

THE MEANING OF MIGRATION:
A STUDY OF THE MIGRATION EXPECTATIONS
OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

THE MEANING OF MIGRATION: A STUDY OF THE MIGRATION EXPECTATIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

by Harold F. Goldsmith

This study provides a model for explaining the initial stage of voluntary migration. High school students in Ontonagon County, Michigan were selected as a test population upon which to demonstrate the plausibility of the model. In the model, migration is taken to be any relatively permanent change of residence which an actor makes which necessitates the severance of his day-to-day contacts with members of his concrete interaction systems who do not correspondingly change their residence. Voluntary migration takes place in social situations where the institutionalized alternatives of migrating or not migrating exist, and where regardless of the obligatoriness of migrating or not migrating the actor is not objectively forced to migrate or not migrate.

The initial stage of voluntary migration represents the covert part of the migration act--the period during which decisions are reached by actors to migrate. The initial stage of migration does not include the period during which an actor is moving from one residence to another, or the period during which an actor is re-establishing his residence in a new community. The problem of the initial stage is to explain what factors give rise to the desire to migrate, the consideration of migration, and the expectation to migrate.

The explanatory model is based upon the actors point of view. It is assumed that an act of migration can be explained by viewing it as an instrumental act. Thus in the initial stage, migration is

conceived as involving an ongoing decision-making process in which actors with reference to their belief-value matrices or generalized action orientations reach decisions as to the desirability of migration, the consideration of migration and the expectation of migration. In arriving at decisions, it is assumed that actors take into account the perceptions of relative attractiveness of situations, their status-role obligations (particularly those necessitating staying or leaving), and their perceptions of the facilities available for migrating or not migrating.

It was predicted and demonstrated that the desire to migrate could primarily be accounted for by the relative attractiveness of social situations to actors. The relative attractiveness of situations to actors was assumed to depend upon the extent to which actors perceived that they are satisfied with their primary communities (community satisfaction) and the extent to which their specifications for an ideal community can best be met outside their primary community (specification level). Both community satisfaction and specification level were found to have independent effects upon desire to migrate.

It was hypothesized that in order to explain consideration of migration one would have to take into account an actor's perception of the extent to which major obligations cannot be adequately carried out in his primary community in addition to factors that make migration desirable or undesirable. Obligations were expected to be more important as determinants of consideration of migration than factors contributing to the relative attractiveness of situations. Evidence supported the conclusion that obligations play a critical and perhaps the most important role in determining consideration of migration.

To the extent that actors considering migration had facilities for migrating, it was predicted that they would expect to migrate.

The effect of relational and non-relational facilities were explored. The data supported the stated hypotheses.

In the processes of carrying out the study the writer became more and more aware that the original model had weaknesses that needed to be corrected before the model is used again. Thus, the study concludes with a discussion of the modifications necessary to improve the predictive efficiency and explanatory value of the model.

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HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

By
Harold F. Goldsmith

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Migration as a field of study. --In the past 50 years scholars interested in the persistence and change of human societies as well as those concerned with conducting action programs have maintained a continuous interest in migration and associated problems. The reason for this interest is simply their awareness that migration represents a significant social fact. It is not possible to understand the dynamic character of modern societies, particularly the United States, without considering the movement of people from one area of residence to another. One indication of the significance of migration in the United States is the magnitude of internal migration during the period 1946-1955.

In the decade 1946-1955 there were 37.2 million births, 14.7 million deaths and over 100 million migrations. . . . In the first postwar decade some 48 million migrants moved from one state to another and an approximately equal number moved from one county to another within the same state. About six and one-half million residents came from abroad and an unknown number went to foreign countries.¹

The type and extent of migration is of extreme importance in determining the growth, composition, and characteristics of a population in a given area. Moreover the continued "large-scale movement of people is usually indicative of major social change or

¹Dudley Kirk, "Major Migrations Since World War II, " Selected Studies of Migration Since World War II (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1958), p. 26.

of a major social problem."² Spatial mobility has consequences both for the adjustment of the individuals that move and for the communities of origin and destination. Kirk summarized the importance of studying migration as follows:

Everywhere we see the centripetal forces of migration dominant in the world, from the less developed areas to the more developed areas, from the smaller to the larger population aggregates. The most important migrations today are the internal and largely unrecorded migrations from rural to urban areas and within metropolitan areas. In the United States, greater mobility is leading to rapid changes in the population distribution and composition. Other countries in the world are less mobile but mobility is an integral part of economic and social development, and as yet there is no end in sight of the trend toward greater and greater mobility. The scientific analysis of migration is a matter of rapidly growing importance in the world today.³

General problem. -- Migration research has usually been in the hands of demographers whose major research interests have been the analysis of migration streams and differential migration patterns. Bogue, Shryock and Hoermann state that "internal migration may be studied with two different points of view: from the point of view of migration streams and from the point of view of migration differentials."⁴ While such studies are important, they yield only fractional knowledge about the processes of migration. There is also a need to know the factors that give rise to migration and the consequences of migration for the persistence and change of social systems. The North Central Regional Committee on Migration has taken the position that:

²Donald J. Bogue, Henry S. Shryock, Jr., and Siegfried A. Hoermann, Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40: Volume I; Streams of Migration Between Subregions (Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1957), p. 1.

³Kirk, op. cit., p. 29.

⁴Bogue, Shryock, Hoermann, op. cit., p. 2.

While such sources [studies of migration streams and migration differentials] are invaluable, they are not amenable to supplying answers to questions concerning motivation in migration or institutional adjustment in areas of population gain or loss, for example.⁵

The major interests of the regional project are to understand contemporary spatial movements (1) with respect to delineating the factors contributing to a decision on the part of individual actors to migrate from one area of residence to another, and (2) with respect to determining the consequences of such movements for members of the moving set, and for the communities of origin and destination. The committee's annual report stated the problem as follows:

The conceptual framework developed at the Madison meeting contained two major structural components. One, concerned mainly with the social effects of migration, considered migration as the independent variable. The other, concerned with the explanation of migration, considered migration as the dependent variable.⁶

This study is the second in a series of studies being conducted by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in cooperation with the Agricultural Experiment Station at Michigan State University within the general framework suggested by the North Central Regional Committee on Migration.⁷ As part of its regional commitments, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology undertook to study migration

⁵Report of Procedures Committee of NC-18, North Central Regional Project Concerning Field Studies of Migration, Chairman J. Allan Beegle, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Social Research Service, 1957), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

⁶Ibid., p. 8.

⁷A dissertation, "Social Factors and Social Psychological Explanations of Non-Migration," by Joanne B. Eicher was the first study completed within the framework suggested by NC-18. See Joanne B. Eicher, "Social Factors and Social Psychological Explanations of Non-Migration," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1959.

in the cut-over area of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. In addition, studies are being conducted in selected areas of the upper half of the Lower Peninsula. The department's research program in migration is currently concerned with the following research areas:

- ✓(1) the study of the orientations toward migration of persons living in out-migration areas.
- ✓(2) the study of the migration expectations of high school juniors and seniors.
- ✓(3) the study of the effects of professional persons upon the decision of high school juniors and seniors to migrate.
- (4) the study of the consequences of migration for communities of origin and destination.

This study will focus on the problem of explaining why high school juniors and seniors select to leave one area of residence for another. Relative to this set of individuals, an analytical frame of reference for conceptualizing migration, and a general set of propositions which may help to explain voluntary migration will be specified. The general propositions will be tested on a population of high school students from a county in the cut-over area of Northern Michigan

Frame of Reference

Migration defined. --Migration typically has been defined as a more or less "permanent change of residence,"⁸ or as a "change of residence from one community, or other clearly defined geographical unit to another."⁹ There is nearly universal agreement that migration involves some type of spatial mobility; but due to the variety of

⁸Donald R. Taft, and Richard Robbins, International Migration (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1955), p. 4.

⁹Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Bulletin 43 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938), p. 4.

meanings that have been attached to the concepts residence and community, individuals classified as migrants under one set of concepts may be classified as non-migrants under another. Residence has been taken to be the geographical area wherein individuals carry on such activities as eating, sleeping, and the storing of goods; the households within which individuals engage in such activities; or a general sociocultural area of greater or lesser extent where individuals maintain a given style of life.

The concept community, as Hillery has pointed out, has had at least 94 different meanings.¹⁰ He has indicated that the definitions of community involve the combining and emphasizing of one or more of the following characteristics: social interaction and/or ecological relationships associated with either geographic areas within which there may be self-sufficiency, a common life, consciousness of kind, possession of common value orientations, collections of institutions, a collectivity, and/or the primacy of one of the characteristics listed under area rather than area as such.¹¹ Given the above definitions of migration, it is obvious what constitutes migration will depend upon the definition of residence and/or community used. Without additional clarification of these concepts, it will not be possible to distinguish migrants from non-migrants in all concrete situations. There is a need for serviceable definition of sociological significance--that is, involving the change or persistence of social relationships--which denotes not only the essential characteristics of migration, but which lends itself to the discovery of variations in the processes involved in spatial movements.

¹⁰George A. Hillery, Jr., "Definitions of Community," Rural Sociology, XX (June, 1955), p. 111.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 114-115.

For sociological purposes a more meaningful definition would appear to be one that takes into consideration changes in the structure and organization of the lives of individuals relative to their concrete social systems. A definition of migration should involve a spatial movement of individuals in groups or aggregates out of their concrete interaction systems. From the point of view of the individual actor, a concrete interaction system is taken to mean the aggregates of concrete social systems in which one has a position and with which one maintains regular face-to-face and day-to-day contacts. Thus as Beegle states, "migration is to be regarded as . . . the movement of individuals beyond and outside of their interaction systems in the community of residence,"¹² and that "an individual is not a migrant sociologically unless he severs meaningful group ties."¹³ It should be emphasized that as herein defined, migration not only involves a significant modification of the movers' concrete group ties and possibly patterns of social relations, but also that the migrant cannot maintain day-to-day contacts with his concrete interaction systems.

The problem of clearly indicating the base point with respect to which spatial movement takes place still remains. There is the need to specify from what location movement takes place. To clarify this, residence will be tentatively defined as the patterns of relations that are maintained by individuals with respect to sleeping and the storage of goods used in day-to-day activities. In this study then, an act of migration is any relatively permanent spatial change of residence which an actor (or set of actors) make that necessitates the severance of face-to-face and day-to-day contacts with members of their concrete

¹²J. Allan Beegle, "Social Components in the Decision to Migrate," Paper presented to the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, Milan, 1959, p. 2.

¹³Ibid., p. 2.

interaction systems and associated communities who do not correspondingly change their residences. In following Parsons, community will be taken to be "that collectivity the members of which share a common territorial area as their basis of operations for daily activities,"¹⁴ and a collectivity to be "a social system having the three properties of collective goods, shared goals, and being a single system of interaction with boundaries defined by incumbency in roles constituting the system."¹⁵ It is further recognized that while a collectivity may exist within a definable area, that more than one collectivity may occupy a given territory and that actors may belong to more than one collectivity. Thus, from the point of view of the actor, migration constitutes a change of residential patterns which necessitates the severance of face-to-face and day-to-day contacts with a set of concrete social systems; from the point of view of the system, migration is a movement of actors out of collectivities and associated communities.

The definition given here is implied in much of the work that has been done in the area of migration. Studies which are concerned with the cityward movement of individuals, with the movement of individuals from areas of low industrialization to areas of high industrialization, or with the "push" of one type of area against the "pull" of another, all involve the movement of actors from one social situation to another. Hence, these studies imply implicitly at least that migration involves a change of concrete systemic relationships. Several authors such as Beegle whose definition was given above and

¹⁴Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 91.

¹⁵Talcott Parsons, Edward A. Shils, "Values, Motives and Systems of Action," in Towards A General Theory of Action, ed. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 192.

Bogue, Shryock, and Hoermann make explicit reference to the significance of changing group ties. Bogue, Shryock, and Hoermann made the following statement:

Sociologically, a migrant is a person who changed the community of his residence,In a large proportion of the cases, intercommunity change of residence also involves a change in place of work, a severance of social ties with school, church, and other community institutional units, and a change of friends and interpersonal contacts. It is the severance with previous communities which distinguishes the migrant from the non-migrant.¹⁶

General dimensions of migration. -- The definition of migration used in this study does not confine one to studying movement from one settled community to another. Spatial distance is measured in terms of a change in residence relative to concrete interaction systems; and either one or the other, or important parts of each, may be typically in motion. The definition places the main emphasis upon the changing structure of group ties rather than upon the usual demographic factors of distance, direction, and destination. The modifications in group ties and structural patterns that may result from an act of migration need further explication. It has been stated that in migration, it is the migrant who by changing residence severs his concrete face-to-face and day-to-day contacts with the collectivities from which movement originates. But while the original rate of daily face-to-face contacts cannot be maintained with the communities of origin, the migrant may or may not maintain modified relationships with the non-moving members of such collectivities. During the period of movement away from the community of origin, the migrant may sever, modify or maintain in an unchanged form relations with other migrants. At the termination of the move, the point at which the migrant re-establishes a new residence pattern, he may seek to

¹⁶Bogue, Shryock, and Hoermann, op. cit., p. 3.

secure or be ascribed similar or dissimilar status-role sets in similar or dissimilar collectivities. Thus, migrants may re-establish with concrete individuals known to them, the same, modified, or new sets of expectations, or they may substitute new individuals in the same, modified or new relationships.¹⁷ Thus as Beegle states:

The nature of migration is such that the migrant severs group ties but may maintain some of his structural relationships. When the migrant leaves his family, friendship, or club groups, for example, interaction on a continuing, day-to-day basis is no longer possible. At the area of destination, he is not a member of such groups upon arrival but may only establish himself over a period of time, at some and perhaps much, personal cost. The migrant's structured relationships, however, need not necessarily be severed through migration. For example, the structured relations of the migrant's church (but not his church group) may be replicated outside his community of residence in specific areas of destination. The social costs of migration clearly are reduced by the existence of such structured relations in areas of destination.¹⁸

Pure migration may be thought of as the situation where actors through a change of residential patterns sever all contacts with communities of origin and re-establish a different type of residential pattern in an area occupied by collectivities having radically different patterns of social relations and value orientations, and are allocated radically different status-role sets. "Doubtless instances of pure migration are rare. But the extent to which ties with the community

¹⁷Having emphasized that the essential characteristic of migration is the severance of relations with concrete interaction systems in the communities of origin, one should recognize that there are situations in which a change of residence will not result in a severance of concrete group relations and situations in which a severance of concrete group relations may take place without a change of residence. In the latter case, one would have a functional equivalent of migration--particularly those in which an actor's movement from one collectivity to another involves spatial mobility and is followed by a change in residence.

¹⁸J. Allan Beegle, op. cit., p. 2.

of origin are maintained and meaningful, raises questions concerning typologies within this concept of migration."¹⁹

✓ Having raised the questions of typologies, it seems pertinent to specify the general characteristics of the stages in the migration process which appear to be implicit in the given definition.²⁰

Specification of the stages and their general characteristics will allow us to order logically the data for this study in such a way as to be able to compare, quantify, and comprehend what has been done relative to what needs to be done for an understanding of migration. It will allow us to evaluate the contribution that this study can make to the development of a generalized set of empirically valid propositions concerning migration. It is convenient to think of the migration process as occurring in the following distinct but interrelated stages: (1) the period during which a decision is reached by or for a set of actors to disestablish original residences; (2) the period during which migrants are moving from one relatively permanent residence to another; and (3) the period during which residences are re-established and migrants assimilated into new collectivities. The above periods are similar to those presented by Thomas. She stated that "migrants may be differentiated from non-migrants at the time of migration, . . . in the process of migrating, [and]. . . in the process of assimilation to a changed environment."²¹

Initial stage. -- To conceptualize the initial phase of migration, one must be able to categorize individual actors at the outset of

¹⁹Ibid., p. 2.

²⁰For other recent attempts to get at the characteristics of migration see William Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958); Rudolf Heberle "Types of Migration," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XXXVI, (March, 1955), and Beegle, op. cit.

²¹Thomas, op. cit., p. 54.

migration according to their degree of knowledge, and their degree of acceptance of and commitment to local and nonlocal value orientations. In addition, one needs to be able to describe the nature of their existing structural and organizational bonds, including residential patterns, with: (1) their primary concrete interaction systems and their associated primary communities (the collectivities or set of collectivities from which movement originates); (2) the potential destination communities, and (3) the other potential migrants. Thus, the initial stage of a migration typology requires the adequate conceptualization of (1) origin and destination socio-cultural systems and related ecological matrices, and (2) primary and potential secondary concrete interaction systems and associated communities. Given a sociologically meaningful classification of the bases between which, and within which, residential change may take place at the outset of migration; there is the need to classify the possible types of potential migrants with respect to their positions in the above complex relative to the possible patterns of residential change which may result in migration.

Next, consideration must be given to the social, psychological, and ecological factors that initiate, and encourage or discourage movement from the primary communities. One must be able, at least, to specify under what conditions movement from a community is automatic, obligatory, desired, considered, expected, and voluntary. Automatic, obligatory, and voluntary refer to structural or institutionalized aspects of action in situations. Desired, considered and expected refer to an actor's interest in a course of action. Automatic means the non-existence of institutionalized alternatives to an act given the occupancy of a status-role. Non-automatic means the existence of institutionalized alternatives to an act. Obligatory refers to those situations in which acting or not acting is mandatory if status-role expectations are to be fulfilled successfully.

Non-obligatory refers to status-role expectations which an individual is expected to perform but may ignore without incurring extensive negative sanctions.²² Voluntary means that an actor in non-automatic situations has some choice, however small, in deciding to perform an act. Non-voluntary refers to non-automatic situations wherein individuals have no choice in deciding and fulfilling a plan of action.

Relative to an actor's interest in an act, desiring to act means an actor has an expressive interest in carrying out an act. Considering an action means that an actor is thinking about acting but has not reached a definite decision whether to act or not act. Expecting to act means that an actor has reached a definite decision regarding a particular plan of action.

Since the factors that give rise to movement out of concrete interaction systems may not be the same factors that are associated with the selection of a destination, it is necessary to determine to what extent a destination is specified at the beginning of an act of migration, and to what extent the selection of a destination may be characterized as automatic, obligatory, desired, under consideration, expected, and voluntary.

In addition to clarifying the relationships between aggregates of potential migrants, their concrete interaction systems and their potential secondary collectivities; it will be necessary to develop categories that indicate the objective as well as the mover's perception of the time-space relationships of the move relative to the social and nonsocial accessibility of the destination at the outset of migration.

Journey stage. -- The journey stage, the analysis of the move itself, extends from the time actors disestablish their more or less

²²Howard J. Ehrlich, "The Analysis of Role Conflicts in a Complex Organization," unpublished paper, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, p. 7 passim.

permanent residences in their primary concrete interaction systems until the actors re-establish residential patterns which are intended to be of a more or less permanent nature. The usual method of analysis for such movements is in terms of stream analysis wherein consideration is given to the distance, direction, volume, duration, and persistence of the movement. Further consideration must be given to indicating the social and personality systems of migrants that typically emerge, change, or persist during the period of movement relative to other migrants, to the primary concrete interaction systems, and to the potential secondary communities. Basically, one should be interested in categorizing the conditions occurring during movement that (1) facilitate or impede the movement by making the destination more or less accessible and (2) change the moving sets destination or perception of the destination and thereby enhance or impede their adjustment at the conclusion of their moves. One should determine what conditions of the actual journey are automatically or nonautomatically determined, what are obligatory or nonobligatory, being considered or not being considered, desired or not desired, expected or not expected, voluntary or non-voluntary.

Re-establishment stage.--In this stage, one would first construct a typology which will allow them to conceptualize the orientations and relationships that migrants have to their secondary communities, to their primary communities and to other migrants set at the termination of the move--the point at which new residential patterns are established. Second, one would indicate those situations contributing or impeding the adjustment of the migrants to the secondary social and ecological complex. In a manner similar to the constructions in the initial stage, there is the need to specify what will constitute the establishment of a relatively permanent residence pattern with reference to the secondary bases--the destination socio-cultural system, and related ecological

matrices and secondary communities. Finally, there is the need to consider the processes leading to migrants' occupancy of status-roles in the secondary communities. One would want to specify the conditions under which the status-roles are not automatically assigned to migrants, and the extent to which the occupancy of the status-roles are being considered, desired and expected by migrants. Also one would want to know the extent to which migrants have a choice in the selection of status-roles.

