I am very eager to spend my life in this community, if I can atall.
Strongly Agree ( ). Agree ( ). Undecided ( ). Disagree ( ). Strongly Disagree ( ).

71. Do you help out your family or some other relation in any way?
Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, please give details of what you do _____

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72. Do you think that your family, or some relation depend on your help to any extent?
Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, how much: ( ) A great deal
( ) Somewhat
( ) Undecided
( ) Not very much

73. Now, if you were to leave your community and home, could somebody else do the work that you are doing for them?
( ) Yes, very easily
( ) Yes, somewhat easily
( ) I don't know
( ) No, not very easily
( ) Not except with difficulty

74. Now if your family depend on you helping them out at home to some extent, (or some relation does), would you feel guilty leaving your family to get work, and live away from home?
( ) Yes ( ) No
If yes, how guilty would you feel?
( ) Yes, very guilty
( ) Yes, somewhat guilty
( ) I am undecided
( ) Not very guilty

75. If you are helping out your family by working at home, for how long will you be expected to do this? _____

76. What do you intend to do when you think your obligations to your family are finished? _____

77. Now, if you are earning, or when you do start earning money, will you be expected to contribute some to the family?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, do you think that your family might depend on you for this support? (Please check that response that is most true in your case.)

( ) Yes, a great deal
( ) Yes, somewhat
( ) I am undecided
( ) No, not at all

78. Have you any younger brothers or sisters that have to be educated yet?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, will you expected to help them out in any way?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, please give us some particulars of what kind of help you would be expected to give? _____

79. Do you feel in any way that you are being exploited by your family for the sake of your brothers and sisters? (Please check off (✓) that response that is most true in your case.)

( ) Yes, very much so
( ) Yes, somewhat so
( ) I am undecided
( ) No, not at all
( ) No, in fact I am being helped by my brothers and sisters

APPENDIX III

Appendix III--Occupational Classifications Used in the Survey

(a) Used in the Census of School Leavers 1960-64.

1. Higher Professional Occupations. i.e. Those with a University degree or equivalent. As in Vol. III, Census of Population of Ireland, 1961, pp. 171-172.

Doctor	Accountant
Dentist	Veterinary Surgeon
Engineer	Agricultural Instructor or Inspector
Clergyman	Chemist
Solicitor	

2. Lower Professional and Higher Non-Manual Occupations. As in the Census of Population report, op. cit.; but includes also Army Officers from the "Salaried Employees" category.

   National, Vocational, and Secondary School teachers.
   Civil Servants; including Higher officers in the Co. Council, Social Welfare Officers, Customs and Excise Officers, and Tax Officers;
   Higher Bank Officers
   Army Officers
   Occulists, etc.

3. Employers, Managers, and Proprietors of Wholesale and Retail Shops and Businesses.

   As in Census classification, but includes all shop proprietors, and Publicans from the "Intermediate Non-Manual" category.

   Owners of small Manufacturing concerns, including Laundry owners.
   Shopkeepers, Merchants etc., Grocers, Drapers, Shoeshops, Confectioners, General Stores, Newsagents, etc.
   Creamery Business and Factory Managers
   Postmaster and Sub-Postmasters
   Publicans
   Garage Owners and Car Dealers
   Building Contractors
   Hauliers and Agricultural Contractors
   Livestock and Egg Dealers
   Hoteliers, and Restaurateurs.
   Other Proprietors of businesses, etc.

4. Farmers.

5. Intermediate Non-Manual Workers. Includes the remainder of 'Salaried Employees', and 'Intermediate Non-Manual Workers' in the Census classification quoted, but excludes Shop Assistants, Barmen, etc. to the "Services" category

below, and all Proprietors, and Publicans to the "Employers, and Managers" category above.

Commercial Traveler	Bank clerks, Cashiers
Insurance Agent	Bookkeepers, in shops, etc.
Press Agent, or Newspaper Reporter	Rate Collectors
Policemen, all ranks	Bus and other Transport Inspectors
Clerks in Post Offices, and other offices, etc.	Draughtsmen in Engineers, and Co. Council offices

6. Service and Sales Workers, and 'Other Non-Manual' Occupations.

This includes the category, "Other Non-Manual Workers" of the Census classification cited. Some individual occupations from this census category, however, have been demoted to the Semi-skilled category because of their lower status.