The costs of migration. -- The process of migration involves the changing of concrete social relationships and accordingly may be associated with immediate or potential gratification or deprivation. Any change or modification of an actor's social position may be viewed at the time of the change as potentially costly, involving deprivation. A change may be viewed as personally costly to the extent that a change involves the disruption or modification of satisfying relationships for which no substitution of an equally valued relationship is possible and/or for which no institutionalized mechanisms for counteracting or adjusting to the change exist. The extent to which no change in an actor's position involves the maintenance of unsatisfactory relationships and extensive negative sanctions, lack of a change may be personally costly. Thus to the extent that migrants identify with the style of life and value orientations of the communities of origin and are committed to their particularistic relationships in such communities, migration is an essentially painful process. Beegle states this proposition as follows:

The identification and cohesiveness resulting from interaction with groups as well as patterned relations through time, nourish residential stability. These ties and cohesiveness form the basis of satisfactions. Through migration, group ties and probably at least some patterned relationships, are severed, at considerable social cost to the migrant.

[In such cases] migration is viewed as an essentially painful, socially costly process.²³

On the other hand, to the extent that migrants fail to identify with the community or origin, accept alternative styles of life and value orientations, and are not committed to particularistic relations in their primary interaction systems, migration may be less costly and perhaps a source of immediate or potential gratification.

Plan of Analysis for the Initial Stage of Voluntary Migration

This study is concerned with the initial phase of voluntary migration. Voluntary migration is conceived of as taking place in social situations where the institutionalized alternatives to migrating or not migrating exist, where regardless of the obligatoriness of migrating or not migrating, the individual is not objectively forced to migrate or not to migrate. In voluntary migration, the individual actor has the choice relative to his evaluation of his position of staying or leaving his primary community even though one choice or the other may result in the extensive negative sanctions.

Carrying out an act of moving is not a chance event; it is an instrumental act directed towards obtaining general and specific goals. As such it is necessarily motivated--that is, it involves the willingness on the part of actors to expend considerable energy to accomplish the act. The processes involved in an explanation of voluntary migration are not simple. The problem of determining those factors that give rise to the desire, the consideration and expectation of moving or not moving from one community to another, as well as those that determine actual mobility must be faced.²⁴ The focus of attention in

²³Beegle, op. cit., p. 2.

²⁴The order in which the three factors (desire to migrate, considering migration, and expect to migrate) are stated is not meant to

this study will be the empirical investigation of the desire to migrate, the consideration of migration, and the expectation to migrate although factors associated with the actual movement will be specified. Answers will be sought to the questions: What are the major differences between individuals desiring, considering, and expecting to migrate and those desiring, considering, and expecting to remain in primary interaction systems? What is the nature of the relationship between desiring to migrate, considering migrating, and expecting to migrate?

Voluntary migration is conceived as involving an ongoing decision-making process in which individuals, with reference to their belief-value matrices and their concrete situations, select either to transfer their residences out of their primary communities or to remain within their primary communities.²⁵ In arriving at a decision to migrate it is

imply that actors first desire to carry out an act of migration, then consider carrying out an act of migration and finally expect to carry out an act of migration. On the one hand, it is possible for an actor to desire to migrate but not be considering or expecting to migrate; and on the other hand, it is possible for an actor not to desire to migrate and be considering and expecting to migrate. However, the condition of an actor considering migration is considered to be logically prior to an actor's expectation to migrate.

²⁵In this study the general assumptions of an action frame of reference are accepted. An action frame of reference assumes:

- (1) Action takes place in situations; human beings act in situations including relevant aspects of the physical and social world.
 - (2) Action is conducted in terms of anticipated states of affairs; human beings orient their behavior toward ends, objectives, or goals--or otherwise attempt to adjust to anticipated states of affairs.
 - (3) Action is motivated; human beings expend energy or effort in carrying out their action and hence demonstrate "motivation."
 - (4) Action is normatively regulated; human beings conduct themselves in an orderly fashion thereby indicating "regulation" or the normative orientation of activity.
- (Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change, Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960, page 2)

Further the action frame of reference assumes that the actions of

assumed that actors take into account the following elements: (1) their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life in their primary communities; (2) their degree of attraction to alternative social situations; (3) their status-role obligations, particularly those necessitating staying or leaving; (4) their perception of the facilities available for moving or not moving and the sanctions which would result from a decision; to migrate or not to migrate.

Thus, an explanation of voluntary migration involves explicating the exact meanings to be attached to the concepts: belief-value matrix, attractions, satisfactions, facilities and sanctions. Further, it is necessary to specify the expected relations between these concepts relative to (1) the desire to migrate, (2) the consideration and expectation to migrate, and (3) the actual residential mobility out of the concrete interaction systems.

Following Tolman, the belief-value matrix of an individual actor represents a construct characterized by (1) cognitive categories or images ("a . . . categorized readiness to perceive which the [actor] possesses by virtue of the differentiation and categorization of the object world");²⁶ (2) generalized dimensions (the functional arrangement of typed images);²⁷ (3) means-ends beliefs or generalized expectations ("a connection that makes a readiness to perceive and behave in a certain way relative to one type of object [as end] give rise to a readiness to perceive and behave in a certain way relative

individuals may be conceptualized in terms of three interpenetrating constellations or systems of the elements of action. These systems are the social system, the personality system, and the cultural system. (For a complete analysis of the elements of action see Talcott Parsons op. cit., and Charles P. Loomis, op. cit.)

²⁶Edward C. Tolman, "A Psychological Model, " Toward A General Theory of Action, op. cit., p. 291.

²⁷Ibid., p. 291 passim.

to certain other types of objects [as means]"²⁸ and (4) value commitments or sentiments (goodness or badness deposited upon the images and beliefs).²⁹ While derived from and capable of being related back to concrete social systems, the belief-value matrix represents a generalized orientation to situations.

Relative to generalized dimensions, those images and beliefs which are perceived of as being directly gratifying or as instrumentally desirable or necessary, and accordingly are ranked high along generalized dimensions will be referred to as attractions.³⁰ The combination of images and associated beliefs which are most attractive and which are perceived as realistically possible to actors at a given point in their life cycle will be referred to as attraction standards. It is assumed that some subset of attraction standards will be the criterion upon which social situations will be evaluated. With reference to the initial phase of voluntary migration, two subsets of attraction standards are believed to be important. They are (1) factors that contribute to community satisfaction, and (2) specifications for an ideal community.

Three additional sets of images and beliefs are expected to affect an individual's orientation to migration during the initial phase of voluntary migration. They are (1) beliefs associated with obligatory status-role expectations, (2) beliefs about facilities available for carrying out an act of migration, and (3) beliefs about particularistic attachments.

²⁸Ibid., p. 293.

²⁹Ibid., p. 294 passim.

³⁰It is convenient to think of the following types of attractions: (1) aspirations, those for which actors are willing to expend considerable effort to obtain, and (2) those for which actors (though favorably disposed to want) are unwilling to expend considerable effort to obtain.

Community satisfaction, or the extent to which an actor's concrete social situation is perceived by him as satisfactory or unsatisfactory, is taken to be the end results of the process of evaluation in which an actor evaluates his concrete social systems and its components as gratifying or noxious, or as desirable or undesirable for instrumental purposes. To a great extent, community satisfaction reflects an actor's evaluation of his ability to participate in as well as his actual participation in the ongoing life in his communities of residence. The actor as the evaluator may base his appraisal upon his position or upon his projected positions, and the evaluation may refer to the past, present, or future. It should be emphasized that the concept community satisfaction refers to the overall evaluation that actors make about their concrete social systems and represents a summary attitude toward the social system viewed as a whole. Specific satisfaction refers to the evaluation of a set of delimitable relationships within the given system.

Specifications for an ideal community represent the collection of realistically possible attributes that an actor designates as being highly desirable to have in a community. For a factor to be categorized as being a specification, an actor must be consciously aware of it. In other words, he must be able to spontaneously make reference to it as a characteristic of an ideal community. Factors which an actor takes for granted as always being present in a community and factors which an actor is not consciously aware are not to be considered specifications. It should be noted that the extent to which an actor's specifications can be met in a given type of community represents an index of the availability of positively evaluated characteristics in a community and does not necessarily indicate an actor's assessment of his ability to participate in community life.

Status-role expectations, particularly obligatory ones, differ from beliefs and images contributing to community satisfaction and specifications for an ideal community in that they refer to cognitive images and beliefs of how the actor given his status-role should and is expected to act toward objects. Images and beliefs associated with community satisfaction and specifications for an ideal community represent how the actor would prefer objects to be arranged with reference to him. Further, an obligatory status-role expectation has associated with it no set of ranked images and beliefs, it cannot be considered part of attraction standards.³¹ Such an obligatory belief would represent a truncated generalized dimension that an actor perceives must be carried out if he is successfully to fulfill a given status-role. However, if associated with obligatory status-role expectations are a set of ranked images and beliefs, then the subset of these images and beliefs that are more highly ranked are by definition part of attraction standards. Note such images and beliefs need not be considered by an actor as among his most gratifying images and beliefs.

It should be recognized that specifications for an ideal community, factors contributing to community satisfaction, and beliefs and images associated with obligations are or may be interrelated; but they need not be the same. An actor may have one set of criteria to specify an ideal community and another to evaluate a given community as satisfactory or unsatisfactory. It does not seem unreasonable to expect that an actor may be satisfied with a given community and yet have specifications that cannot be met in that community. Further, since the general dimensions of images and beliefs associated with obligations need not be among an actor's most gratifying dimensions;

³¹Hereafter an obligatory status-role expectation will be referred to as an obligation.

such dimensions need not be mentioned as specifications for an ideal community or as factors contributing to community satisfaction.

It is assumed that actors will desire actions that are associated with highly valued beliefs and images--attraction standards. Further, it is assumed that the desire of actors to migrate is associated with the relative attractiveness of situations, and that the relative attractiveness of situations to actors depends upon the extent to which they perceive that they are satisfied with their primary communities and the extent to which their specifications can best be met outside of their primary communities. Thus both specification level (the extent to which specification cannot be met in primary communities) and community satisfaction are expected to be the major factors explaining desire to migrate.³² They are expected to have independent effects upon desire to migrate.

With respect to desire to migrate the following relationships are expected:

- ① (1) A direct relationship is expected between specification level (the extent to which actors perceive that their specifications cannot be met in their primary communities) and desire to migrate which is independent of community satisfaction.
- ② (2) An inverse relationship is expected between community satisfaction and desire to migrate which is independent of specification level.

³²For a discussion of the history of these dimensions in migration research, see Chapter Two. Generally, community satisfaction has represented the extent to which an actor would like to remain in his primary community. It has represented the extent to which an actor's perception and evaluation of the conditions existing in his concrete situation tend to push him out of his primary community. Specification level has represented the extent to which an actor would like to be in alternative communities. It has represented the extent to which an actor's perception and evaluation of conditions in alternative communities pull him towards them.

While the desire to leave a given community is expected to relate primarily to the relative attractiveness of social situations, both the consideration of migration and the expectation to migrate are expected to relate primarily to the more obligatory aspects of status-roles that actors have or are in the process of obtaining. It is assumed that actors are more apt to consider carrying out acts that are associated with highly valued beliefs and images, attraction standards; but that they will tend to consider carrying out acts that are associated with obligations before considering the performance of acts that are directly gratifying or instrumentally desirable. The expected relationship between consideration of migration, specification level, community satisfaction, and obligations may be stated as follows:

1. A direct relationship is expected between specification level (the extent to which actors perceive that their specifications cannot be met in their primary communities) and the consideration of migration which is independent of community satisfaction.
2. An inverse relationship is expected between community satisfaction and the consideration of migration which is independent of specification levels.
3. It is expected that the generalized dimensions of ranked images and beliefs relating to obligations will be more important as determinants of the consideration of migration than images and beliefs that contributed to the relative attractiveness of social situations.

To the extent that actors considering migration have the facilities for migrating, they will tend to expect to migrate. Facilities are taken to be "possessions which are significant as means to further goals in

complexes of instrumental orientation."³³ Implicit in the concept of facilities is that empirical acts within social systems cannot be accomplished by simply willing their completion. If an empirical act is to be accomplished most effectively relative to concrete interaction systems, actors must be able to count on the use of objects necessary to accomplish the act, and upon the relational support of significant alters in the sense of "the rights of any actor to count on reciprocal actions (and attitudes) of others."³⁴ It is assumed that the relational support of significant alters will be of more importance for actors who have strong attachments to significant alters than for actors who do not have such attachments. In addition, an actor must be able to dispose of possessions not necessary or appropriate, or not transportable to the actor's social position given the completion of the act. Thus, actors who are considering migrating are expected to be definitely planning to migrate (1) if they have the relational support for moving (particularly if they have strong attachments to significant alters); (2) if they believe they have the means of transporting themselves from their primary interaction systems toward secondary communities; (3) if they believe they have the ability to re-establish residential and other relationships within the secondary communities, and (4) if they believe they have the means of disposing of unnecessary, inappropriate, or nontransportable possessions.

Actual mobility is expected to be related to the desires and expectations of actors to move, but it is not expected to be isomorphic with it. Actual mobility will also relate to the decisions reached by primary groups of which the actor is a member, to the decisions reached by other significant alters regarding the advisability of moving or not moving at the point when the actor intended to leave or

³³Parsons, op. cit., p. 119.

³⁴Ibid., p. 121.

not leave and to the actual facilities an actor has for carrying out an act of migration. While the analysis of actual mobility will not be a part of this study, it is expected that this study will facilitate an understanding of it.

High School Students as a Test Population

Criteria for the selection of a test population: --As indicated earlier, this study was designed to explain the initial phase of voluntary migration of high school juniors and seniors relative to the propositions relating specifications, satisfactions, obligations, and facilities to the desire, the consideration, and the expectation of moving out of primary interaction systems. While the selection of high school juniors and seniors in a rural county of the Upper Peninsula was initially made because of regional interest in the cut-over and out migration areas of the North Central Region and because an understanding of the social and psychological processes associated with the migration of rural youth would lead to an understanding of a large and persistent migration stream, the data from such a population are well suited to demonstrate the plausibility of the basic set of propositions.

An adequate test population should meet the following criteria:

- (1) Movement on part of the potential migratory set out of its concrete interaction systems and associated communities should represent a legitimate alternative to not migrating;
- (2) Members of the potential migratory set should not be physically forced to move or not move; and
- (3) A sufficient number of potential migrants should be expected to desire and expect to migrate so that it would be possible to identify the characteristic patterns of movement and non-movement.

High school juniors and seniors in a rural county of the Upper Peninsula appear to meet the above criteria. In a small rural area a limited number of collectivities generally exist in a given area. In such situations actors usually cannot change their collectivities without changing their residences. Further, when actors undertake a residential move out of the immediate local area, it tends to correspond with a complete severance of day-to-day contacts with concrete interaction systems. Given that the community has experienced out migration, movement out of the community of origin can be expected to be recognized as a legitimate alternative to not moving in order to maintain or achieve an appropriate style of life. In addition, no agencies exist which make it mandatory to move or not to move, even though one choice or the other can lead to unsatisfactory conditions. Further, it is known that many but not all high school graduates in rural areas do change their communities of residence following graduation.

Characteristics of potential migratory set. --High school seniors at the point of graduation are in the process of changing their social positions. They are in transition from being teenagers to becoming young adults. To a substantial extent commencement represents the point at which they make this transition. Thus Brookover states that:

For the graduate, commencement provides public recognition of the level of learning and maturity they have achieved. It also celebrates their passage from one period of life to another. It is one of the most significant rites of passage we have in our society. Graduation marks the achievement of adult status for many.³⁵

³⁵Wilbur B. Brookover, The Sociology of Education (New York: The American Book Co., 1955), p. 163.

The social behavior and associated value orientations of teenagers--particularly high school juniors and seniors--are closely connected with the social world of the high school as well as with the adult world which they are preparing to enter. Many authors have postulated the existence of a subsociocultural world for teenagers involving both formal groups more or less controlled by adults and equally important, relatively "stable, intimate, face-to-face peer groupings influenced and controlled independently or in conjunction with adult control."³⁶ This subsociocultural world of high school students appears to be structured by at least three subsocial systems associated with the high school. They are as follows:

- (1) the formal scheme of things which includes administration, faculty, curriculum, text books, class rooms, grades, rules and regulations;
- (2) a semiformal set of sponsored organizations and activities such as athletics, dramatics, departmental clubs; and
- (3) the informal, half world of usually nonrecognized and non-approved cliques, factions, and fraternities.³⁷

It is generally recognized that maintaining a prestigious position within a social system is important from the actor's point of view. It should not be unexpected then that one of the dominant motives of high school students appears to be to achieve and maintain an acceptable position within the concrete interaction systems with which he is associated. The prestige of teenagers seems to be related to the style of participation they establish in their semiformal and informal social groupings. Thus Gordon found for the suburban town of Wabash that:

³⁶Christopher E. Sower, Bevode C. McCall, and George L. Maddox, A Study of High School Drinking (East Lansing, Michigan: Social Research Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1956), p. 18.

³⁷Stuart A. Queen, "Introduction," C. Wayne Gordon, The Social System of the High School (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. xii.

The dominant orientation to action was toward the performance of those roles which gained prestige. The ultimate motivation appears to be toward establishing his position in the informal structure of personal relationships. The goal was to achieve a position of positively valued rank.³⁸

Granting that teenagers and particularly juniors and seniors actively participate in cliques through which they achieve prestige, that their style of participation is associated with the socioeconomic position of parents,³⁹ and that within classes there are levels of participation,⁴⁰ there is evidence that the significant semiformal and informal groupings of teenagers have as an important and expressive activity--having a good time. The significance of prestige and its attainment in expressively oriented activities controlled primarily by the teenagers themselves has led many to state that the youth culture is distinguished by its "affirmation of independence. . . , its compulsive conformity to peer group patterns, its romanticism and a participation in irresponsible pleasurable activities."⁴¹ Thus, Sower, McCall and Maddox state the following:

One dominant characteristic of the imputed 'youth culture' drawn from experience in preadolescence and from a selective image of the adult world is the strong emphasis on 'having a good time' to an extent that borders on an encouragement of irresponsibility. Sharp competition in athletics for teenaged males and glamour patterns for teenaged females parody the behavior observed in the adult world. Specifically adult-oriented interests in serious preparation for immediate assumption of adult rights and responsibilities for sex, marriage and a full time job are negatively emphasized. Growing up for the

³⁸Gordon, op. cit., p. 131.

³⁹A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1949), p. 443 *passim*.

⁴⁰Brookover, op. cit., pp. 98-104 *passim*.

⁴¹Frederick Elkin and William A. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," American Sociological Review, XX (December, 1955), p. 680.

adolescent is said to emphasize his ability to participate in the youth culture.⁴²

The contention that teenagers are irresponsible from an adult point of view and dissociated with the adult world seems to be an overstatement. Thus Elkin and Westly state:

In Suburban Town and other communities studied the youth culture elements exist, but they are less dominant than are accepted family and authority guidance patterns. The adolescents in their peer groups are not compulsively independent and reflecting of adult values, they are not concerned solely with immediate pleasurable gratification.⁴³

While Elkin and Westley recognize that "the individual who internalizes a deferred gratification pattern does not act solely in terms of irresponsible pleasure seeking and conforming peer group pressures,"⁴⁴ implicit in their discussion is the generally accepted position that teenagers do spend considerable time in expressively oriented activities, that these activities are at least one primary source of prestige, and that teenagers and their parents attach considerable importance to these activities. Given the extent and importance of expressive activities for teenagers, one might postulate for teenagers that "having a good time" may be an obligatory aspect of their social position.

In the above discussion of the culture of teenagers, it was emphasized that peer group relationships and participation in expressive activities contribute to a teenager's prestige and therefore level of community satisfaction. The point was also made that for teenagers participation in expressive activities may tend to be obligatory. In addition the high school student's relationships with his parents

⁴²Sower, McCall, Maddox, op. cit., p. 19.

⁴³Elkin and Westley, op. cit., p. 684.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 683.

during this period just prior to graduation as a factor affecting satisfaction should not be overlooked. Status-role relations with parents are still among the most persistent in the student's life. He has been and still is dependent upon his parents to a greater or lesser extent for security, affection, support and shelter. Parents are still an important focal point for the enforcement of status-role expectations. While teenagers may be striving for greater independence, parents have been conditioned to "play parental roles of protection and tenderness, of sacrifice and devotion, which are functional only during the childbearing and childrearing years."⁴⁵ To the extent that both parents and children are unwilling or unable to reach agreement upon the character of reciprocal rights and obligations during this period, the period may tend to be a stressful one for both parents and children and characterized by dissatisfaction.

In general then it may be stated that teenagers as a social aggregate are not expected and do not expect to be completely responsible for earning their own living, for providing their own places of residence, or for making all their own decisions. They are involved to a greater or lesser extent in expressive activities generally associated with and structured by the high school wherein they may gain prestige. They are also subjected to sets of norms which may be distinguished from those of adults, and their actions are controlled independently of, or in conjunction with, the adult control.

Following graduation, the graduates enter a new social position. They can no longer participate in the formal and informal groups associated with the high school. They are entering a period of life in which they are expected to be "capable of full responsibility for

⁴⁵Willard Waller and Reuben Hill, The Family (New York: The Dryden Press, 1956), p. 426.

[their] activity in society.⁴⁶ It is assumed that after graduation high school seniors expect and are expected to be less dependent upon their parents for their livelihood and that they are ascribed more of the rights and responsibilities of adults. As an aspect of their new positions, high school graduates must actively engage in establishing themselves in a vocation by getting a full time job, getting married, or by continuing their education in preparation for a more or less specified vocation. Whereas for teenagers it was not obligatory that they demonstrate an interest in supporting themselves, it is maintained here that it is obligatory that a graduate be actively engaged in a vocation or in directly preparing for one. Given their new status expectations, graduates may select to carry out their expectations in their primary communities or in a different community. If they remain, they may maintain concrete day-to-day contacts with those who also stay, but many of the patterns of relationships with these persons may be expected to change. If they leave their communities for other similar or dissimilar communities, they must sever their day-to-day contact with those who remain.

Relative to the problems involved in carrying out an act of migration, high school graduates may be distinguished from individuals at other stages in the life cycle. Unlike some mature adults, they have few possessions which they must take with them or dispose of prior to migration. In re-establishing a residence in a secondary community, high school graduates generally need consider only their own residential requirements and not those of a spouse or children. Further, high school graduates are changing their status-roles and associated

⁴⁶Marion J. Levy Jr., The Structure of Society (Princeton: New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 157.

structural ties. At the point of graduation, they may not have established extensive social ties and participation patterns with respect to their newly acquired position. Under such conditions, movement out of a community may be relatively easy. Thus it is conceivable that it would be somewhat easier for high school graduates to change their communities than for actors at other stages in the life cycle.

Outline of Expected Relationships

It has been postulated that in an explanation of the initial phase of voluntary migration that consideration must be given specification level, community satisfaction, images and beliefs associated with obligations, and facilities. As previously stated for actors in concrete situations, there is a direct relationship between specification level and the desire to migrate or the consideration of migration; and there is an inverse relationship between community satisfaction and the desire to migrate or consideration of migration. Further, it was contended (1) that the obligations would be more important as determinants of consideration of migration than other factors, and (2) that those actors who are considering migrating would migrate if facilities necessary for movement are available. In this section, a brief outline of the expected relations as they relate to the test population will be given. The outline of relationships is derived from the basic propositions and will be subjected to extensive analysis in later sections.

Relative to the desire of students to carry out an act of migration, the following relationships between community satisfaction and the desire to migrate, and between specification level and the desire to migrate are expected:

Hypothesis 1: A direct relationship exists between specification level (the extent to which high school juniors and seniors perceive that their specifications cannot

be met in their primary communities) and desire to migrate which is independent of community satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2: An inverse relationship exists between community satisfaction and the desire to migrate which is independent of specification level.

Relative to consideration of migration, the following relationships are expected:

Hypothesis 3: A direct relationship exists between specification level (the extent to which high school juniors and seniors perceive that their specifications cannot be met in their primary communities) and the consideration of migration which is independent of community satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4: An inverse relationship exists between community satisfaction and the consideration of migration which is independent of specification level.

Hypothesis 5: The generalized dimensions of ranked images and beliefs relating to obligations are more important as determinants of consideration of migration than other attractions.

Corollary 1: The reasons that students give for considering carrying out an act of migration are primarily associated with obligations.

Corollary 2: There is a direct association between the perceptions of students that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities and the

consideration of migration which is independent of the desire to migrate, specification level, and community satisfaction.

Corollary 3: Given that students perceive that their obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities, there is little or no association between community satisfaction, specification level, or desire to migrate and the consideration of migration.

Relative to expectation to migrate, the following relationships are expected:

Hypothesis 6: Students who are considering carrying out an act of migration who have relational support for migration are more apt to expect to migrate than students who do not have such support.

Hypothesis 7: Students considering carrying out an act of migration who have non-relational facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration are more apt to expect to migrate than students who do not have such support.

Hypothesis 8: For students who are considering carrying out an act of migration, students who need relational facilities (students who have relatively strong particularistic attachments to significant alters in their primary communities who are not migrating) but do not have such relational facilities are less apt to expect to migrate than (1) students who

need and have relational facilities, and (2) students who do not have a great need for relational facilities (students who do not have strong particularistic attachments to significant alters in their primary communities who are not migrating).

In addition to testing the above hypotheses the attempt will be made to ascertain the factors that contribute to community satisfaction and the attributes of an ideal community associated with the specification levels. Based upon the analysis of the characteristics of high school students, it is expected that the level of community satisfaction expressed by students will be associated primarily with the fulfillment of expressive interests and with the adequacy of interpersonal relationships with peers and parents at the time of graduation. Specifications of high school students approaching graduation are expected to include evaluations of the availability and adequacy of vocations, expressive activities, relationships with friends and relatives, churches, public services, shopping facilities, climate as well as a general orientation toward living in a rural or urban atmosphere.

CHAPTER 2

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This survey of literature will deal with sociological and demographic studies which directly contribute to an understanding of the initial phase of voluntary migration. Research on high school students in rural communities characterized by out-migration in the United States will be emphasized. No attempt will be made to discuss all studies of migration. This survey of literature will not be directly concerned with studies that demonstrate that migration is selective as to age, sex, occupation, marital status, intelligence, or other factors. Nor will the survey be concerned with studies that describe the actual movement of migrants to new communities, the assimilation of migrants into new communities, or the consequences of migration for communities of origin and destination. Thus, only studies which appear to have theoretical or empirical relevance for a sociological analysis of the initial phase of voluntary migration will be considered.

Most of the studies to be considered here have used implicitly or explicitly some type of push-pull hypothesis to explain voluntary migration. There are at least two major ways in which this hypothesis has been formulated. Each of these will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

First the hypothesis has been advanced that migration is a function of objective differentials in socio-economic conditions which exist between two areas. Given "poor" socio-economic conditions at one

point and "good" socio-economic conditions at another, one can expect an out-migration from the "poor" areas toward the "good" areas. The "poor" conditions in an area from which a migration stream begins are designated the factors pushing people out of these areas while the "good" conditions in an area in which a migration stream ends are designated the factors pulling or attracting people to these areas. Persons using this hypothesis usually make no direct attempt to ascertain the motives, values, or status-role expectations of migrants. However, they do imply that the migrants may have reasons for leaving one community for another which in some way are associated with the socio-economic conditions existing in the origin and destination communities. Persons propounding this theory normally emphasize the primacy of economic conditions, but also may make references to social factors. This type of push-pull hypothesis will hereafter be called the "inter-community imbalance push-pull hypothesis" or simply the "imbalance hypothesis." Relative to the initial phase of voluntary migration, this hypothesis leads one to expect that actors who migrate do so because of their evaluation of objective socio-economic conditions existing either in their primary communities or in their potential destination communities.

Three subtypes of the community imbalance hypothesis emerge in the literature. Some authors emphasize that the push out from a primary community is more important than the pull toward destination communities. Hypotheses which emphasize the push of primary communities will be called "drift hypotheses." Other authors emphasize the pull toward destination communities. Hypotheses which emphasize the pull of destination communities will be called "gravity hypotheses."¹ Still others state that migration results from an interaction between

¹Theodore R. Anderson, "Intermetropolitan Migration: A Correlation Analysis," The American Journal of Sociology, LXI (March, 1956), 459-460 passim.

pushes and pulls. Hypotheses of this type will be called "interaction hypotheses."

The second major way in which the push-pull hypothesis has been conceptualized takes into consideration not only the objective socio-economic conditions existing in potential origin and destination communities, but also the orientations of actors to their situations. In this restatement of the push-pull hypothesis, a push represents a condition in the community of origin which an actor perceives is a reason leading to an act of migration. Correspondingly, a pull represents a condition at a possible destination community which the actor perceives as motivating him to carry out an act of migration to that community. The act of leaving a given community is conceived of as involving a motivational push as well as a structural push, and/or a motivational pull as well as a structural pull. Thus to understand acts of migration, the motivational push-pull hypothesis designates that one must in some way operationally get at the migration orientations of potential migrants.

Push-pull hypotheses represented the dominant mode of conceptualizing voluntary migration up to about 1950. After 1950, a growing number of studies of migration appeared which sought to restate the general sensitizing push-pull models of migration in more explicit conceptual terms. These studies tend to conceptualize migration within an action frame of reference.

Plan of Literature Survey

The relevant literature will be surveyed first in terms of imbalance hypotheses, second in terms of motivational push-pull propositions, third in terms of recent studies which seek to explicate the dimensions necessary to conceptualize the initial phase of voluntary migration, and last in terms of studies which present empirical

generalizations which an adequate theoretical framework must be able to account for. Only representative studies of each type will be selected for discussion.

Inter-Community Imbalance Push-Pull Hypotheses

Interaction and Drift Hypotheses. -- One of the early attempts to formulate a concise theory of migration was made by Ravenstein in his classic paper published in 1889.² Ravenstein's theory may be classified as a "drift" hypothesis since he emphasized objective structural conditions in a primary community, principally economic, as leading to acts of migration rather than conditions at potential destination communities. People, he contended, tend to move out of areas in which the objective conditions are not adequate; but they do not necessarily move directly toward areas of greater economic development. Rather he asserted people 'drift' a relatively short distance in hope of finding a better situation. Relative to objective conditions in a primary community, an act of migration for Ravenstein appears to be an instrumental act taken by people to improve their economic conditions. However, since he emphasized structural conditions rather than the need for directly measuring the attitudes of individuals, his hypotheses are unable to explain why all actors exposed to similar conditions do not move.³

Sorokin and Zimmerman as representatives of the period 1925 to 1933, have presented arguments for the causes of voluntary migration

²E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, LII (June, 1889) 241 to 288. Sections reprinted in Pitrim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, Charles J. Galpin (eds.), A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, III (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932) 611-627.

³Ibid., pp. 611-620 passim.

that are not dissimilar to those of Ravenstein.⁴ However, because they emphasized objective conditions existing in both origin and destination communities, they have been classified as presenting an interaction hypothesis. They stated that there is a tendency for populations to move from low income and/or over populated areas toward areas of expanding agricultural or industrial production. Their primary causes are economic. They indicated that technological change in agriculture and associated unemployment and/or increasing population push more and more workers into cities,⁵ and that the opening of new and fertile land and expansion of industry in the cities attract people to these areas of greater opportunity.⁶

While the economic conditions represent basic factors accounting for migration, Sorokin and Zimmerman also recognized other causative dimensions. They stated that there are "'social' reasons for migration . . . such as comforts and conveniences, nearness to schools and medical facilities and other factors of a similar nature."⁷ All of these may be conveniently categorized as attractions or pulls to new areas. They also suggested that age and sex are important factors since "only adults who have accumulated the energy, are still in the adaptable stage, and are sufficiently mature to take care of themselves, leave the local community and seek a new opening for life."⁸ They rejected the proposition that intelligence⁹ and poor relations with

⁴Pitrim Sorokin, Social Mobility (New York: Harper and Brother, 1927); Pitrim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929); Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin (eds.), op. cit.

⁵Sorokin and Zimmerman, op. cit., pp. 534-537 passim.

⁶Ibid., pp. 537-539 passim.

⁷Ibid., p. 539.

⁸Ibid., p. 544.

⁹Ibid., p. 582 passim.

parents¹⁰ are major dimensions accounting for an act of migration. Further, they recognized that facilities necessary to migrate and that knowledge about alternative community situations may affect the decisions of actors to migrate. They stated that "migrations are expensive and consequently most persons move to localities when they are sure that better opportunities will compensate them for the cost."¹¹ They also indicated an awareness status-roles occupied by potential migrants in their primary communities as well as particularistic attachments to individuals and styles of life can be expected to affect migration plans.¹² Sorokin and Zimmerman presented extensive evidence to support their ideas about the factors that lead to migration. However, they did not present an analytical frame of reference; their sets of propositions represent a general sociological orientation to the types of pushes and pulls that in some way need to be taken into consideration if one is to explain the processes of migration. They have been classified as representatives of the interaction hypothesis because their major causes of migration are pushes and pulls associated with the economic structure of origin and destination communities rather than the orientations of individuals to their situations. However, they did state (but did not emphasize) that the orientations of actors affect migration. Thus, they could have been discussed later under the category "motivational push-pull hypotheses." Relative to motivational theories of migration, Sorokin and Zimmerman are important because they were among the earliest writers to make statements suggesting that an actor's community satisfaction, attraction to styles of life, status-role expectations, and access to facilities (including cognitive

¹⁰Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin, op. cit., pp. 465-479 passim.

¹¹Ibid., p. 518.

¹²Ibid., p. 515 passim.

knowledge of a number of community situations) are useful dimensions for understanding the processes leading up to an act of migration.

Moore, in 1938, presented an explicit statement of the interaction hypothesis.¹³ She stated:

Migration theory may be thought of as consisting of three main concepts: that of the push away from a locality, of the pull toward a locality, and the means of migration between any two localities.

The push from a locality may be due to famine, poverty, religious intolerance, crop failure, eroded soils, etc; the pull toward a locality to rapid industrial development, and the resulting increased demand for labor, to higher wages, the desire for a higher standard of living, religious tolerance, or other appeals.¹⁴

Except for a concise statement of the interaction hypothesis emphasizing the importance of means or facilities, Moore's conceptualization represented no improvement over that of Sorokin and Zimmerman. Operationally she accounts for acts of migration in terms of the structural components of communities. Given acts of migration, she imputes motivational goals and means of accomplishing goals.

Thomas, in her empirical research carried out during the early 40's, presented a modified version of the interaction hypothesis.¹⁵ In her discussion of Swedish population movements she indicated two major factors as contributing to migration. They are an industrial "pull" to America and an agricultural "push" from Sweden. Relative to these two factors, she presented arguments for the existence of an interaction effect between pushes and pulls. Thus for high levels of out-migration to occur there must be both a strong push and a strong pull.¹⁶

¹³Jane Moore, Cityward Migration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 129-130.

¹⁵Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements 1750-1933 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941).

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 164-169 passim.

Even though the interaction hypotheses do not provide an explanation for why all actors exposed to the same or similar socio-economic conditions do not migrate, it is still widely used as an explanation of the processes of migration. Thus Jehlik in a paper published in 1955 stated: "An important cause of migration is economic imbalance with migrants constantly moving toward areas of supposedly greater opportunity and security."¹⁷ Fuguitt recently took the same position. He stated: "Migration is due to socio-economic imbalances between regions . . . certain factors 'pushing' persons away, and others 'pulling' them to the area of destination."¹⁸

Gravity Theories. --McKenzie, Goodrich and colleagues, and Herberle are representatives of the early proponents of the gravity hypothesis.¹⁹ McKenzie as early as 1932 indicated that in modern society migration tends to follow capital.²⁰ Goodrich and colleagues, likewise, noted that migration tends to be from areas of low economic opportunity to areas of high economic opportunity. They recognized both push and pull factors in migration, but emphasized "the relationship between migration and economic opportunity."²¹ Heberle with reference to German theories of migration up to 1938 explicitly

¹⁷Paul J. Jehlik, "Patterns of Net Migration and Changes in Crude Birth Rates in the North Central States, 1940-1950," Rural Sociology (September, 1955), 282.

¹⁸Glenn V. Fuguitt, "Part-Time Farming and the Push-Pull Hypothesis," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (January, 1959), 375.

¹⁹Robert D. McKenzie, "Equilibrium," Readings in Human Ecology, ed. George Wahr (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932); Carter Goodrich and others, Migration and Economic Opportunities (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936); Rudolph Heberle, "The Causes of Rural-Urban Migration: A Survey of German Theories," American Journal of Sociology, XLIII (May, 1938).

²⁰McKenzie, op. cit., p. 9.

²¹Goodrich and others, op. cit., p. 5.

rejected push factors as being important causes of migration. He indicated that while the push out of agriculture exists that the "intensity of migration from . . . [the] country is scarcely dependent on the strength of 'push' factors."²² Rather he contended migration is dependent upon the "demand for labor by industry."²³

During the period 1940 to 1950 a large number of sociologists and demographers took a position similar to that of Heberle. Stouffer, Young, Bright, and Thomas, Isbell, Stradtbeck, Fogler, Anderson, and others who have investigated the empirical validity of the hypothesis of intervening opportunities have emphasized the pull of industrialized areas over against the pushes out of rural areas.²⁴ Anderson summarizes the position as follows:

The relative number of migrants to a given area from each of several areas would vary directly with the 'force of attraction' of the receiving area and inversely with [the square] of the distance between source and termination areas.²⁵

²²Heberle, op. cit., p. 933.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," American Sociological Review, V (December, 1940), 845-857; E. C. Young, The Movement of Farm Population, (Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 426 1928); Margaret Bright and Dorothy S. Thomas, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities," American Sociological Review, XI (December, 1941), 773-783; Eleanor C. Isbell, "Internal Migration in Sweden and Intervening Opportunities," idem., IX (December, 1944); Fred Stradtbeck, "Equal Opportunity Intervals: A Contribution of the Method of Intervening Opportunity Analysis," idem., XIV (August, 1949), 490-497; John Fogler, "Some Aspects of Migration in the Tennessee Valley," idem., XVIII (June 1953), 253-260; Theodore R. Anderson, "Intermetropolitan Migration: A Comparison of the Hypotheses of Zipf and Stouffer," idem., XX (June, 1955), 287-291.

²⁵Ibid., 287.

Without explicating the way or ways in which distance and opportunities are measurable, the gravity hypothesis entails that migrants are attracted to areas of greater opportunity. From this one may accordingly infer that the reasons potential migrants have for planning migration are associated with conditions existing in potential destination communities. Thus it would appear that an important assumption of the gravity hypothesis would have to be that migration is a rational, goal-directed act undertaken with some specific acquaintanceship with destination communities. While the existence of goals which can be obtained through migration and images of destination communities must be assumed by persons using the gravity hypothesis, the explicit need for an analysis of cognitive and expressive orientations of actors given their objective situations is not generally expressed by authors using the hypothesis. Further, while the gravity hypothesis may predict volume and direction of migrants, like other forms of the imbalance hypothesis, it does not allow one to explain why all persons subjected to similar sets of conditions do not migrate.

Before going on to discuss motivational push-pull hypothesis, it should be stated that from the point of view of this study that the research using the general imbalance hypothesis or one of its subtypes makes several important contributions to the emergence of an explanation of the initial phase of voluntary migration. One is made aware that the general socio-economic structure of communities must be considered in the formation of an adequate explanation of the processes of migration. Next, the implicit assumptions of imbalance hypotheses that actors who migrate (1) have some knowledge about their primary and potential destination communities, (2) evaluate the relative attractiveness of community situations, and (3) need facilities to migrate suggest that one should make the attempt to empirically demonstrate if such factors affect the decisions of actors to carry out an act of migration.

Motivational Push-Pull Hypothesis

While Sorokin and Zimmerman must be credited with being among the first to suggest that the subjective evaluations of individuals can affect their decisions to carry out an act of migration, Kiser was among the first persons to carry out a study specifically designed to determine the extent to which subjective factors affect such decisions.²⁶ Kiser's book, Sea Island To City, published in 1933, is an exploratory study conducted by interviewers which seeks to "secure a sounder understanding of the causes, operations and results of . . . the general drift from farms to the city which is a conspicuous feature of modern existence."²⁷ Relative to the causes of migration, Kiser wished to provide answers to the question: "Why have many individuals born and reared in St. Helena gone voluntarily from their homes?"²⁸

In his analysis, he recognized the importance of the socio-economic situation prevailing in a primary community. He suggested that the events which interrupt the calm of life and threaten "the existence of [a] community through the impairment of means of livelihood"²⁹ were "the main factors conducive to changes in attitudes of individuals concerning continued residence in St. Helena."³⁰ But unlike authors who have used the general imbalance push-pull hypothesis, Kiser recognized that economic hardship, while important, does not automatically lead to migration. Thus he stated "Despite the economic hardships that were encountered during the years immediately following

²⁶Clyde V. Kiser, Sea Island to City (New York: Columbia University Press, (1932).

²⁷Ibid., p. 9.

²⁸Ibid., p. 115.