Shop Assistants and Bartenders, and assistants in garages, etc.
General Salesmen
Bus, Lorry, Taxi, and Van Drivers, Chauffeurs, etc.
Bus Conductors
Postmen
Bread Roundsmen
Barber and Hairdressers
Butlers, Housekeepers, etc.
Sorters in the Postal service
Soldiers, junior ranks
Storemen in Garages, etc.

7. Skilled Manual Workers and Foremen. As in the Census Volume cited, p. 172.

Electricians	Blacksmiths
Mechanics	Bakers
Plumbers	Tailors
Butchers	Foremen, Landstewards, etc.
Carpenters	General Tradesmen and Other Skilled Workers
Cobblers and Saddlers	
Bricklayers, Masons, etc.	

8. Semi-Skilled Manual Workers and Lower Order Service Workers.

As in the census classification, but includes some occupations from the "Other Non-Manual" category which are of a demonstrably lower status.

Labourers with Builders, the Electric Supply Board, and the Land Project.
Unskilled Workers
Creamery Labourers.
Caretakers
Porters and Doormen in Banks, Hospitals, and Hotels, etc.
Petrol Attendants
Hospital Orderlies
Maids, Messengers, and other similar service categories

9. Unskilled Manual Workers.

Labourers with the Co. Council, on the road service, etc.
General labourers, etc.
Farm labourers.

This classification scheme is based on the Census classification, "Social Groups". Census of Population for Ireland, 1961, Vol. III, pp. 171-172. But as it is primarily a classification based on the relative prestige of the occupation, many occupations have been changed around and the relative position of categories have been changed too. These changes have been made on the basis of prestige rankings of occupations delineated in the United States,[1] and generally validated in Britain and Europe.[2] The author used his own opinions of how some occupations would be evaluated here for some occupations which were not mentioned in any of these reports.

(b) When the previous classification had been used in the coding of the initial survey, it was found that certain inconsistencies existed in the categorization. It was then decided to make some changes, to give a more precise ordering of occupational categories and to reorder some individual occupations which were wrongly classified. However, only 18 out of 1,485 subjects coded were wrongly categorized in the first coding. As this was so small it was decided not to change the original coding here. However, this second coding is likely to be a better ordering of occupations according to their relative status. The group Proprietors, Managers, etc. was also changed so that only proprietors and employers were included in the category. This was done so that owners of the means of production might be differentiated from nonowners.

1. Higher Professional Workers. As in Vol. III, Census of Population of Ireland, 1961, pp. 171-172, op. cit.

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[1]National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News, 9:3:13:1947. Reprinted in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power, Free Press, 1956.

[2]Inkeles, A., and Rossi, P.H., "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," American Journal of Sociology, 61:329-339.

Chemists are included here, however, from "the Lower Professional" category.

Doctor, Surgeon, etc.
Priest or Minister of Religion
Architect
Dentist
Solicitor
Engineer
Accountant
Veterinary Surgeon
Secondary School Teacher
Chemist
Agricultural Instructors
Other Professional Workers who require a University degree or an equivalent to practice.

2. Lower Professional Workers, Classified as in the above Census volume. But it also includes: Army officers, from the "Salaried Employees" class. Managers of large concerns - Creameries, factories, etc. from the "Employers and Managers" category and Senior Civil servants and local County officials etc.

Primary and Vocational School Teachers who do not require a University degree.

Higher Bank officials and officials of large concerns, Managers, Secretaries, Cashiers in banks, etc.
Higher civil service and local county officials, Social Welfare officers, Customs and Excise officials, tax officers.
Army officers
Nurses, Radiologists, Physiotherapists, etc.
Medical technicians.
Librarians.
Editors and higher officers in newspapers.

3. Employers and Proprietors of Wholesale and Retail Shops. As in the census classification, op. cit., but excluding all managers of large concerns to the "Lower Professional" category, and Managers of small concerns to the "Intermediate Non-Manual "category. It also includes all proprietors of wholesale and retail establishments whether employers or not, from the "Intermediate Non-Manual" category.