²⁹Ibid., p. 85.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 112-113.

the civil war, there was almost no migration."³¹ Kiser found that in order to understand why actors decide to migrate one had to have knowledge of the ways in which potential migrants evaluated their communities relative to alternative situations in addition to knowledge about the objective socio-economic conditions existing in primary communities and in potential destination communities. He stated: "the basic cause of a voluntary change of domicile is the desire to improve one or more 'specific conditions.'"³² These may be "social, economic, political, or religious."³³ Further, "motives are mixed rather than pure."³⁴ On the one hand, those who are oriented toward migration "are imbued with the idea that they must go to the city in order to find 'good jobs' and a more stimulating environment."³⁵ Such individuals tend to dislike "farming as a means of livelihood and a mode of life."³⁶ On the other hand, "those who prefer to remain, place greater value on the unhurried life of St. Helena, community relationships and independence than they do on economic advantages or other reported advantages of city life. For them farming is not a means of livelihood, but a way of life itself."³⁷ Kiser also appeared to be aware that in order to explain why voluntary migration takes place one must consider an actor's facilities and obligations as well as predispositions. Relative to facilities, he stated that actors must

³¹Ibid., p. 117.

³²Ibid., p. 116.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., p. 144.

³⁶Ibid., p. 116.

³⁷Ibid., p. 141.

have "sufficient money to pay the fare to his chosen destination";³⁸ and relative to status-role obligations he stated: "Older individuals are held by familial responsibilities, ownership of land, and by community ties which mean more to them than to migrant sons and daughters."³⁹

Kiser's study of the movement of negroes from Sea Island to New York is important because it empirically demonstrates the need for considering (1) the orientations of potential migrants to primary and potential destination communities, (2) the facilities that potential migrants control which are useful in carrying out an act of migration, and (3) the obligations that potential migrants have which may retard migration when one is attempting to provide an explanation of the decisions of actors to migration.

Thomas, in her monograph Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, attempted to summarize the migration literature up to 1938.⁴⁰ She made several important contributions to conceptualizing the place that motivational orientations have in an explanation of the initial phase of voluntary migration. While her major empirical work was concerned with the imbalance hypothesis, in the Research Memorandum she not only explicitly stated that the processes of migration should be viewed as a series of stages,⁴¹ but also indicated that to understand the initial motivations that lead individuals to migrate one must consider the motives which attract individuals to new areas and sources of dissatisfactions which drive them away from old

³⁸Ibid., p. 140.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Bull. 43 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938).

⁴¹Ibid., p. 5.

communities. Thus she stated:

The problem of motivation . . . in relation to migration differentials may be stated as follows:

- (1) What grievances do migrants have against the environment of origin that are not shared by non-migrants in the same environment?
- (2) What goals do they hope to reach through migration?⁴²

Thomas' contribution to a frame of reference for voluntary migration may be listed as (1) the explicit recognition that the initial phase of migration should be distinguished from the journey of migrants to a new destination and the assimilation of migrants into new communities, and (2) the need to identify sources of dissatisfaction independently of attractions to new communities. In making these distinctions she sets the stage for the emergence of the frame of reference used in this study.

The writings of Lively, Taeuber, Webb, Brown, and Jamieson in the late 30's and early 40's are indicative of the growing awareness among scholars studying migration that a comprehensive knowledge about the motivational orientations of migrants is a prerequisite to an adequate understanding of the total migration process.⁴³ Like Kiser, Lively and Taeuber recognized that while socio-economic conditions are important factors affecting migration, alone they cannot account for migration. On the basis of empirical evidence, they stated that it is simply not true "that when problems are sufficiently acute in any area people will move to some place where living conditions are

⁴²Ibid., p. 187.

⁴³C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, Rural Migration in the United States (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939); John N. Webb and Malcolm Brown, Migrant Families (Idem., 1938); Stuart M. Jamieson, "A Settlement of Rural Migrant Families in the Sacramento Valley, California," Rural Sociology, XVII (March, 1942), 49-61.

considered more nearly adequate."⁴⁴ They noted: "There are few rural areas so poor that there are not some people at sometime who are willing to live there."⁴⁵ To understand why not all persons exposed to similar objective conditions migrate, they contended it was necessary to consider subjective factors. They explicitly stated:

The controlling element in the decision whether or not to move may not be the objective reality; rather it may be the individual's subjective evaluation of the various alternatives which he is considering.⁴⁶

Relative to motivations, they recognized that economic considerations are not always primary. Thus they stated:

Although the desire to secure a larger income for energy expended, to secure greater security, etc., are important, the comparisons [with alternative community situations] obviously are not cast entirely in economic terms. Leisure time, gregariousness, prestige, freedom from primary group restraints, the glamour of the city, and more extensive community facilities are some of the factors which have always motivated rural-urban migrants as well as migrations from one rural area to another.⁴⁷

Although Lively and Taeuber did not explicitly designate community satisfaction and specifications level as independent variables, they appeared to be aware that the distinction can and should be made.

Thus they stated:

While it may be assumed that many rural migrants leave the country to escape from what they regard as unsatisfactory conditions at home, it may also be assumed that many leave because they are drawn toward what appears to be more desirable conditions elsewhere.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Lively and Taeuber, op. cit., p. 79.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 79.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 80.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

Webb and Brown in a study of 5,489 migrant families conducted during the depression era presented operational procedures for getting at "the real point of view of the migrants themselves."⁴⁹ They stated: "The reasons for migration are composed of two complementary factors: the reasons for leaving one specific place and the reasons for selecting another specific place as a destination."⁵⁰ To ascertain the reasons that migrants give for moving, they asked the following questions:

- (1) Why did you leave the community where you last maintained a settled, self-supporting residence?
- (2) Why did you select one particular place, to the exclusion of other places, as your destination?⁵¹

Their use of these two questions indicates that they explicitly recognized that reasons for leaving one community need not be the same as the reasons for selecting another. While such procedures had been suggested by Thomas, the study conducted by Webb and Brown was one of the first large scale empirical surveys which attempted to distinguish the reasons for migration that are associated with dissatisfactions with primary communities from reasons which are associated with attractions to destination communities. Webb and Brown interpreted the first question as indicating the extent to which an individual is susceptible to the idea of migrating. The susceptibility to the idea of migration would appear to include both the desirability of migration and the consideration of the act of migration. From the point of view of this study, it would also include specific sources of community dissatisfaction that give rise to the desire and/or consideration of moving. The authors found that 69 percent of the persons

⁴⁹Webb and Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. XXI.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 1.

responding to the question gave economic distress as a reason for leaving their primary communities, 25 percent gave personal distress as a reason, and 6 percent were "not in distress."⁵²

The second question was interpreted by Webb and Brown as giving the objectives or goals that individuals hoped to achieve through migration. The answers that were given to this question tended to reflect both the specifications and the obligations of migrants. Most migrants gave economic betterment as their reason for selecting their new communities (79 percent).⁵³ Relative to acts of migration representing a decision-making process directed toward goals, they stated: "The families studied showed a clear tendency to migrate only when the probability of an improved status appeared to be reasonably high."⁵⁴

Jamieson in a study published in 1942 raised several significant questions regarding the processes of migration.⁵⁵ He demonstrated that to understand migration it is necessary not only to ascertain the reasons of actors for leaving their primary communities, but also to determine (1) their reasons for selecting a general area such as California as a destination, and (2) their reasons for selecting a specific community in a given area.⁵⁶ He found that the majority of persons in his sample "migrated to California in preference to other states . . . for economic reasons,"⁵⁷ and most people settled in specific communities for non-economic reasons.⁵⁸ The data from the Jamieson study indicates that a simplistic explanation of migration

⁵²Ibid., pp. 2-5 passim.

⁵³Ibid., p. 13.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 10.

⁵⁵Jamieson, op. cit.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 49-61 passim.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 54.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 56 passim.

based upon economic motives alone is not adequate to account for all acts of migration.

In the period 1940 to 1950 sociologists began to recognize the need for systematic theoretical formulations of the factors associated with voluntary migration which went beyond the sensitizing statements of motivational push-pull hypotheses and the imbalance hypotheses. Williams, Duncan, Issac, and Landis may be taken as representatives of the type of theoretical formulations that were presented during this decade.⁵⁹ Williams suggested the need for "a systematic theoretical treatment of the social factors in migration."⁶⁰ However, Williams did not develop a frame of reference beyond suggesting that "social factors that should be considered in relation to the retardation of population mobility."⁶¹ He suggested that consideration should be given to an actor's emotional attachment to his home, family, and community; stable and satisfying group relationships; social status; ignorance of alternative opportunities; skills for entering an occupation; and investments which cannot be easily liquidated.⁶²

Duncan also attempted to construct a general theory of migration from existing knowledge about migration.⁶³ However beyond suggesting the need for codification, he did not present a theoretical

⁵⁹Robin M. Williams, "Concepts of Marginality in Rural Population Studies," Rural Sociology, V (September, 1940), 292-302; Otis Durant Duncan, "The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population," Population Theory and Policy (eds.) Joseph Spengler and Otis Dudley Duncan (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956); (Reprint of Experiment Station Circular No. 88, May 1940, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, Stillwater, Oklahoma); Julius Isaac, Economics of Migration (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947); Paul H. Landis, Rural Life in Process (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1948).

⁶⁰Williams, op. cit., p. 301.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 301.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 301-302 passim.

⁶³Duncan, op. cit.

statement which was any better than previous statements of the motivational push-pull hypothesis. While he explicitly stated that the causes of migration must be understood from the individuals point of view, he placed all causes of migration into one sponge category, the "search for opportunity."⁶⁴ He provided a check list of the subcauses of migration which represented a restatement of (1) the structural conditions in origin and destination communities which affect migration and (2) the motivational orientations of individuals which may lead to migration.⁶⁵ While he appeared to be familiar with the work of Thomas, he did not recognize that stages exist in the migration process or that satisfactions and attractions may have an independent effect upon an actor's decision to migrate.

Issac, like Duncan, did not make a significant contribution to the formulation of an adequate theory accounting for the processes of migration.⁶⁶ While he contributed to an understanding of such problems as the part migration can and does play in the adjustment of populations to their environments, he did not develop a conceptual framework which was different from those presented earlier. Like many others, he maintained that reasons for migration are primarily economic incentives⁶⁷ associated with pushes from one community and pulls toward another.⁶⁸ He made certain other distinctions which though previously stated are important. He recognized that free migration was different from forced or primitive migrations,⁶⁹ that objective

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 418 passim.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 418-420 passim.

⁶⁶Issac, op. cit.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 23 passim.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 34 passim.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 70 passim.

community situations as well as the subjective attitudes of actors affect migration,⁷⁰ and that the knowledge actors have of existing community situations as well as their control over facilities affect migration.⁷¹

Relative to a theory explaining the initial phase of voluntary migration, Landis suggested that it may be useful to construct working hypotheses which explain special types of migration before attempting to construct a theory that accounts for all types of migration.⁷² Landis limited himself to a discussion of the problem of cityward migration within an open-class society.⁷³ He classified the motives of migrants into two categories (1) "attractions to new areas, [and] (2) compulsive forces driving people from old areas."⁷⁴ He suggested the following working hypothesis for understanding cityward migration:

It may be assumed that the movement toward towns and cities is in general motivated by a desire to increase economic and social status; and the counter movement to the farm by a desire for security and subsistence.⁷⁵

From Landis' discussion of the above hypothesis one can infer that he intended to give "economic and social status and/or security and substance" a very general interpretation. They appear to represent general attitudes toward desired styles of life. Thus he accounted for the movement of rural youth to cities in terms of the high evaluation that they place upon styles of life obtainable in urban areas. He stated:

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 41-43 passim.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 44-49 passim.

⁷²Landis, op. cit., p. 166.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 187.

"Our culture does not put a high value on rural life. Herein lies a part of the city's magnetic power over rural youth."⁷⁶ He also stated: "Accumulated experience builds up the attitudes in farm youth that the city possesses the outstanding values and that the farm is good enough only for those who find no other outlet."⁷⁷

Landis' contribution to the conceptualization of the processes of migration appears to be the recognition that "middle range theories" can be tentatively formulated even if satisfactory general theories are not yet available, that desired style of life is an extremely important component affecting the decisions of actors to migrate, and that the desire for urban styles of life may be an important specification of rural youth.

Dimensions of Voluntary Migration Reconsidered

During the decade 1950 to 1960 several authors suggest rather complete models for conceptualizing the initial stage of voluntary migration. These authors suggest models which take into consideration not only specifications, satisfactions, and obligations, but also possessions useful in carrying out an act of migration. The distinction between desiring to migrate and actually planning to migrate is made by at least one author during this period. In this section, studies conducted during the decade which in the writer's opinion make significant contributions to the development of an explanation of the initial phase of voluntary migration will be considered.

Importance of the initial stage of migration: Eisenstadt made an important contribution to the emergence of a theory explaining the

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 187.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 190.

initial phase of voluntary migration by recognizing the necessity of conceptualizing the processes of migration in terms of a series of stages.⁷⁸ Thomas recognized stages in an act of migration. However, she did not attempt to explicate the factors relevant to the initial phase, or to demonstrate that the understanding of a completed act of migration was contingent upon understanding the initial phase. Eisenstadt did. For Eisenstadt, the initial stage of migration represented the period during which "the motivation to migrate--the need or dispositions which urge people to move from one place to another [developed]."⁷⁹ Regarding the importance of the initial phase of migration Eisenstadt stated:

It is obvious that the analysis of the immigrant's motives for migration and his consequent 'image' of the new country is not of historical interest alone, but is also of crucial importance for understanding his initial attitudes and behavior in his new setting. It is this initial motivation that constitutes the first stage of the processes of social change inherent in any migration and in the absorption of the immigrants, and this first stage largely influences the subsequent stage in as much as it decides the migrants orientation and degree of readiness to accept change.⁸⁰

Eisenstadt in his discussion of the absorption of Jewish migrants into the state of Israel presented empirical evidence to support his contention that an understanding of the initial phase of voluntary migration is necessary for an adequate theory explaining the processes of migration.

Relative to the initial phase of voluntary migration, his basic propositions may be stated as follows:

⁷⁸S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul L.T.D., 1954), pp. 1-4 passim.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 1.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 4.

Actors have levels of aspiration which may lead them to evaluate their primary communities as inadequate. Associated with the inadequacy of their primary communities, actors may feel frustrated and insecure. Further, actors have images of styles of life available in possible destination communities. Given these images, actors may hope to achieve through migration living conditions consistent with one or more important aspirations.⁸¹

Eisenstadt presents four types of aspirations which may lead to an act of migration. They are the following:

1. [A potential migrant] may feel that his original society does not provide him with enough facilities for and possibilities . . . [of] survival within it.⁸²
2. Migration may be promoted by the feeling that certain goals, mainly instrumental in nature, . . . cannot be attained within the institutional structure of his society or origin.⁸³
3. The [migrant] may feel that within the old society he cannot fully gratify his aspirations for solidarity. . . .⁸⁴
4. The [migrant] may feel that his society of origin does not afford him the chance of attaining a worthwhile and sincere pattern of life, or of following out a progressive social theory. . . .⁸⁵

From the point of view of this study, Eisenstadt's conceptualization of the initial phase of voluntary migration is incomplete. Not only did he not adequately define terms, but he failed to recognize dimensions which the writer believes are essential for an analysis of the initial stage of voluntary migration. His use of the concept "aspiration" appears to be similar to the concept attractions as defined in Chapter One. However, he did not seem to be aware of the possible

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 2-4 passim.

⁸²Ibid., p. 3.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid.

independent effects of specification level, community satisfaction, or obligations upon migration orientations. Nor did he explicitly state the part that facilities play in the initial stage of migration. His list of aspirations represents content dimensions of specification level, community satisfaction, or obligations.

The decision-making process--desiring, considering, and expecting to migrate.--In this study the desire to migrate has been considered conceptually different from the consideration of migration. In turn consideration of migration has been considered conceptually different from expecting or planning to migrate. Two studies contributed to the writer's awareness of the need for such a distinction. The first was a paper by Bohlen and Wakeley,⁸⁶ and the second was a book by Rossi.⁸⁷

Bohlen and Wakeley must be credited with recognizing that the intentions to migrate and actual migration are not the same. Even among authors who have used the motivational push-pull hypothesis, such a simple distinction was not explicitly made. Bohlen and Wakeley's data showed that while intentions to migrate are highly correlated with actual migration that not all students who intend to migrate actually migrate and that some students who do not intend to migrate actually do migrate.⁸⁸ They found the following relationships between intentions and actual migration:

⁸⁶Joe M. Bohlen and Ray E. Wakeley, "Intentions to Migrate and Actual Migration of Rural High School Graduates," Rural Sociology, XV (December, 1950), 329-334.

⁸⁷Peter H. Rossi, Why People Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955).

⁸⁸Bohlen and Wakeley, op. cit., pp. 330-331 passim.



- (1) Rural farm males tended to be undecided as to their intentions, and relatively few actually migrate whereas other students generally intend to migrate and actually did migrate.⁸⁹
- (2) A higher proportion of girls than boys intend to migrate and actually did migrate.⁹⁰
- (3) Socio-economic level of respondents and discussion with parents were not related to intentions to stay or leave or to migration performance.⁹¹
- (4) Attitudes toward farming was a factor related to decision making in the initial phase regarding migration intentions.⁹²
- (5) Attitudes toward farming were associated with actual migration for males but not females.⁹³

While Rossi dealt with residential mobility rather than with migration, the model that he presented for residential mobility is useful for understanding the processes of migration. Relative to a theory of migration, one may substitute the concept migration for residential mobility in the following discussion of Rossi's book. Rossi was one of the first authors to explicitly recognize that movement of persons from one residence to another may be viewed as an ongoing decision-making process. He contended that actors who change their residences go from having an inclination or desire to move to planning to move to the actual act of changing residences. Thus he stated: "Wanting to move may be viewed as the initial step in a sequence leading eventually to the act of moving itself."⁹⁴

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 331-332 passim.

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 330-333 passim.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 332 passim.

⁹²Ibid., p. 332.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 332-333 passim.

⁹⁴Rossi, op. cit., p. 99.

Rossi stated that a family ideally reached a decision to move to a new residence in three stages. The stages are (1) the decision to leave the old home, (2) the search for a new place, and (3) the choice among alternative homes.⁹⁵

The decision to leave an old home is reached in two phases. They are (1) the growth of a desire or inclination to move, and (2) the actual planning to move. He found that the inclination to move could be predicted on the basis of a household's objective housing needs as well as on the basis of the degree of dissatisfaction members of a household expressed about their existing housing conditions. In addition he found that the "same factors which help to understand why some households desire to move, also help to understand why some households translate these desires to move into mobility plans."⁹⁶

In the second and third stage after a household has reached a definite decision to move, Rossi stated:

Each household is viewed as facing its choice [of a new home] with a certain set of specifications in mind, employing certain sources of information to obtain knowledge about available housing opportunities, and choosing a particular dwelling because of its attractions.⁹⁷

He accounted for a households' choice of new homes by obtaining answers to the following questions:

1. What were the important features--specifications--each family had in mind as it looked for a new place in which to live?
2. What were the information sources--newspaper, real estate agents, etc.--which it employed in this search? Which were the most efficient sources of information?

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 173-176 passim.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 105.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 152.

3. What was it about their final choice which particularly attracted the family to it? What were the most important attractions?⁹⁸

Rossi not only developed techniques for identifying (1) the sources of dissatisfaction that gave rise to a decision to leave an old home, (2) the specifications for an ideal home, and (3) the relative attractiveness of new homes, but also techniques for ascertaining the relative importance of the different kind of dissatisfactions, specifications and attractions.⁹⁹

Many of the concepts and relationships suggested by Rossi have been incorporated into the frame of reference being used in this study. Following Rossi, the desire to move, planning to move, actual migration, specifications and factors contributing to dissatisfaction have been considered as analytically different dimensions in this study. However, while Rossi's model of residential mobility was extremely useful to the writer in developing a frame of reference for conceptualizing the initial phase of voluntary migration, Rossi's study could have been considerably improved if he had recognized that desiring to move and considering moving can be distinguished. It does not seem unreasonable to expect that a person or family may not desire to move but may be thinking about moving even though not yet planning to move. Also Rossi failed to recognize that factors which a family considered desirable to have in a new home could affect their decision to move even though they were satisfied with their old home, and that the selection of a new residence by a family could be affected by obligations and facilities as well as by differential attractions.

Satisfactions, specifications and costs as dimensions of migration.--After Rossi, the next major developments in a theory

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 152.

⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 196-200 passim.

conceptualizing the initial phase of voluntary migration was made by Francis and Beegle.¹⁰⁰ Unlike Rossi who asserted that the decision to leave a residence was based upon level of dissatisfaction with a primary residence and not with the attraction to a new residence, both Francis and Beegle recognized that specifications for desired style of life, community satisfaction, and other dimensions have independent effects upon a decision to carry out an act of migration. Francis stated: "The problem of migration is not that of group behavior in general, but a more limited one: that of membership through the fact of residence."¹⁰¹ Relative to an actor carrying out an act of migration, he indicated that one must consider cohesiveness, attractions (specifications) and satisfactions. Cohesiveness represents the claims and obligations that individuals have to groups and/or structures. Cohesiveness tends to make particular groups desirable.¹⁰² Relative to attractions (specifications) he stated:

[An important] . . . dimension [accounting for migration] is that of attractiveness, or the importance of being a member of (a) group or structure. Thus, a person migrates into one structure rather than another because one is more attractive.

. . . And prior to out-migration, an individual may compare the attractiveness of his contemporary position with alternatives. If these alternatives are spatially arranged, he will probably move directly in proportion to the amount of attraction at point X, and inversely in proportion to the intervening attraction.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰Roy G. Francis, "The Relation of Data to Theory," Rural Sociology, XXII (June, 1957), 258-266; Report of Procedures Committee of NC-18, North Central Regional Project Concerning Field Studies of Migration, Chairman J. Allan Beegle, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Social Research Service, 1957).

¹⁰¹Francis, op. cit., p. 264.

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. 263-264 passim.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 264.

He also stated: "A third major dimension is that of satisfaction--the degree to which a person's current group and/or structural membership satisfies his needs, real or felt, original or derived."¹⁰⁴

Beegle, taking into consideration Francis' suggestions, presented the following model:

The phenomena of migration is viewed as an ongoing process of decision-making in which satisfactions with life in the community of residence are weighed against the social cost of leaving the community of residence. This evaluation process occurs in relation to level of aspirations, rooted in the value orientation, range of knowledge, and experience of group and individuals.¹⁰⁵

He defined satisfaction, social costs and aspirations as follows:

Satisfactions now may be defined as feelings of cohesiveness and security rooted in identification with groups and structures (patterned relations through time). This dimension in the decision-making process is variable and would require measurement in all type areas selected.

Social Costs, another dimension of the decision-making process, may be defined as rootlessness attending migration. . . .

Aspirations, the third dimension employed, is considered to be the desired future state or condition sought. . . . The level of aspirations are viewed as influencing the level of satisfactions as well as the level of social costs.¹⁰⁶

The framework of this study represents a modification of the models of Beegle and Francis with the addition of Rossi's suggestions for considering inclinations to migrate as being different from planning to migrate. Community satisfaction as used in this study is more similar to Francis' concept of satisfactions than to Beegle's. Community satisfaction represents an actor's evaluation of his existing

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 264.

¹⁰⁵Beegle, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 3.

and possible group and structural bonds as well as other object relationships in his environment, and thus does not represent feelings of cohesiveness or cohesiveness as such. The evaluation of a community as satisfactory or unsatisfactory takes place with respect to an actor's belief-value matrix or value-orientation. The existence of belief-value matrices is implicit in Beegle's discussion of the migration process.

Beegle's concept of aspirations, and Francis' concept of attractions are taken to be equivalent to the concept specifications as used in this study. The concept attraction is given a more general meaning in this study. Attractions are taken to be the typed images and beliefs which an actor perceives as being directly gratifying or as instrumentally desirable or necessary, and accordingly are ranked high along generalized dimensions. In this study, the concept "aspiration" is reserved for attractions which an actor is willing to expend considerable energy to obtain.

Francis' concept of cohesiveness and Beegle's concept of social costs have not been used in this study even though they sensitize one to the dimensions affecting migration. They were not used because they are considered too broad to be directly operationalized and because (1) the factors that contribute to social costs and (2) the significant structural and group ties affecting migration can be more effectively conceptualized and measured in alternative ways.

Relative to cohesiveness, not all bonds are considered equally important. The important elements of cohesiveness that it is considered necessary to conceptualize and measure are those that could effectively lead to extensive negative sanctions if not maintained. Accordingly, obligations and particularistic ties with significant alters are considered as more important for understanding migration behavior than other forms of cohesiveness. Further, the effects of structural ties

in promoting or inhibiting migration are partly accounted for in terms of relational and non-relational facilities. In addition, it is felt that an actor's evaluation of his bonds of cohesiveness are of critical importance for an explanation of the initial phase of migration. It is believed that an actor's evaluation of his social ties are accounted for by his level of community satisfaction. While the direct measurement of the major dimensions associated with migration have been considered in this study, (see Chapter One), the writer agrees with Francis and Beegle that in order to understand why community satisfactions, types of facilities, obligatory status-role expectations and specifications exist one must be able to (1) classify actors according to their degree of knowledge of, acceptance of, and commitment to local and non-local value orientations, and (2) describe the nature of an actor's existing structural and group bonds.

Beegle's concept social costs appears to involve both the measurement of (1) deprivation an actor perceives as occurring from an act of migration or non-migration, and/or (2) the ease with which an actor can transfer his residence from one community situation to another. In this study the above dimensions associated with social costs have been dealt with separately. It is felt that the meanings associated with the concept social costs are dealt with in terms of the concepts community satisfaction, specification level, facilities, and obligations. Community satisfaction and specification level together reflect the relative attractiveness of social situations--the extent to which actor's perceive social systems and their components as yielding gratification or deprivation. Obligations and facilities effect the ease with which actors can undertake acts of migration. Obligations may deter actors desiring and considering moving from actually moving, or they may cause actors not desiring to migrate to plan to migrate. Further, since actors in concrete situations cannot carry

out empirical acts by simply willing their completion (particularly if strong relational bonds exist), some type of aid or facility is necessary if the act is to be carried out.

Migration is viewed in this study as an ongoing decision-making process in which the motivational orientations of actors to situations effect their decisions to migrate. This position is derived from and is consistent with that taken by Rossi, Beegle and Francis. At least one author, Petersen, does not accept this position. In a recent paper he suggested that when "a migration has reached the stage of a social movement . . . personal motivations are generally of little interest."¹⁰⁷ He stated:

Migration becomes a style, an established pattern, an example of collective behavior. Once it is well begun, the growth of such a movement is semi-automatic; so long as there are people to emigrate, the principal causes of emigration is prior emigration--[social momentum]."¹⁰⁸

It is difficult to determine exactly what Petersen is trying to state since he does not define meanings attached to social movement, social momentum or personal motives. It could be that he intended to accept Blumer's definition of a social movement. Blumer stated:

A social movement can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life. . . . As a social movement develops, it takes on the character of a society. It acquires organization and form, a body of customs and traditions, established leadership, . . . social rules and social values--in short, a culture, a social organization, and a new scheme of life.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷William Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), p. 259.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 263.

¹⁰⁹Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," New Outline of the Principles of Sociology, (ed.) Alfred M. Lee (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1946), p. 190.

Given Blumers' definition of a social movement one can see that once established such a movement may make migration a legitimate and highly valued mode of behavior which an actor is encouraged to carry out by groups in primary and potential secondary communities. The extent to which an actor is committed to norms of the movement, the norms of the movement may operate in the evaluation process relative to the selection of goals to be desired and accomplished through the expenditure of energy. Accordingly, given a social movement, motivations may be expected to influence the decision to migrate. Further, the extent to which the norms of a social movement take on the character of being obligatory, actors whether desiring to migrate or not may be prepared to expend energy to accomplish the act. Again under these conditions, motivations will not be without an effect upon migration. It would appear then that Petersen's assertion that motives are of little interest cannot be accepted without (1) further clarification of the meanings he wishes to attach to such concepts as motives, social movement, and social momentum and (2) empirical evidence to support his claim.

Educational and occupational aspirations and migration. --

Occupational and educational aspirations are expected to be important dimensions of the specifications of high school juniors and seniors. In addition, they represent the ways in which students desire to carry out major obligations. Accordingly, educational and occupational aspirations are expected to affect the decisions reached by student relative to migration. The expectation that there exists a relationship between occupational or educational aspiration and migration is not new. From the point of view of the actor, the importance of an actor's perception of the availability of desirable occupations in various locations has been implicit in most push-pull hypotheses and explicitly

stated by such authors as Sorokin, Issac, Landis, Kaufman and others.¹¹⁰ Kaufman and colleagues stated:

Rural-urban migration is necessarily an incident of mobility out of the rural occupational structure. In addition--it may be hypothesized--migration is often a response to frustrated aspirations for mobility within that structure. The major channels of mobility in mass society become accessible to the rural individual, ordinarily, only if he departs from the local community. These factors may help to explain observed selectivity in rural-urban migration, e.g., the suggestion from some studies that persons of high rank and greater skill are more likely to go to the city.¹¹¹

Payne in an article presented a hypothesis that related migration to both occupational and educational aspirations.¹¹² Payne stated

That the decision concerning migration is almost wholly dependent upon the occupational decisions, . . . [and] . . . that occupational decision is dependent upon and follows from the decision concerning projected school attainment.¹¹³

Other authors such as Corwin, Scudder and Anderson, Lipsit and Bendix, and Carlsson¹¹⁴ have supported Payne's position that

¹¹⁰Sorokin, op. cit.; Issac, op. cit.; Landis, op. cit.; and Harold F. Kaufman, Otis Dudley Duncan, Neal Gross, and William H. Sewell, "Problems of Theory and Methods in the Study of Social Stratification in Rural Society," Rural Sociology, XVIII (March, 1953).

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 22.

¹¹²Raymond Payne, "Development of Occupational and Migration Expectations and Choices Among Urban, Small Town and Rural Adolescent Boys," Rural Sociology, XXI (March, 1956), pp. 117-125.

¹¹³Ibid., pp. 124-125.

¹¹⁴Ronald G. Corwin, "Social Mobility: A Dimension of Migration," (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, 1958); Richard Schudder and C. Arnold Anderson, "Migration and Mobility," American Sociological Review, XIX (June, 1954), pp. 329-334; Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959); Gosta Carlsson "The Causal Connection Between Migration and Social Mobility," Working Paper Eight submitted to the Fourth Working Conference on Social Stratification and Social Mobility, International Sociological Association, December, 1957.

migration is clearly associated with occupational and educational aspirations. Corwin summarized the position as follows: "Persons aspiring to rise socially through the occupational structure will also be geographically mobile in order to achieve that goal."¹¹⁵

Carlsson in a paper submitted to the Fourth Working Conference on Social Stratification and Mobility in 1957 presented empirical evidence to substantiate Corwin's hypothesis.¹¹⁶ Carlsson reported "that for virtually all status groups geographical mobility (in terms of individuals residing outside the county of their birth) is highest for the upward mobile person, intermediate for those in occupations similar to those of their fathers, and lowest for downward mobile persons."¹¹⁷ Lipset and Bendix agree with Carlsson.¹¹⁸ The position taken by Kaufman and colleagues and by Payne, Corwin, and others is similar to the position taken in this study. Namely, other things being equal, to the extent that occupational and educational aspiration (as specifications and/or obligations) cannot be carried out adequately in primary communities, actors will be considering migration.

Empirical Generalizations

Numerous empirical studies which make no direct contribution to a theoretical framework for conceptualizing the initial phase of voluntary migration have been published. Such studies do present empirical generalizations about why rural youth migrate. In this section generalizations from such studies will be presented, and the extent to which the frame of reference of this study can account for these generalizations will be discussed. Generalizations which cannot

¹¹⁵Corwin, op. cit., p. 160.

¹¹⁶Carlsson, op. cit.

¹¹⁷Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 160.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 160.

be adequately accounted for by the frame of reference will indicate areas in which the frame of reference must be revised.

Hypes reported that type of household equipment available in a rural home was associated with the migration of girls but not boys.¹¹⁹ This relationship suggests that household equipment may be a factor contributing to community satisfaction or specification level for girls but not for boys.

Landis reported that girls in his rural sociology course stated: "They would not live on the farm unless they were guaranteed certain conveniences, chief among which was running water and electricity."¹²⁰ Here again is an indication that for girls household conveniences may be a content dimension of specification level and/or community satisfaction.

Bell reported the responses of 13,528 young people to the question: "If the opportunity for choice presented itself where would you prefer to live?"¹²¹ He concluded: "Regardless of whether youth are living on farms, in villages, towns, or cities, the greatest preference is. . . . for cities and the suburbs of metropolitan areas."¹²² Bell's results suggest that "urbanization preferences" may be closely linked to specification level.

Yoder and Smick reported that migrant youth had better social opportunities than non-migrant youth.¹²³ If it can be assumed that

¹¹⁹J. L. Hypes, "Physical Equipment of Homes in Relation to Their Residential Holding Power," Journal of Home Economics, XXIX (June, 1937), pp. 397-404 passim.

¹²⁰Landis, op. cit., p. 199.

¹²¹Howard M. Bell, Youth Tell Their Story (Washington, D.C.: American Council On Education, 1938), p. 117.

¹²²Ibid., p. 125.

¹²³A. A. Smick and Fred R. Yoder, A Study of Farm Migration in Selected Communities in the State of Washington (Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 233, Pullman, Washington, 1929), passim.

youth who had better opportunities to engage in expressive activities in their primary communities tended to have higher levels of community satisfaction than youth with meager opportunities, then the observed relationship reported by Yoder and Smick might be accounted for in terms of specification level.

Williams and Beers reported that adults in Robertson and Johnson Counties in Kentucky believed that rural youth migrated for such reasons as lack of employment, poor farmland, dislike of farm work or hard work, and wanderlust.¹²⁴ They also reported that there was little consensus among adults as to whether or not "young people bettered themselves by moving to town."¹²⁵ In addition, they stated that most parents did not express an unwillingness to allow their children to migrate.¹²⁶ Their results indicate that migration may be a legitimate mode of behavior in rural areas and that many youth can expect relational support from parents for carrying out an act of migration. Further, the reasons given by adults for migration of rural youth can be classified as specifications, satisfactions or obligations.

Beers reported that high family income, high levels of social participation, youthfulness of father, ownership of property, family ties, and being an only child or the youngest in a family were associated with low levels of out migration.¹²⁷ One might account for Beers' results by suggesting that high family income, high levels of social

¹²⁴Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Howard W. Beers, Attitudes Toward Rural Migration and Family Life in Johnson and Robertson Counties, Kentucky, 1941 (Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 452, Lexington, Kentucky, June 1943) pp. 1-14 passim.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 7.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 13 passim.

¹²⁷Howard W. Beers, Mobility of Rural Population (Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 505, Lexington, Kentucky, June 1947), pp. 37-39 passim.

participation, youthfulness of father, and family ties are associated with high levels of community satisfaction. This hypothesis should be empirically validated. Family ties, ownership of property, and being an only child or the youngest in a family may reflect the ease with which one is able to leave a community, and accordingly may be accounted for in terms of obligations and facilities. This last proposition should also be empirically demonstrated.

Youmans reported that about 66 percent of his sample of 439 youth, 16 to 17 years of age, living in Butler, Metcalfe and Elliott Counties planned to remain in the counties where they lived.¹²⁸ Their major reason for remaining in their home counties was "that they liked the people where they were."¹²⁹ Of youths who intended to migrate, 29 percent were leaving to get jobs, and 24 percent were leaving because they found their primary communities dull.¹³⁰ If liking people in a community is associated with liking the community, then Youmans results indicate that high levels of community satisfaction are associated with non-migration. The high proportion of young people leaving to get jobs can be accounted for in terms of the inadequacy of the job structure of primary communities when compared to the specifications and obligations of the young people. Further, since expressive actions are important to youth, it would be expected that if they negatively evaluated a community with respect to such activities, they would consider migrating. In this study it is expected that a student's evaluation of his ability to engage in expressive action in his primary community will be one of the factors contributing to his level of community satisfaction.

¹²⁸E. Grant Youmans, The Educational Attainment and Future Plans of Kentucky Rural Youth (Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 644, Lexington, Kentucky, January 1959), p. 42 passim.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 42.

¹³⁰Ibid., pp. 42-43 passim.

Martinson investigated the hypothesis that "there are aspects of personal adjustment that are related to and perhaps causative of, migration from rural communities."¹³¹ He reported that migrating students were more aggressive socially, had higher school grades, reported greater interest in scientific and literacy pursuits, had better adjusted to the life of the high school, and were less well adjusted to family and community than non-migrants.¹³² The adjustment of non-migrants to community and family may reflect high levels of community satisfaction. If adjustment to life of the high school, higher school grades, and interest in scientific and literary pursuits reflects preferences for "what the world outside the local community has to offer--academic, scientific, and literary pursuits,"¹³³ then Martinson's results may indicate that migrants had specifications that could not be met in their local communities. Why migrants appeared to be more aggressive socially is not directly accounted for by the frame of reference of this study.

¹³¹Floy D. Martinson, "Personal Adjustment and Rural-Urban Migration," Rural Sociology, XX (June, 1955), p. 103.

¹³²Ibid., pp. 108-109 passim.

¹³³Ibid., p. 109.



CHAPTER 3

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter deals with the operationalization of this study-- that is, the phases in the research process following the statement of major hypotheses to be tested and prior to the actual analysis of the data. In this chapter consideration will be given to (1) the questionnaire used to collect the necessary data, (2) the selection and description of the area in which the study was conducted, (3) the selection of the test population and description of the field work, (4) the description of the significant characteristics of the test population, (5) the description of the major operational procedures, and (6) the description of the methods to be used in the analysis of the data.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study was designed to be completed by high school juniors and seniors during one 60 minute school period and to obtain information necessary to validate the major propositions of this study. Information was obtained from each student about the following areas:

- 1) the student's level of community satisfaction,
- 2) the student's specifications for an ideal community,
- 3) the student's evaluation of characteristics of his primary community which may contribute to community satisfaction,
- 4) the extent to which a student believes his specifications for an ideal community can be met in his primary community,



- 5) the extent to which a student desires and is considering carrying out an act of migration,
- 6) the reasons that a student gives for considering migration,
- 7) the student's migration expectations,
- 8) the reasons that a student gives for selecting the community he expects to reside in after graduation,
- 9) the extent to which a student believes that obligations can not be carried out adequately in his primary community,
- 10) the extent to which a student believes that he has facilities available for carrying out an act of migration,
- 11) the extent to which a student perceives that strong particularistic relationships exist between himself and socially significant alters,
- 12) information about the socio-economic position of the family of a student, and
- 13) demographic information about a student.

Three pretests of the questionnaire were conducted. First, interviews containing structured and unstructured questions were conducted by the writer with 7 college freshmen from Upper Peninsula communities to determine what revisions in the questionnaire were necessary in order to obtain accurate information about an actor's specifications, community satisfaction, expectations, and other important dimensions. The attempt was made to ascertain if the students understood the questions, if the questions were meaningful and answerable from the students' point of view, if additional questions were necessary, and if the questions being considered came from a single universe of content. On the basis of careful analysis of the responses of the college freshmen, the questionnaire was revised and given to junior and senior high school students in a rural community 20 miles from Lansing. The concern at this point was to determine

(1) if students similar to those that would complete the final questionnaire found the wording or design of any specific question or set of questions ambiguous, poorly phrased, or difficult to rapidly comprehend; and (2) if the questionnaire could be completed in the allotted amount of time. As a result of this pretest questions were again revised and a third pretest conducted in another rural high school near Lansing. No revisions in the questionnaire were made after this pretest. The questionnaire used in this study is presented in Appendix II. Procedures used to operationalize the main variables of this study are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Area Selected

The area selected to carry out this study of the initial phase of voluntary migration is Ontonagon County in the western part of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. The selection of this county was not based upon the specific needs of this study even though, as pointed out in Chapter one, a rural county of the Upper Peninsula did meet the criterion considered appropriate. The Department of Sociology at Michigan State University had made a commitment to the North Central Regional Committee on Migration to conduct studies of the decision-making processes in migration relative to persons who did not migrate and to high school students as potential migrants in a rural county¹

¹A county was suggested for the following reasons: "(1) The county is a meaningful and readily identifiable unit in all states; (2) Many counties possess more than nominal status in the social systems sense, (3) Population data concerning characteristics and components for inter-censal estimates are more readily available; and (4) Historical materials seldom relate to a 'community' apart from some larger context." Report of Procedures Committee of NC-18, North Central Regional Project Concerning Field Studies of Migration, Chairman J. Allan Beegle (East Lansing, Michigan State Social Research Service, 1957).

of not more than 10,000 persons² characterized by a net migration loss during the decade 1940-1950, a low level of living index, and a low proportion engaged in manufacturing.³ Ontonagon was selected as a site for the study not only because it met the requirements suggested by the Regional Committee, but because it was more feasible to carry on a study of non-migration in Ontonagon County than in Keewenaw or Baraga Counties which also met the stipulated requirements. The selection of Ontonagon rather than Keewenaw or Baraga was made for the following reasons:

Keewenaw was dropped because it was atypical in having a concentration of occupations in the resort industry. Baraga and Ontonagon counties remained. They were similar as to the research requirements, but practical considerations swung the choice to Ontonagon. A contact had been established previously there with the county agent, who had offered to provide introductions into the communities for the fieldwork team.⁴

Description of Area

Introduction. -- Ontonagon is located on the southern shore of Lake Superior in the western half of Michigan's SEA I about 170 miles from Duluth, Minnesota, the nearest metropolitan area. The nearest town of 10,000 is Ironwood, about 60 miles away. No Michigan metropolitan area is closer than 300 miles. The county is relatively isolated having limited transportation facilities. There is no railroad

²The committee suggested that the size of the area selected for analysis should be about 10,000 because this represented a "manageable" size with respect to experiment station support. (Ibid., p. 13, *passim*)

³The committee suggested that it is highly desirable to have field studies conducted in areas characterized by low agricultural and industrial development, and high levels of out-migration. (Ibid., p. 7, *passim*)

⁴Joanne B. Eicher, "Social Factors and Social Psychological Explanations of Non-Migration," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1959, p. 15.

transportation for passengers and only one Greyhound bus goes from the village of Ontonagon to Houghton each day.⁵

In 1950, Ontonagon County was an economically depressed rural, predominantly Finnish community characterized by out-migration, a rapidly aging population, a high sex ratio, a large number of single, widowed and divorced males, a low level of educational attainment, and dependency upon agriculture and the lumber industries for economic livelihood. It had the lowest rural-farm level of living index, 100, for the entire state.⁶ Over 17 percent of its active labor force was unemployed as compared with the state average of 5.4 percent.⁷ Forty-seven percent of the population earned less than \$2,000 and only 6 percent earned more than \$5,000.⁸ The same figures for the state were 19 percent and 20 percent respectively.⁹

Growth and distribution. -- The changes that have taken place in the size of the population of Ontonagon are presented in Table 1. In 1957 when this study was begun there were an estimated 10,470 persons living in the county. While this represented an increase of 2 percent over 1950, the total number of inhabitants in the county was

⁵Ronald Johnson, "Ontonagon County, " unpublished term project, Social Research Service, 1959, p. 4.