Owners of Proprietors of all manufacturing concerns
Shopkeepers, Merchants, etc. whether employers or not
Publicans, proprietors only, whether employers or not
Garage proprietors whether employers or not
Hotel and Guest Home Proprietors, and Proprietors of restaurants
Building Contractors
Hauliers and Agricultural Contractors, Livestock and Egg Dealers, etc.

4. Farmers.

5. Intermediate Non-Manual Workers. This includes the remainder of the "Salaried Employees" and the "Intermediate Non-Manual Workers" from the above classification. But it excludes Shop Assistants, and Bartenders, to the following "Services" category. It also includes Managers of small concerns, retail and otherwise, from the "Employers and Managers" category.

Commercial Travelers
Insurance Agents
Press Agents or Reporters
Bank Clerks, etc.
Other Office clerks, typists, etc. in other offices
Policemen, all ranks
Auctioneers, salesmen in garages, etc.
Rate collectors
Bus and other transport inspectors
Draughtsmen, etc.

6. Skilled Manual Workers and Foremen. As in the census report quoted.

Electrician
Machinist
Carpenter
Motor Mechanic, fitter, etc.
Plumber
Butcher
Bricklayer, mason, plasterer
Tailor, dressmaker
Foremen, land steward, etc.

7. Service and Sales Workers and "Other Non-Manual Workers". Includes the category "Other Non-Manual Workers" and the cited occupations from "Intermediate Non-Manual Workers". But it excludes all private domestic workers to the next occupational category below.

Shop assistants, Bartenders, and service assistants in garages, etc. other than petrol attendants
General salesmen
Bus, lorry, taxi, and van drivers
Postmen and post office sorters
Warehousemen and storemen
Barbers and hairdressers
Waiters and waitresses
Wardsmaids and ward orderlies
Housekeepers, roundsmen, soldiers, etc.

8. Semi-Skilled Manual Workers, and Lower Order Service Workers.
Includes all the occupations in the "Semi-Skilled Manual Workers" category in the quoted Census volume. But it also includes maids and other lower order domestic service workers from the "Other Non-Manual Workers".

Labourers with builders, electricity supply board, post office, etc, and land project
Semiskilled factory workers, in meat and shoe factories; other machine operators
Labourers in creameries and other semi-skilled labourers
Porters and doormen in banks, hotels, hospitals, etc.
Messengers
Caretakers, watchmen, and related workers
Lorry drivers' helpers, and other transport workers
Petrol attendants

9. Unskilled Manual Workers. Includes all those in the "Unskilled Manual Workers" category, in the census classification, op. cit., and those from "Other Agricultural Occupations".

Co. council labourers and navies
General labourers and unskilled workers
Farm labourers
Gardeners and forestry labourers

10. Unemployed and otherwise not classified.

APPENDIX IV

Appendix IV--Scalogram Analysis of Occupational Prestige in Cavar.

Procedure:

First, one hundred and twenty five schedules of male respondents were randomly extracted from the 546 completed schedules. Question 51 in the schedule dealt with the respondents evaluations of the relative prestige level of occupations. This question placed a list of 61 occupations before the respondent. The question asked, "For the following list of occupations, please check off (✓) all those occupations that you feel you would be 'letting down' your family, if you were to take up." These occupations were widely known in the area, and were arranged in an ascending order of status (according to the author's opinion). The lowest occupation on the list was 'Co. Council Road Worker' and the highest was 'Judge'. As it happened, the respondents did not at all agree with the author's assessment of the relative prestige of these occupations. (See the appended respondent ordered list and their original rank order.) It was possible to rearrange and rank order the items in terms of their degree of 'difficulty' of rejection, (i.e., in terms of the relative number of respondents out of 125 who checked the occupation as of lower status than that of their family). The Waisanen technique of the Guttman Scalogram analysis,[1] was used for this purpose. As

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[1] Waisanen, F.B., "A Technique for Scalogram Analysis," Soc. Ortly.: 1:4, 1960.

the scale type of respondents was not immediately of interest the concern was with the relative rank order of items (i.e. occupations) alone. If respondents reject and accept these occupations on the basis of their relative prestige alone, then the only determinant of response to these items should be their 'amount' of prestige relative to that of the individual's own family. Since the prestige level of respondents' families varies very widely a Guttman type scaling of the item responses should yield an undimensional scale of occupations ranked on the basis of prestige alone. That is, provided the scale meets all the criteria of scalability required by the method. The procedure was as follows:

1. Start with a matrix of 61 occupations and 125 respondents, with each person's response to each item, i.e. (a) reject it as lower in status than that of family (= (o); or accept as equal or higher (=(x).
2. (a) Compute for <u>each</u> item (occupation) the number who reject the occupation. (b) Compute for each person his total score i.e., <u>number</u> of occupations he rejected.
3. Reorder items and respondents into a new matrix by (a) the "popularity" of item (i.e. number of times occupation was rejected), and (b) the total score of each person.
4. The rank order of items given by the previous step yields a rough indication of occupations relative prestige. Because of response errors, (i.e. some

respondents vary in the relative ranking) this is not the best ranking. The next step consists in determining the most rigorous "cutting point" for each item, on the subject score continuum, (i.e. determine the point of least error). In a scale without response errors the cutting point would be at that point where the responses suddenly change. With error the cutting point is located on a compromise basis so that there is (a) minimum error (b) no category has more error than non-error.

5. Once the cutting points have been determined the items are again reordered on the basis of their new popularity.

The following table gives the resultant rank of those 61 occupations, the total number of response errors for each occupation and the original rank in the questionnaire.

$$\text{Coeff. of Reproducability} = 1 - \frac{476}{50 \times 125}$$

$$= 0.92$$

Since the Coeff. of Reproducability meets the requirement set by Guttman it can be tentatively accepted as a unidimensional scale of occupations.

Occupation	Final Rank (Cutting Point)	Nos. Rejected Occupations	No. of Errors	Original Rank
1. Street sweeper	1	121	3	4
2. Messenger boy	2½	107	4	8
3. Co. Council road worker	2½	107	6	1
4. General unskilled labourer	4½	103	5	3
5. Petrol pump attendant	4½	83	9	12
6. Laundry worker	6½	82	10	11
7. Lorry drivers helper	6½	76	12	13
8. Farm labourer	8	93	13	2
9. Caretaker	9	95	15	5
10. Factory worker unskilled	10	74	11	7
11. Doorman or porter	11½	76	9	9
12. Ticket collector on train	11½	67	9	20
13. Manual worker on buildings	13	65	14	6
14. Creamery worker-unskilled	14	63	14	10
15. Milk delivery man	15	65	9	14
16. Bread roundsmen	16	57	14	15
17. Asst. in a grocery shop	17	54	12	24
18. Postman	18½	52	14	26
19. Asst. in a drapery shop	18½	51	14	25
20. Shoemaker or cobbler	20	68	24	21
21. Factory worker semi-skilled	21½	58	9	18
22. Barber	21½	47	8	22
23. Lorry driver	23	46	8	17
24. Corporal in Army	24	45	20	23
25. Bus conductor	25	39	9	16
26. Painter	26½	38	14	31
27. Butcher	26½	36	16	34
28. Bus driver	28	34	4	19
29. Tailor	29½	34	12	36
30. Plumber	29½	30	10	35
31. Plasterer or bricklayer	31	30	14	33
32. Carpenter	32	20	6	32
33. Garage mechanic	33	28	11	30
34. Foreman	34½	32	15	27
35. Bookkeeper in shop	34½	23	14	37
36. Skilled factory worker	36½	25	14	29
37. Foreman on a building site	36½	23	9	28
38. Clerk in insurance office	38½	10	7	38
39. Clerk in Co. Council	38½	5	2	39
40. Rate collector	40	15	10	43
41. Bus inspector	41½	8	2	41
42. Commercial traveler	41½	6	5	47
43. Farmer	43	14	12	46
44. Reporter on a local newspaper	44	12	10	44
45. Garda (policeman)	45	9	5	42
46. Insurance agent	46	6	5	45

Occupation	Final Rank (Cutting Point)	Nos. Rejected Occupations	No. of Errors	Original Rank
47. Primary school teacher	47½	5	1	48
48. Bank clerk	47½	4	1	49
49. Agricultural advisor	49½	1	1	50
50. Secondary school teacher	49½	1	1	51

Total No. of Errors = 476

There were no negative responses to the remaining 11 occupations and as a result they could not be scaled.