⁶J. Allan Beegle and Donald Halsted, Selected Population and Agricultural Characteristics Michigan 1950 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, and Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1956), p. 27.

⁷The active labor force includes individuals 14 years of age and over who are employed or actively seeking employment. The percentages are based upon data presented in the Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population II, pp. 56 and 145.

⁸Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1952, p. 227.

⁹Ibid., p. 219.

less than the 11,359 that lived there in 1940. Since 1910 the county's rate of growth has been below that of the state. In the decade 1940 to 1950 Michigan had a net increase in population of 21 percent; during the same period Ontonagon had a 9.5 percent decrease in population.¹⁰

The growth pattern of the county has been closely associated with the exploitation of its natural resources. The county experienced three periods of growth. The first was associated with the exploration for and extraction of copper. From about 1850 until the price of copper declined after the civil war, people moved into the country to work in the copper mines and related enterprises. Ontonagon was then the largest town on Lake Superior.¹¹ The population increased from 389 in 1850 to nearly 5,000 in 1860 and then declined to about 2,500 in 1880 (see Table 1).

The second period of growth occurred during the "pine episode," 1880 to 1896. During this period population growth was associated with greater employment opportunities resulting from the extensive cuttings and processing of logs from the white pine forests of Ontonagon, principally by the Diamond Match Company. Eicher in her dissertation summarizes this period as follows:

In the 1880's, the pine episode began with the wholesale purchase of land by the Diamond Match Company. By 1890, the two saw mills owned by the Diamond Match Company cut 300,000 feet of lumber daily, an annual rate of 100 million feet of lumber. In 1896 fire swept the town of Ontonagon. The company never rebuilt the saw mills, instead it pulled out. The pine episode was over.¹²

¹⁰Research Division, Michigan Economic Development Department, Detroit Field Office, U. S. Department of Commerce, Ontonagon County Economic Data Sheet (August, 1955).

¹¹James K. Jamison, This Ontonagon County (Ontonagon, Michigan: The Ontonagon Herald, 1939).

¹²Eicher, op. cit., p. 48. Also see Jamison, op. cit., pp. 186-211 *passim*.

Table 1.--The Growth of Population in Ontonagon County 1850 to 1960

Date	Total Population	Date	Total Population
1850	389	1910	8,650
1860	4,568	1920	12,428
1870	2,847	1930	11,114
1880	2,565	1940	11,359
1890	3,756	1950	10,282 ^a
1900	6,197	1953	10,310 ^b
		1957	10,470 ^c
		1960	10,584 ^d

^aInformation from 1850 to 1950 taken from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900 Population, I, 24-25; U. S., Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Population, II, 165; U. S., Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, II, 125.

^bInformation from Research Division, Michigan Economic Development Department, Detroit Field Office, U. S., Department of Commerce, Ontonagon County Economic Data Sheet (August, 1955).

^cInformation from J. F. Thaden, Michigan Population Changes by Counties, Urban Centers and Rural Areas, April 1, 1950 to July 1, 1957 (East Lansing, Michigan: Institute for Community Development and Continuing Education, Michigan State University, December 8, 1958), p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

^dInformation from U. S., Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population: Advanced Reports, General Population Characteristics, PC (A2)-24, p. 5.

The third and last major stage in population growth of the county is associated with the agricultural exploitation of the land of the county.¹³ Finnish miners and woods workers tired of the economic insecurity and unemployment associated with the declining mining and logging operation in Ontonagon and elsewhere in the Upper Peninsula turned to farming. They were attracted to the land in Ontonagon because it was similar to that of the provinces of Vaasa and Oulu in Finland from which they migrated. They "discovered in [Ontonagon] a landscape, a soil and a climate that reminded them of their homeland."¹⁴ The Finnish immigrants established small subsistence farms of about 40 to 80 acres. The agricultural expansion and population growth continued until about 1920. "Since the 'twenties,' the county like most other cut-over regions has lost population."¹⁵ Kolehmainen and Hill summarize the condition of the Finnish farmer in a Wisconsin county similar to Ontonagon as follows:

. . . Finns of the mining regions have sought security. Work in the mines had been their mainstay until more profitable mining operations . . . forced the curtailment of mining. . . . Land, a cow or two, potatoes, rutabagas and firewood from his land gave the settler a sense of security that he could not get from intermittent employment in the mines that remained, from work in town, or in the second-growth logging and pulp operations. But the economic base of the area is disappearing, as is evident from the fact that almost a fourth of the families were on relief or W.P.A. in the lean years of the thirties.¹⁶

¹³Ontonagon County has a higher proportion of land available for agricultural purposes than most counties. Of the 1,323 square miles of land in the county, 21 percent is rated as first class farm land. An additional forty-three percent is useful for agricultural purposes. See J. O. Veatch, Agricultural Land Classification and Land Types of Michigan (Michigan State University Experiment Station Special Bulletin 231; East Lansing, Michigan, 1952), p. 60.

¹⁴Jamison, op. cit., p. 247.

¹⁵Eicher, op. cit., p. 50.

¹⁶John I. Kolehmainen and George W. Hill, Haven In The Woods (Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951), p. 90.

Kolehmainen and Hill's description of Iron County, Wisconsin, may be applied to Ontonagon County, Michigan.

In 1950 the population of Ontonagon County was primarily rural non-farm. Table 2 gives the distribution of population for 1950 by residence for the county and for townships. There were no urban places in the county, and the rural non-farm population outnumbered the farm population 3 to 1. Ontonagon the largest village had 2,307 persons or 22 percent of the population. The greater part of the remaining rural non-farm population was concentrated in six other small villages of about 300 to 400 persons. Ontonagon county may be expected to show a slight increase in population during the decade 1950-1960. This increase is associated with the introduction of new industry into the county.

Demographic structure: Age, sex, and marital status composition; and educational attainment.--In Tables 3, 4, and 5, information about the age, sex, and marital status composition of the county and the state as a whole for 1950 are presented. Table 3 reveals that like the state as a whole, Ontonagon County has higher proportions of young people (persons 15 years of age and under) and of aged persons (persons 65 years of age and older) in 1950 than in 1940. The proportion of persons 65 and over in Ontonagon increased at a pace much greater than the state as a whole. During the decade, the percent over 65 advanced from 6.9 to 11.0; during the same period, the state had an increase from 6.3 percent over 65 to 7.2. In this respect Ontonagon is similar to other copper country counties. A comparison of the rural non-farm and farm population of the county with that of the states reveals that the county had proportionately fewer children under 15 within these residential groups than the state as a whole.

Table 4 presents the sex ratios of Ontonagon, Michigan, the East North Central states and the United States. While Michigan had higher

Table 2. --The Distribution of Population in Ontonagon County by Township and Residence: 1950

Residence	Townships											
	Total County	Ontona- gon ^b	Carp Lake	Berg- land ^c	Match- wood	McMilland	Height	Interior ^e	Standard ^f	Rock- land ^g	Green- land ^h	Bo- hemia
Total	10,282	3,500	244	690	290	872	247	953	1,197	503	1,639	226
Rural Farm	3,678	747	47	21	240	436	111	382	901	111	648	93
Rural Non-farm	6,595	2,753	197	669	50	436	136	571	298	392	991	133

^aInformation from special tabulation of population by township from U. S., Bureau of the Census
Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950, data unpublished available Department of Sociology,
Michigan State University.

^bContains the village of Ontonagon (population 1950: 2, 307).

^cContains the village of Bergland.

^dContains the village of Ewen

^eContains the village of Trout Creek

^fContains the village of Bruse Crossing.

^gContains the village of Rockland.

^hContains the villages of Greenland and Mass.

Table 3.--The Percentage Distribution of Persons Under 15 Years of Age and 65 Years of Age and Over in Ontonagon and Michigan by Residence: 1940 and 1950

Region and Age	Total		Residence			
			Rural Non-Farm		Rural Farm	
	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950
	(Percent)		(Percent)		(Percent)	
<u>Ontonagon</u>						
Under 15 ^a	25.9	29.4	28.4	31.0	22.8	26.6
65 and Over	6.9	11.0	6.7	10.3	7.1	12.2
<u>Michigan</u>						
Under 15 ^b	25.0	27.4	28.4	31.9	27.8	30.7
65 and Over	6.3	7.2	7.5	7.4	8.8	8.4

^aInformation from U. S., Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, II, 125.

^bInformation from J. A. Beegle and D. Halsted, Michigan's Changing Population, (Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station Special Bulletin 415, East Lansing, Michigan: 1957).

Table 4. --Sex Ratios for All Persons and for Ontonagon County, Michigan, the East North Central States, and the United States by Residence, and Sex Ratios for Persons 65 Years of Age and Over for Ontonagon County and Michigan by Residence: 1950

Region and Age	Total	Residence	
		Rural Non-Farm	Rural Farm
<u>Ontonagon</u>			
All Persons ^a	122.2	113.7	136.6
Persons 65 and Over	161.0	170.8	147.8
<u>Michigan</u>			
All Persons ^b	101.7	104.4	113.7
Persons 65 and Over	95.4	104.4	134.8
<u>East North Central States</u>			
All Persons ^b	99.3	103.2	112.5
<u>United States</u>			
All Persons ^b	98.6	102.9	110.1

^a Information from U. S., Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, II, pp. 125 and 157.

^b Information from J. A. Beegle and D. Halsted, Michigan's Changing Population (Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 415; East Lansing, Michigan, June 1957), pp. 24-25.

sex ratios than the region or the United States as a whole, Ontonagon had a higher sex ratio than the state for all residential groups. Moreover, there was an unusually large number of males 65 years of age and older. The sex ratios for this group was 161.0. This is high even for rural and rural non-farm areas. Not only did Ontonagon have a high proportion of males but many were unmarried. Table 5 reveals that 45 percent of the males 14 years of age or over were unmarried in 1950. About 37 percent were single and 8.4 percent were widowed or divorced. Both these figures are high when compared to state averages. The level of educational attainment in the county was also low in 1950. The median number of school years completed by persons 25 years of age and over in Ontonagon was 8.5; for the state as a whole it was 9.9.¹⁷

Ethnic compositions.--In 1950 Ontonagon had a large number of persons of Finnish background. Approximately 1 out of every 10 persons in the county in 1950 was born in Finland.¹⁸ Accordingly a considerably higher proportion is of Finnish descent. In 1940, about "three-quarters of Ontonagon's residents were foreign-born or children of immigrants--mostly Finnish."¹⁹ Ontonagon county accounted for 1,020 out of 15,501 Finnish-born persons in Michigan in 1950. The other large Finnish concentrations are in the neighboring Upper Peninsula counties of Gogebic, Houghton, and Marquette, and in Wayne County in lower Michigan.²⁰

¹⁷U. S., Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1952: pp. 219 and 227.

¹⁸Of the 1,518 foreign born persons in Ontonagon in 1950, 1,020 were born in Finland. See U. S., Bureau of Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, II, 135.

¹⁹Eicher, op. cit., p. 44. Also see J. F. Thaden, "Ethnic Settlements in Rural Michigan," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Stations Quarterly Bulletin, XXIX (November, 1946), pp. 102-111.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 102-111 passim.

Table 5.--The Percentage Distribution of Persons 14 Years of Age and Over by Sex and Marital Status for
Ontonagon County and Michigan: 1950^a

Area and Sex	Total 14 Years of Age and Over		Marital Status		
	Number	Percent	Single	Married	Widowed or Divorced
<u>Ontonagon</u>					
Total	7,458	100.0	28.7	61.3	10.6
Male	4,191	100.0	36.6	55.0	8.4
Female	3,267	100.0	18.6	69.4	12.0
<u>Michigan</u>					
Total	4,717,979	100.0	18.5	69.4	11.9
Male	2,368,024	100.0	25.1	68.1	6.4
Female	2,349,955	100.0	18.7	68.6	12.7

^aInformation from U. S., Bureau of Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population,
II, 54 and 132.

Occupational structure.--Table 6 gives the occupational composition of the county in 1950. While Ontonagon had a substantial number of persons employed as farmers or farm laborers (32.9 percent), it had an equivalent number employed in blue collar occupations (33.6 percent). It can be inferred from Table 7 (the industrial structure of the county) that a high proportion of the persons with blue collar occupations were employed by manufacturing companies. Thus 25.9 percent of the labor force in 1950 was engaged in manufacturing principally in industries associated with lumbering operations, and 29.8 in agriculture. Table 7 does not indicate the actual importance of lumbering operations for the county. It may be assumed that many persons engaged in forestry and fisheries, wholesale and retail trades, finance and other industries were directly or indirectly associated with the lumber industry in 1950. Thus in 1950, the economic bases of Ontonagon county appeared to be agriculture and industries associated with the manufacturing of lumber.

During the seven year period from 1950 until 1957, when this study was begun, dramatic changes were taking place within Ontonagon county. These changes can be directly attributed to the construction of the White Pine Mine. This mine, started in 1951 and completed in 1954, and "largely financed by the Federal Government; during the Korean War, produced [from low grade copper sulfide ore] 62 percent of all the copper mined in Michigan during 1956."²¹ The mine considerably improved the standard of living of the county by providing full time employment for residents of the county who had been unable to secure such employment during earlier periods. Table 8 gives the labor force distribution by reporting industries for the periods 1951, 1953, and 1956. The outstanding features of this table is the

²¹W. Paul Strassman, Economic Growth in Northern Michigan (East Lansing, Institute of Community Development, 1958), p. 35.

Table 6. -- The Percentage Distribution of Employed Persons 14 Years of Age and Over for Ontonagon
County and Michigan by Occupation and Residence^a

Occupation	Ontonagon				Michigan			
	Total		Residence		Total		Residence	
			Rural Non-Farm	Farm			Rural Non-Farm	Farm
Total Employed:	Number	2,850	1,633	1,217	2,393,574	367,834	246,309	
	Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional		7.1	11.1	1.8	8.1	7.4	3.0	
Managers		8.5	12.8	2.9	7.6	9.0	2.3	
Clerical-Sales		9.0	12.7	7.8	18.9	14.9	5.8	
Craftsmen		10.2	14.0	4.9	16.2	19.2	8.7	
Other Manual Workers		23.4	21.9	25.2	31.4	34.4	19.3	
Service		7.3	11.4	2.2	9.3	8.7	3.5	
Farmers		19.3	1.1	43.6	4.5	1.4	41.9	
Farm Laborers		13.6	13.8	13.4	1.8	2.1	12.9	
Occ. Not Reported		1.6	1.3	2.0	2.3	2.9	2.6	

^aInformation from U. S., Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, II, 58 and 144.

Table 7. -- The Distribution of Employed Workers 14 Years of Age and Over for Ontonagon County by Industrial Group: 1950^a

Industrial Group	Number	Percent
Total number of employed workers	2,850	100.0
Agriculture	830	29.1
Forestry and fisheries	39	1.4
Mining	13	0.5
Construction	150	5.3
Manufacturing	736	25.8
Furniture, and lumber and wood products	449	15.8
Transportation, communication and other		
public utilities	135	4.7
Wholesale and retail trade	398	14.0
Finance, insurance and real estate	29	1.0
Business and personal services		
(ex. pvt. household)	140	4.9
Private household	32	1.1
Professional and related services	202	7.1
Entertainment and recreation services	7	0.2
Public administration	91	3.2
Industry not reported	48	1.7

^a Information from U. S., Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, II, 144.

already mentioned growth of the mining industry between 1950 and 1957. In mid-March of 1956, about 1,000 persons were employed in this one mine. In 1950, only 13 persons in the county were employed in mining. The changes in the number of persons engaged in contract construction during the period 1951 to 1956 probably reflects the construction of the White Pine Mine. There appears to have been a decline in the number of persons employed in manufacturing from 1951 to 1956. This decline most likely did not continue in 1957. The Celotex Corporation reopened a paper pulp mill in the village of Ontonagon in 1957 employing over 100 persons. This mill was closed about 1954. The reopening of the mill most likely brought the number of persons employed in manufacturing up to the 1953 level.

Agriculture probably was the industry most directly affected by the construction of the White Pine Mine and the reopening of the saw mill in the village of Ontonagon. From 1930 on, the number of farms in the county had been declining. Since 1950 the rate of decline has increased, particularly for small farms. In 1945 there were 1,013 farms in the county; by 1954 the number of farms had declined to 693 (see Table 9). The rate of decline was more rapid for small farms (those under 100 acres) than for middle size or large farms. During this same period the proportion of farms where non-agricultural income was greater than farm income increased from 35.7 in 1945 to 53.3 in 1954.²² The proportion of farmers working off the farm also increased during this period.²³ The decline in the number of farms may be attributed to a growing unwillingness of farmers to desire to engage in subsistence farming; to the fact that commercial

²² U. S., Bureau of Census, United States Census of Agriculture, Michigan Counties and State Economic Areas: 1950, p. 47.

²³ U. S., Bureau of Census, United States Census of Agriculture, Michigan Counties and State Economic Areas: 1954, p. 74.

Table 8.--The Distribution of Employees for Ontonagon County by
Industrial Groups: 1951, 1953, 1956

Major Industry Divisions	Number of Employees Mid-March Pay Period		
	1951 ^a	1953 ^b	1956 ^c
Agricultural Services, forestry and fisheries	--	2 to 6	2 to 6
Mining	NA	20 to 50	1, 102
Contract construction	17	520	20
Manufacturing	804	792	558
Lumber and wood products--	--	--	438
Public utilities	--	66	66
Wholesale trade	NA	16	14
Retail trade	256	287	248
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	--	26	26
Services	37	45	35
Unclassified	--	1 to 3	3 to 9

^aDepartment of Commerce and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, County Business Patterns: First Quarter 1951: Part 4, p. 160.

^bDepartment of Commerce and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, County Business Patterns: First Quarter 1953: Part 4, p. 168.

^cDepartment of Commerce and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, County Business Patterns: First Quarter 1956: Part 4, p. 250.

Table 9.--The Distribution of Farms for Ontonagon County by Size:
1945, 1950 and 1954

Size of Farms in Acres	Number of Farms		
	1945 ^a	1950 ^b	1954 ^b
Total	1,013	844	693
Under 10	11	8	9
10 to 29	52	31	35
30 to 49	204	111	59
50 to 69	47	47	39
70 to 99	268	221	131
100 to 139	173	168	129
140 to 179	131	119	112
180 to 219	52	58	57
220 to 259	28	40	39
260 and over	47	81	83

^aInformation from U. S., Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Agriculture: Michigan Counties and State Economic Areas, p. 62.

^bInformation from U. S., Bureau of the Census, 1954 Census of Agriculture: Michigan Counties and State Economic Areas, p. 52.

farms in Ontonagon are at a disadvantage in competing with Lower Michigan farms because of the high costs of transporting goods to major markets, and because of the relatively short growing season; and to the fact that employment opportunities were available in non-agricultural occupations. Based on field observations, it appeared that many of the farmers engaged in subsistence farming or part-time farming in 1950 or 1954 had by 1957 given up farming to work full time at the White Pine Mine.

Ecological Distribution.--Ontonagon is divided into a north and south side by the Keewanaw Copper range which terminates in the county. On the north side a Finnish Lutheran community exists in the Mass School District. The village of Mass and to a lesser extent Greenland are the trade centers for this ethnic community. On the south side, Finnish Lutheran communities exist in the Ewen and Trout Creek School Districts. Ewen and Trout Creek are trade centers for these communities. Farming as a primary or secondary occupation tends to be concentrated in the Finnish communities. People living outside of the villages of Ontonagon and White Pine tend to have lower economic and perhaps social positions than residents of these villages.²⁴

Conclusion.--In 1957, when this study was begun, Ontonagon was not as economically depressed as it had been in 1950. Reflecting the county's improved economic situation is the fact that it was no longer an area of out-migration. In 1957, Ontonagon had a population of 10,470, an increase of 0.2 percent over 1950. To accommodate the increased population a new village, White Pine of about 400 persons, with a shopping center, a hospital, a grade school, churches, and residential areas had been built by the White Pine Mine in Carp Lake

²⁴The description of the ecological structure of the county is based upon direct field observation and discussions with informants. The structure presented is confirmed by the data from this study. (See the discussion of the test population and Eicher, op. cit., pp. 15-21 and 44-50 *passim.*)

Township. Also as a result of the introduction of the mine, the age-sex and marital structure of the county as well as level of educational attainment are closer to state averages.²⁵ Thus, in 1957 Ontonagon's economic base was mining and it had a demographic structure more nearly like that of the state. While the lumber industry and related industries were still of considerable importance in the county, agriculture most likely did not employ a significant segment of the active labor force. However, if a person were a full time farmer in 1957, he was more apt to have a farm of sufficient size to engage in commercial farming.

Description of Test Population

The test population for this study consists of all juniors and seniors in the six Ontonagon County High Schools in May, 1957. Table 10 gives the distribution of students for the six high school

²⁵During the period April 1, 1950 to July 1, 1957, there was an estimated 1,632 births and 940 deaths occurring in Ontonagon. (See Thaden, op. cit., p. 4.) This means that the natural increase of the county was 692. During this same period, there was an estimated net out-migration of 504 persons. If the out-migrants were primarily recent high school graduates (it is part of the tradition of the county that a large segment of the high school graduates leave the county shortly after graduation) and if the in-migrants were principally in the labor force, 25 to 64 years of age with families (the existence of the village of White Pine with large residential areas can be taken as evidence that a considerable proportion of the recent in-migrants were of labor force age with families), then it seems reasonable to expect that in 1957 there was proportionally more children under 15 years of age, more individuals 25 to 64 and fewer persons 65 and over than in 1950. Similarly the addition of married women to the population through in-migration, and the expected loss of older unmarried males through death should yield more normal sex ratios and marital status distribution. Again, with the addition of skilled, semi-skilled, and white collar workers whose level of educational attainment can be expected to be at least equal to the state average and the loss through death of a group which most likely had a relatively low level of educational attainment; one can expect that in 1957 the level of educational attainment for individuals 25 years of age and over would be greater than the 1950 level.

districts of the county by class and sex. Table 11 gives the distribution of students who completed the schedule by school district and class and sex. Most students answered the questionnaire in school during a single 60 minute class period. Four or five students were unable to complete the questionnaire in 60 minutes. They were allowed additional time. Students who failed to answer sections of the questionnaire were recalled to complete the unanswered sections.

Of the 289 students registered in the junior and senior classes, 269 or 93 percent completed schedules for this study. A considerably higher proportion of males (12 percent) as compared with females (0.2 percent) and juniors (8 percent) as compared with seniors (5 percent) were not in school when the data were collected. Three school districts, Ontonagon (9 percent), Bergland (13 percent) and Mass (7 percent), have percentages of students absent which exceed the percentage for the county (7 percent).

Within the county, the students are not equally distributed among the schools. Ontonagon has 41 percent of the students completing schedules, Ewen has 26 percent and Mass has 15 percent.²⁶ The remaining three schools contain only 18 percent of the population completing questionnaires.

For the county as a whole and for all schools within the county except Bergland, the junior class (both completing schedules and total population) is larger than the senior class. Fifty-four percent of the students completing schedules are juniors and 46 percent are seniors. There are more males in the population as a whole than females (51 percent as compared to 49 percent), but more females than males completed schedules (52 percent as compared to 48 percent).

²⁶Thirteen of the students attending school at Ewen lived in Sidnaw or Kenton in Baraga County. Hereafter, these students will be treated as if they resided in Ontonagon. These students travelled a distance of nearly 60 miles a day to attend school.

Table 10. --The Distribution of All Juniors and Seniors in the Six Ontonagon County High Schools by Class and Sex: May, 1957

Class and Sex	Totals		School Districts												Trout Creek	
	% No.	% No.	Ontonagon		Mass		Rockland		Ewen		Bergland					
			% No.	% No.	% No.	% No.	% No.	% No.	% No.	% No.	% No.	% No.	% No.			
Totals	100	289	100	122	100	43	100	11	100	72	100	23	100	18		
Seniors	45	131	47	57	47	20	45	5	39	28	61	14	39	7		
Male	22	65	20	25	33	14	27	3	17	12	35	8	17	3		
Female	23	66	26	32	14	6	18	2	22	16	26	6	22	4		
Juniors	55	158	53	65	53	23	55	6	61	44	39	9	61	11		
Male	28	81	28	34	26	11	36	4	28	20	26	6	33	6		
Female	27	77	25	31	28	12	18	2	33	24	13	3	28	5		
Male	51	146	48	59	58	25	64	7	44	32	61	14	50	9		
Female	49	143	52	63	42	18	36	4	56	40	39	9	50	9		

Table 11. -- The Distribution of Juniors and Seniors Completing Schedules in the Six Ontonagon County High Schools by Class and Sex: May, 1957

Class and Sex	School District													
	Totals		Ontonagon		Mass		Rockland		Ewen		Bergland		Trout Creek	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Totals	100	269	100	111	100	40	100	11	100	70	100	20	100	17
Seniors	46	124	48	53	45	18	45	5	40	28	15	13	41	7
Male	22	59	19	21	32	13	27	3	17	12	35	7	18	3
Female	24	65	29	32	13	5	18	2	23	16	30	6	24	4
Juniors	54	145	52	58	55	22	55	6	60	42	35	7	59	10
Male	26	70	26	29	25	10	36	4	26	18	20	4	29	5
Female	28	75	26	29	30	12	18	2	34	24	15	3	29	5
Male	48	129	45	50	58	23	64	7	43	30	55	11	47	8
Female	52	140	55	61	42	17	36	4	57	40	45	9	53	9

Table 12 presents the distribution of population by residence and school district.²⁷ For the county as a whole, 63 percent of the students reside in one of the county's nine villages while 27 percent and 11 percent of the students respectively report farm or open country residences. Within school districts, students are not distributed in residential pattern similar to that of the county. Students reporting farm residences tend to be concentrated on the south side of the county in the Ewen and Trout Creek School Districts. Students reporting village residences tend to be concentrated in the Ontonagon and Mass School Districts.²⁸

The occupational distribution of the population by father in the home and out of the home is presented in Table 13.²⁹ Looking at either the totals or at the distribution by father present in the home, it is apparent that most fathers of students are employed as semiskilled

²⁷Hereafter the word 'population' will be taken to mean the total number of students completing schedules.

²⁸The residential distribution for the Bergland School District appears to be different from county patterns with respect to the proportion of students residing in the open country. However, it is not. Four of the seven students classified as living in the open country actually lived in the hamlet of Marryweather, a community of about 25 houses.

²⁹The data by father in the household is believed to more closely reflect the current occupational structure of the fathers of students relative to the geographical areas being considered than total figures. If a father is out of the home as a result of his death, then his former occupation should not be used to describe the current occupation structure of the resident population of the county. Also, if the father is out of the home and if there is no information about his residence; his occupation may not reflect the current structure of the county. Further, the data by father in the home is more likely to reflect the current socio-economic position of a student's family. Where the father of a student is in the home, it can be assumed that his occupation is at least one dimension of both social class position and economic class position of the student's family relative to the county. When the father is out of the home such an assumption may not be justified.

Table 12. -- The Percentage Distribution of Students Completing
Schedules by School District and Residence

School District	Total		Residence		
			Village	Open Country	Farm
	Number	Percent	Non-Farm Percent		
			- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
Total	269	100.0	62.8	11.2	26.8
Ontonagon	111	100.0	78.4	9.0	12.6
Mass	40	100.0	72.5	7.5	20.0
Rockland	11	100.0	90.9	9.1	0.0
Ewen*	70	100.0	34.3	10.0	55.7
Bergland	20	100.0	60.0	35.0	5.0
Trout Creek	17	100.0	41.2	11.8	47.1

* Includes 13 students from Sidnaw and Kenton in Baraga County.

Table 13. --The Distribution of Students for Fathers in the Home and Out of the Home by Occupation of Father

Occupation of Father	Total ¹		Father in Home		Father Out of Home ^a	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	269	100.0	229	100.0	40	100.0
White Collar	42	15.6	40	17.5	2	5.0
Professional	16	5.9	15	6.6	1	2.5
Small Business	16	5.9	16	7.0	0	0.0
Other White Collar	10	3.8	9		1	2.5
Skilled Workers						
and Foremen	58	21.6	51	22.3	7	17.5
Non-skilled Workers	130	48.3	110	48.0	20	50.0
Farmers	14	5.2	8	3.5	6	15.0
No Answer	25	9.3	20	8.7	5	12.5

^aIn 22 of the 40 cases the father was dead.

or unskilled laborers (48 percent) or as skilled workers or farmers (22 percent). In a county where a high proportion of the labor force is employed in mining, one would expect such a distribution.

Relatively few students have fathers who are engaged in full-time farming. Only 3 percent of the students whose fathers were in the home and 5 percent of the fathers of all students are engaged in farming as a major occupation.

The relative importance of agriculture for the area and for the test population may be inferred from Table 14 where the type of secondary occupation held by fathers of students is cross-classified by primary occupation of father for fathers in the home and for all fathers. About 22 percent of all fathers and fathers in the home are engaged in some type of farm operation. Thus, farming still appears to be of some importance in the county. However, indicative of the decreasing importance of agriculture in the area, farming is principally a secondary occupation. As indicated earlier, the availability of jobs at the White Pine Mine or at the Celotex pulp mill most likely has attracted many persons who had previously engaged in full-time farming. The holding of a secondary occupation is more likely to be found among fathers who are farmers or non-skilled workers. For fathers in the home, 42 percent of those having non-skilled jobs and 37 percent of those farming have secondary occupations. For white collar workers, and skilled workers or foremen, the percentages are 12 percent and 28 percent respectively.

Within the county occupations of the fathers of students are not uniformly distributed (see Table 15). Compared with population totals, the non-skilled workers tend to be concentrated in the open country and farm areas, and in the villages of Rockland, Greenland and Mass. Skilled workers and foremen are concentrated in Ontonagon or White Pine; and white collar workers in Ontonagon, White Pine, or Ewen.

Table 14. -- The Percentage Distribution of Primary Occupations of the Fathers of Students for All Fathers and Fathers in the Home by Secondary Occupation of Father

Father's Primary Occupation	Total		White Collar Workers	Skilled Workers and Foremen	Non-skilled Workers	Farmers	No Second-ary Job Indicated
	Number	Percent					
All Fathers	269	100.0	2.6	4.1	8.9	16.3	71.7
White Collar Workers	42	100.0	4.8	0.0	4.8	2.4	88.1
Skilled Workers and Foremen	58	100.0	3.4	5.2	8.6	12.1	70.7
Non-skilled Workers	130	100.0	2.3	6.2	6.2	25.4	60.0
Farmers	14	100.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0
Others	25	100.0	0.6	0.0	8.0	12.0	80.0
Fathers in the Home	229	100.0	3.1	3.5	7.0	18.3	68.1
White Collar Workers	40	100.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.2	88.0
Skilled Workers and Foremen	51	100.0	0.4	0.4	0.6	14.0	73.0
Non-skilled Workers	110	110.0	0.3	0.5	0.5	28.0	58.0
Farmers	8	100.0	0.0	0.0	37.0	0.0	63.0
No Answer	20	100.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	15.0	75.0

Table 15.--The Percentage Distribution of Primary Occupations of the Fathers of Students in the Home by Residence

Occupation	Total Number	Percent	Residence				
			Ontonagon or White Pine	Mass Greenland Rockland	Farms Northside and Open Country	Ewen Bergland Trout Creek	Open Country and Farm South
White Collar Workers	40	100.0	47.5	7.5	7.5	35.0	2.5
Skilled Workers and Foremen	51	100.0	49.0	13.7	7.8	9.8	19.6
Non-skilled Workers	110	100.0	25.5	16.4	18.2	11.8	28.2
Farmers	8	100.0	0.0	0.0	37.5	0.0	62.5
No Answer	20	100.0	25.0	25.0	5.0	20.0	25.0

Persons engaged in farming are more likely to be found in the Ewen school district on the south side of the county than elsewhere in the county.

In Table 16, the median family income and median number of years of school completed by fathers in the home are shown. For this population both median number of years of school completed by the fathers and median family income are well above the 1950 figures for the county. This most likely reflects the fact that families with children tend to have higher levels of education and income than those without children. Those persons without children most likely are older (65 and over) foreign-born persons who are retired or doing subsistence farming. Such persons can be expected to have lower level of education and income. Thus, the population being considered represents the segment of the county's population with higher levels of education and incomes.

Also there appears to be a direct relationship between occupation of father in the home and level of education and income. As one goes from farmers to non-skilled workers to skilled workers and foremen to white-collar workers, both median number of years of school completed and median family income increase. Based upon the association between father's occupation and level of education or family income, one would infer that families with incomes above 4,000 and fathers with at least some high school education are concentrated in the villages of Ontonagon and White Pine (see Table 15).

The ethnic background of the population being studied reflects the ethnic structure of the county from which it was taken. Forty-nine percent of the students had at least one parent of Finnish descent; and 34 had both parents of Finnish descent (see Table 17). The bulk of the remaining students had fathers and/or mothers whose nationalities were Northern European but not Finnish. The percentages were 40 percent for mothers and 49 percent for fathers.

Table 16.--Median Years of School Completed by Fathers of Students
and Median Family Income of Students by Occupation of
Fathers in the Home

Occupation of Father In the Home	Median Years of School Completed	Median Family Income
	Some High School	4, 000 to 4, 999
White Collar Worker	Some College	4, 000 to 4, 999
Skilled Workers or Foremen	Some High School	4, 000 to 4, 999
Non-skilled Workers	8th Grade	3, 000 to 3, 999
Farmers	8th Grade	3, 000 to 3, 999
No Answer	8th Grade	4, 000 to 4, 999
Ontonagon 1950 (males 15 and above) ^a	8.5	2, 077

^aInformation from Bureau of the Census, City and County Data Book
1956, p. 146.

Table 17.--The Distribution of Students by Nationality of Mother and
Nationality of Father

Nationality	Mother		Father	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	269	100.0	269	100.0
Finnish	125	46.5	98	36.4
German	10	3.7	15	5.6
French	7	2.6	15	5.6
Scotch	17	6.3	24	8.9
English or Irish	12	4.5	16	5.9
Other North Europeans	62	23.0	64	23.8
Polish, Slavic, Croation	16	5.9	16	5.9
Other Foreign Countries	1	0.4	2	0.7
American	2	0.7	3	1.1
No Answer	17	6.3	16	5.9

Not only does a large segment of the population tend to be of Finnish background, but prior knowledge of the county would lead one to expect high concentrations of students of Finnish descent in the Ewen and Trout Creek School Districts on the south side of the county and in the Mass School District on the north side of the county. An examination of the data collected for this study confirmed this observation. The following characteristics are associated with Finnish nationality:

- a) Students of Finnish descent tend to be Lutheran. Ninety-four out of 133 students who had at least one parent of Finnish descent were Lutheran. The other Lutherans tend to be of Northern European background excluding France, Germany, and Great Britain. Non-Finns tend to be Catholics or Methodists.
- b) Students of Finnish descent tend to reside outside the villages of Ontonagon, White Pine, Rockland, and Bergland. The students of Finnish descent who resided in Ontonagon tended to be non-Lutheran.
- c) Students of Finnish descent tend to have parents with relatively low levels of educational attainment, non-skilled primary occupations, a secondary occupation (primarily farming) and low family income.

Procedures for Operationalizing Main Variables

As indicated earlier the questionnaire used in this study was designed to obtain information from high school juniors and seniors about their orientations to migration. Instruments were constructed from questions in the questionnaire to measure the major variables. The procedures used to operationalize the major variables will be outlined in this section.

Dependent variables: desire to migrate, consideration of migration, and expectation to migrate. A single straight forward forced choice question is employed to obtain the data necessary to construct measures of desire to migrate and consideration of migration. An open ended question is used to determine if students expect to migrate. Students' desires to migrate are determined from responses to the following question.

How eager are you to stay or move from your community after graduation?

- a) _____ eager to stay
- b) _____ probably stay but not eager to stay
- c) _____ probably leave but not eager to leave
- d) _____ eager to leave

Students who respond "eager to stay" are classified as being eager not to carry out an act of migration. Such students are assumed to strongly desire not to migrate. Students who respond "eager to leave" are classified as eager to carry out an act of migration. Such students are assumed to strongly desire to migrate. Students who respond "probably stay but not eager to stay" or "probably leave but not eager to leave" are classified as not eager to stay or leave. Such students are assumed to not strongly desire to migrate or not to migrate.

Students' considerations of migration are determined from the appropriate responses to the following question:

Are you considering moving away from your community after graduation?

Yes _____ No _____

Students' expectations to migrate are determined from the following question:

Where do you expect to live while working or going to school soon (5 or 6 months) after graduation? _____

Students who respond that they expect to reside in a community outside of Ontonagon county six months after graduation are classified as expecting to migrate. Students who respond that they expect to reside inside the county six months after graduation are classified as not expecting to migrate.

Measures of the relative attractiveness of communities: specification level and community satisfaction. -- The problem of operationalizing specification level is to classify students into mutually exclusive categories based upon the extent to which their specifications for an ideal community situation cannot be met in their primary communities. It is assumed that the specifications of high school students nearing graduation will include a dimension associated with desired style of life and a dimension associated with occupational aspirations. The inclusion of students' evaluation of the occupational structure of their communities as a dimension of specifications is based on the fact that most students completing the questionnaire in the pretest as well as most students in the test population responded that it is very important for a community to be one in which there are good jobs available.³⁰ Also given the importance of the occupation of an individual in establishing their economic and social class position, it seemed reasonable to assume that the availability of good jobs would be an important dimension of specifications for an ideal community situation.

Granting that students' specification levels are determinable from their evaluation of the style of life and occupational structure of their primary communities in comparison with alternative communities,

³⁰Ninety-six percent of the 85 students taking the pre-test reported that they considered it very important for an ideal community to be one in which good jobs are available. All but one of the students in the Ontonagon County reported that they considered it very important for an ideal community to be one in which good jobs are available. No other specification had such a high level of consensus.

students are classified into specification levels based upon their responses to the following questions:

- 1) Now, considering the kind of job and the way of life you eventually wish to have, do you think it is necessary for you to move from your present community?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____.

- 2) Would you remain or return to your community if jobs were available?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____.

If a student responds "No" to question 1 and "Yes" to question 2, it is assumed that compared to alternative communities their specifications in general can be met in their primary communities. This act of students will hereafter be identified as specification level 1.

If students respond "Yes" or "Don't know" to question 1 and "Yes" to question 2, it is assumed that compared to alternative communities some but not all of their specifications can be met in their primary communities. The specifications that cannot be met would appear to be primarily those associated with occupational aspirations, although those associated with the style of life in primary communities also may not be adequate. It is assumed that this set of students (which hereafter will be identified as specification level 2) has more specifications that cannot be met in their primary communities than students classified as specification level 1.³¹

³¹Students who respond "No" to the first question and "Yes" to the second are considered to be a special sub-type. There are 4 students in this category. All expected to migrate from their communities. They are moving to other communities to join spouses or prospective spouses. On the basis of the above evidence it is assumed that these students have specifications that could be met in their primary communities except for an important particularistic relationship. Because this set of students was so small it will be excluded from the analysis of specification levels.

If students respond "Yes" or "Don't know" to question 1 and "No" or "Don't know" to question 2, it is assumed that compared to alternative communities their specifications for an ideal community situation cannot be met in their primary communities. Thus it would appear that for this set of students that neither style of life nor occupational aspirations can be adequately carried out in their primary communities. It is assumed that this set of students (which hereafter will be identified as specification level 3) has more specifications that cannot be met in their primary communities than students classified as specification levels 1 or 2.

Table 18 summarizes the manner in which students are classified into specification levels.

In operationalizing the dimension community satisfaction, it should be recognized that with respect to a given community that an actor's level of community satisfaction may vary with his stage in the life cycle. Thus a given community may be perceived by an actor as satisfactory when he is a teenager or a mature adult, but as unsatisfactory when he is a young adult just out of high school. Since this study is concerned with the high school students' evaluations of their community as a place to live immediately after graduation, the question used to ascertain community satisfaction is worded as follows:

As a place to live soon after graduation, how well do you like your community?

- a) _____ strongly dislike it
- b) _____ I dislike it
- c) _____ I am indifferent
- d) _____ I like it
- e) _____ I am enthusiastic

Students who respond "I am enthusiastic" or "I like it" are classified as having high levels of community satisfaction. Hereafter

Table 18. Summary Of the Method Of Classifying Students Into Specification Levels

Specification Types	Response to Question 1 ^a	Response to Question 2 ^b
Specification level 1	No	Yes
Specification level 2	Yes or Don't know	Yes
Specification level 3	Yes or Don't know	No or Don't know

^a Now, considering the kind of job and the way of life you eventually wish to have, do you think it is necessary for you to move from your present community?

^b Would you remain or return to your community if jobs were available?

such students will be identified as satisfied students. Students who respond "I am indifferent" are classified as having neither high nor low levels of community satisfaction. Hereafter such students will be identified as indifferent students. Students who respond "I dislike it" or "I strongly dislike it" are classified as having a low level of community satisfaction. Hereafter these students will be identified as dissatisfied students.

Obligations. --It has already been stated that for high school students at the point of graduation that major obligations can be carried out in one of three ways (see Chapter One). Students can fulfill their obligations by getting a job, getting married, or by going on for additional training. Thus students may perceive that their obligations can be carried out adequately in their primary communities if they positively evaluate their primary communities with respect to only one of the three alternative courses of action. Conversely, students may perceive that their obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities if they negatively evaluate their primary communities with respect to only one of the three alternative courses of action. To determine which of the three possible courses of action (getting a job, getting married, going on to school) it is appropriate to use for determining students' evaluations of their primary community with respect to obligations, it is assumed that for a given student one of the three alternatives will generally represent a more attractive course of action than the others. Further, it is assumed that if students indicate that they intend to go on for additional training after high school that the most attractive course of action for carrying out their obligations is "going on for additional training after high school."

High school students are considered as planning to go on for additional training after high school if they respond yes to the question: "Do you intend to get further training after high school?" and designate

what type of training they intend to obtain. All other students will be considered as not planning to go on for additional training. The type of training students intend to obtain is determined from the following question:

- a. _____ College, where _____.
- b. _____ Trade School, where _____.
- c. _____ Apprentice, where _____.
- d. _____ Other, where _____.

If students going on for additional training after high school negatively evaluate the educational facilities of their primary communities, it is taken to mean that they perceive that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities. If students intending to obtain additional training after high school positively evaluate educational facilities of their primary communities, it is taken to mean that there are no indications that these students perceive that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities. A positive evaluation of educational facilities is not taken to mean that students perceive that obligations can be carried out adequately in their primary communities because (1) there are relatively few facilities available in Ontonagon County for receiving additional training after high school, and (2) the question used to ascertain if a student perceives that the educational facilities of their primary communities are adequate may have a slight tendency to confound the evaluation of educational facilities with the evaluation of other cultural facilities.

Students' evaluations of educational facilities of their primary communities are judged from responses to the statement: Cultural and educational facilities (in your community) like colleges, theaters, libraries, and museums, are adequate. Students whose response "disagree" and "strongly disagree" are classified as negative evaluators,

and students who respond "strongly agree," and "agree" and "undecided" are classified as non-negative evaluators.

If students are not going on to get additional training after high school, then getting a full time job and/or getting married are considered the appropriate alternatives in terms of which the adequacy of their primary communities with respect to obligations should be determined. Students are considered to have negatively evaluated their primary community as a place to carry out obligations if they are not planning to obtain additional training after high school and if they negatively evaluated both the occupational structure and the marriage opportunities of their primary communities. Students are considered to have positively evaluated their primary communities as a place to carry out obligations if they are not planning to obtain additional training after high school and if they positively evaluate both the occupational structure and the marriage opportunities of their primary communities.

Students not intending to obtain additional training after high school who respond either that the occupation structure of their primary communities, or the marital opportunities in their primary communities (but not both) are adequate are considered to represent a heterogeneous set of students for whom, given available data, it is not possible to determine if they perceive that their primary communities are places to adequately carry out obligations.

Students' evaluations of the occupational structure of their primary communities are judged from responses to the question: After graduation your community will be a good place to get the job you would like to have? Students who respond "disagree" or "strongly disagree" are classified as negative evaluators, and students who respond "strongly agree," "agree," and "undecided" are classified as positive evaluators.

Students' evaluations of the marital opportunities of their primary communities are judged from the responses to the question: After graduation your community will be a good place to find someone you

would like to marry? Students who respond "disagree" or "strongly disagree" are classified as negative evaluators, and students who respond "strongly agree," "agree," and "undecided" are classified as positive evaluators.

To demonstrate that obligations are a major cause of students considering migration, it is necessary to identify the reasons that students give for carrying out an act of migration. The reasons that students give for considering migration are ascertained from the following question:

If you are considering leaving your community soon after graduation, what are your two main reasons? _____

_____.
Relational and non-relational facilities. To test the plausibility of the propositions relating facilities to expectation to migrate (see Hypotheses 5, 6, and 7; Chapter One) parents have been selected as the set of alters relative to which students may receive encouragement to carry out an act of migration, may obtain financial or other aid useful in migration, and may have strong attachments. While other sets of alters could have been selected, the selection of parents is based upon the assumption that parents represent one of the most significant groups effecting the behavior of students nearing graduation from high school. Two types of attachments to parents are to be explored. They are the strength of the loyalty bonds between students and their parents, and the extent to which students perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation from high school.

The extent to which the parents of students encouraged them to carry out an act of migration is determined from the following question:

Which of the following statements best indicates what your parents have encouraged you to do after graduation?

- A _____ Get a full time job and continue to live at home.
- B _____ Get a full time job and live as close to home as possible.
- C _____ Get the best full time job possible even if you have to move to another community.
- D _____ Continue your education or training, and then return to your community.
- E _____ Continue your education or training and then get the best job possible, even if you have to move to another community.
- F _____ Other (indicate) _____.

Students who respond A or B to the above question are classified as having parents who do not encourage them to migrate. Students who respond C, D, or E are classified as having parents who do not discourage them from leaving their communities after graduation.

The estimate of the relative amount of aid students can expect to obtain from their parents for carrying out an act of migration is determined from the following question:

Will your parents be able to help you in getting a start or continuing your education after graduation from high school?

- A _____ They will be financially able to help you a great deal.
- B _____ They will be financially able to give you some help.
- C _____ They will be financially able to give you no help.

It is assumed that students who respond "A" can expect more aid from their parents than students who respond "B." In turn, it is assumed that students who respond "B" can expect more aid from their parents than students who respond "C."

The existence of a loyalty bond between students and parents is determined from the following question:

Even when teenagers get married, their first loyalty still belongs to their parents. Yes _____ No _____ Undecided _____

Students who respond "Yes" to the above question are classified as having strong loyalty attachments to their parents. Students who respond "No" are classified as having weak loyalty attachments to their parents. Students who respond "Undecided," are classified as having loyalty attachments between strong and weak to their parents.

The extent to which students perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation is determined from the following question:

What right do your parents have to make decisions for you after you graduate from high school?

- A ☐ They have a definite right to help make my decisions.
- B ☐ They have some right to help make my decisions.
- C ☐ They have no right, but they may give me their opinions.
- D ☐ They have no right even to give their opinions.

Students who respond "A" or "B" to the above question are classified as perceiving that their parents have some decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation. Students who respond "C" or "D" are classified as perceiving that their parents have no decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation.

Method of Analysis

The data necessary to validate the hypotheses stated in this study will be analyzed in two stages. First the response patterns in a table will be examined to see if they are consistent with the stated hypothesis. If the response patterns are not consistent with the stated hypothesis, the hypothesis will be rejected. If the response patterns are consistent with the stated hypothesis, chi-square tests for statistical independence will be conducted to determine if the observed response patterns may

be chance relationships.³² The decision rule for accepting or rejecting a null hypothesis is as follows:

- (1) If the probability of the chi-square value of the observed table or one more extreme under the null hypothesis of statistical independence is equal to or less than .10 (level of significance of .10) and the power of the test at $\alpha = .10$ is at least .70 then reject the null hypothesis and assume an association exists.³³
- (2) If the probability of the chi-square value of the observed table or one more extreme under the null hypothesis is equal to or less than .25 and the power of the test at $\alpha = .25$ is at least .50 then tentatively reject the null hypothesis and assume that an association may exist.
- (3) If the probability of the chi-square value of the observed table or one more extreme under the alternative hypothesis is equal to or less than .10 and the probability of accepting the null hypothesis at $\beta = .10$ is equal to or greater than .50 then accept the null hypothesis and assume that no association exists.
- (4) If the probability of the chi-square value of the observed table or one more extreme under the alternative hypothesis is equal to or less than .30 and the probability of accepting the null hypothesis at $\beta = .30$ is equal to or greater than .50 then tentatively accept the null hypothesis and assume that no association may exist.
- (5) If the chi-square value of an observed table cannot be accounted for by one of the above rules, then neither accept nor reject a null hypothesis.

³²Tables will be analyzed according to procedures suggested by Kullback for handling two-way and higher order contingency tables. [See Solomon Kullback, Information Theory and Statistics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959), pp. 155-188] Where a relationship between two variables independent of a third has been predicted, the predicted relationship will be assumed to exist if the observed response pattern are consistent with the relationship and if the null hypothesis of conditional independence can be rejected.

³³For $\alpha = .05$, power computed from table of non-control chi-square (See E. Fix, University of California Publications in Statistics, Vol. I, 1959, pp. 15-19.) For $\alpha > .05$, power computed from approximate methods suggested by P. B. Patnaik, "The Non-Control X^2 and F-Distributions and Their Applications," Biometrika, XXXVI, (Jan., 1949), 202-232.

CHAPTER 4

DESIRE TO MIGRATE

Introduction

In this chapter the expected relationship between specification level and desire to migrate, and between community satisfaction and desire to migrate will be tested. As indicated in Chapter One, the following relationships between the independent variables (specification level and community satisfaction) and the dependent variable (desire to move) are expected:

- 1) A direct relationship is expected between the extent to which high school juniors and seniors perceive that their specifications cannot be met in their primary communities and the desire to migrate which is independent of community satisfaction (see Hypothesis 1, Chapter One).
- 2) An inverse relationship is expected between community satisfaction and the desire to migrate which is independent of specification level (see Hypothesis 2, Chapter One).

The data necessary to substantiate the hypotheses are presented in Table 19. However, before going on to discuss the hypotheses, it should be noted that most students (63 percent) are neither eager to migrate nor eager to remain in their primary communities. About 29 percent are eager to leave and about 8 percent are eager to remain (see Table 19).

Table 19. --The Percentage Distribution of the Desire of Students to Migrate by Specification Level and Community Satisfaction

Specification Level and Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding	Desiring to Migrate		
				Eager Not to Migrate	Not Eager to Stay or Move	Eager to Migrate
Total Population	269	265	100.0	7.5	63.4	29.1
Level 1	37	37	100.0	27.0	59.5	13.5
Satisfied	21	21	100.0	28.1	52.4	9.5
Not Satisfied	15	15	100.0	13.3	66.7	20.0
Indifferent	10	10	100.0	10.0	80.0	10.0
Dissatisfied	5	5	100.0	20.0	40.0	40.0
No Answer	1	1	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Level 2	116	115	100.0	3.5	75.6	20.9
Satisfied	67	66	100.0	4.5	86.4	9.1
Not Satisfied	49	49	100.0	2.1	61.2	36.7
Indifferent	19	19	100.0	0.0	68.4	31.6
Dissatisfied	30	30	100.0	3.3	56.7	40.0
Level 3	98	96	100.0	3.1	46.9	50.0
Satisfied	31	30	100.0	10.0	63.3	26.7
Not Satisfied	67	66	100.0	0.0	39.4	60.6
Indifferent	19	19	100.0	0.0	78.9	21.1
Dissatisfied	48	47	100.0	0.0	23.4	76.6
Not Classified in Specification Levels	18	17	100.0	17.6	82.4	0.0
Satisfied	131	128	100.0	13.3	74.2	12.5
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	1.9	76.9	21.2
Dissatisfied	84	83	100.0	2.4	37.3	60.3
No Answer	2	2	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0

Relationship Between Specification Level and the Desire to
Migrate Uncontrolled by Community Satisfaction

The response patterns in Table 19 for specification level by desire to migrate are consistent with Hypothesis 1. As one goes from level 1 to level 3, the percent of students eager to migrate increases and the percent of students eager not to migrate decreases. About 14 percent of the students in level 1 are eager to migrate, whereas 21 percent of the students in level 2 and 50 percent of the students in level 3 are eager to migrate. Correspondingly 27 percent of the students in level 1 are eager to stay in their primary communities; and only 3 percent of the students in level 2 and 3 percent of the students in level 3 are eager to remain. Further, as might have been expected, most students in level 2 (76 percent) are neither eager to leave or to remain in their primary communities. It does not appear likely that the observed relationship between specification level and desire to migrate can be attributed to chance since a chi-square test of independence led to the rejection of the null hypothesis that specification level and desire to migrate are independent (see Null Hypothesis 5, Table A).

Relationship Between Community Satisfaction and the Desire
to Migrate Uncontrolled by Specification Level

The data presented in Table 19 for community satisfaction by desire to migrate also supports Hypothesis 2. An inverse relationship may be observed between increasing levels of community satisfaction and the desire to carry out an act of migration. Thus while 13 percent of the satisfied students are eager to migrate and 13 percent are eager not to migrate; 60 percent of the dissatisfied students are eager to migrate and only 2 percent are eager not to migrate. Students who are indifferent toward their primary communities tend to be less eager

Table A. --Statistical Tests for Null Hypotheses Based on Hypotheses 1 and 2 and Data in Table 19^a

Null Hypotheses	Chi-square Value	Degrees of Freedom	Power ^b	Level of Significance	Action
1. Specification level, community satisfaction and the desire to migrate are statistically independent.	94.43	12	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
2. Desire to migrate is statistically independent of both community satisfaction and specification level.	70.29	8	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
3. Community satisfaction is statistically independent of specification level.	24.13	4	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
4. Desire to migrate is statistically independent of community satisfaction given specification level.	43.68	6	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
5. Desire to migrate is statistically independent of specification level.	26.62	2	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
6. Desire to migrate is statistically independent of specification level given community satisfaction.	18.51	6	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
7. Desire to migrate is statistically independent of community satisfaction.	51.79	2	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject ^c

^aFor this analysis the category "eager not to migrate" has been combined with the category "not eager to move or stay."

^bThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^cThe chi-square value for the test of the null hypothesis that "desire to migrate is statistically independent of level of community satisfaction" based upon all actors who responded to questions about their level of community satisfaction is 56.357. Under the given decision rule, this chi-square value would also lead to the rejection of Null Hypothesis 7.

to migrate than dissatisfied students, but more eager than satisfied students. About 21 percent of the indifferent students are eager to migrate. Further, Hypothesis 2 is supported by a chi-square test of independence computed for the contingency tables community satisfaction by desire to migrate. The null hypothesis that there is no relationship between level of community satisfaction and desire to migrate was rejected (see Null Hypothesis 7, Table A).

Independent Effects of Specification Level or Community
Satisfaction Upon Desire to Migrate

Taken separately both specification level and community satisfaction are associated with the desire to migrate in the predicted direction, and it is unlikely that the observed relationships can be attributed to chance. One may now legitimately ask if the two independent variables do not represent different indicators of the same generalized dimension or underlying value position since an examination of the relationship between specification level and community satisfaction indicates that a high correlation most likely exists between the two dimensions (see Table 19 and Null Hypothesis 3, Table A). Most students in levels 1 and 2 are satisfied with their primary communities, whereas most students in level 3 are dissatisfied with their communities. If the two independent variables are not identical and if they have (as postulated) independent effects upon desire to migrate, then one would expect to find (1) that within specification levels as community satisfaction increases eagerness to leave the primary community should decrease, and (2) that within levels of community satisfaction as one goes from level 1 to level 3 eagerness to migrate should increase. An examination of the response patterns in Table 19 indicates that the data are generally consistent with the above propositions. Within specification levels, the percent of satisfied students who are not eager to migrate is consistently greater than the corresponding

percent for students not satisfied with their primary communities, and the percent of satisfied students who are eager to migrate is consistently less than the corresponding percent for students not satisfied. However, deviations from the expected patterns do occur. Within levels 1 and 2, a slightly higher proportion of dissatisfied students are eager to stay than indifferent students; and within level 3, a slightly higher proportion of satisfied students are eager to migrate than indifferent students. In all cases, error patterns are associated with cells that have few individuals classified within them. Therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that if the population had been larger that the expected patterns might have been observed. Within levels of community satisfaction, except for two minor error patterns which may be attributed to the small number of cases in cells, students classified as level 3 have higher proportions eager to migrate and lower proportions eager not to migrate than students classified as level 2; and in turn, students classified as level 2 have higher proportions eager to migrate and lower proportions eager not to migrate than students classified as level 1. Error patterns may be observed within the satisfied and indifferent categories of community satisfaction for levels 2 and 3. Thus, one may conclude that generally the observed response patterns are consistent with the stated hypotheses.

To determine if the observed independent effects of specification level and community satisfaction upon desire to migrate are statistically significant the contingency table based upon community satisfaction and specification level by desire to migrate with the category "eager not to migrate" combined with the category "not eager to stay or migrate" is analyzed according to procedures suggested by Kullback for handling three-way and higher order contingency tables.¹

¹Solomon Kullback, *Information Theory and Statistics* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959), pp. 155-188.

Relative to the table, the set of null hypotheses tested and the decisions to accept or reject a null hypothesis are presented in Table A.

For the present discussion, it is important to note the conditional relationships. While specification level and community satisfaction appear to be associated (see Null Hypothesis 3, Table A), not only does desire to migrate not appear to be independent of the union of specification level and community satisfaction (see Null Hypothesis 2, Table A), but also there appears to be an association between community satisfaction and desire to migrate that cannot be accounted for in terms of specification level (see Null Hypothesis 4, Table A), and an association between desire to migrate and specification level that cannot be accounted for in terms of community satisfaction (see Null Hypothesis 6, Table A). Since conditional independence for the independent variables and the dependent variable does not appear to exist, the statistical tests may be interpreted as supporting the stated hypothesis. Thus the predicted relationships between community satisfaction and the desire to migrate and between specification level and the desire to migrate appear to be substantiated by the observed response patterns and not contradicted by the statistical tests. Further it may be asserted that while community satisfaction and specification levels are associated, they do not appear to be isomorphic representations of the same underlying dimensions.

CHAPTER 5

CONSIDERATION OF MIGRATION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present empirical evidence which will indicate the extent to which it is reasonable to maintain the hypotheses stated in Chapter One relating specification level, community satisfaction, and obligations to the consideration of migration. In addition a description of the relationship between desire to migrate and consideration of migration will be given.

Relationship Between Desire to Migrate and Consideration of Migration

Table 20 presents the distribution of responses for the population by desire to migrate and the consideration of migration. It can be seen from the response patterns presented in the table that most students are considering leaving their primary communities (84 percent). Further as might have been expected, there is a direct relationship between the desire to migrate and consideration of migration. Thirty percent of the students who are "eager not to migrate" respond that they are considering migrating, whereas 83 percent of the students who are "not eager to stay or leave" and 99 percent of the students who are "eager to migrate" respond that they are considering migration. It also should be noted that of the 222 students considering carrying out an act of migration that 145 or about 65 percent are not eager to migrate.

Table 20. The Percentage Distribution of the Consieration of Students to Migrate by Desire to Migrate

Desire to Migrate	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	<u>Consideration of Migration</u>	
				Considering Migration	Not Considering Migration
Total	269	265	100.0	83.8	16.2
Not Eager to Migrate	188	187	100.0	77.5	22.5
Eager <u>Not</u> to Migrate	20	20	100.0	30.0	70.0
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	168	167	100.0	83.2	16.8
Eager to Migrate	77	77	100.0	98.7	1.3
No Answer	4	4	100.0	100.0	0.0

Relationship of Specification Level and Community
Satisfaction to Consideration of Migration

Introduction. --In Chapter One the following relationships between specification level, community satisfaction, and consideration of migration were stated:

Hypothesis 3: There is a direct relationship between the specification level and the consideration of migration which is independent of community satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4: There is an inverse relationship between community satisfaction and the consideration of migration which is independent of specification level.

The data necessary to substantiate the above hypotheses are presented in Table 21. Relative to the table, the set of statistical hypotheses tested and the decisions to accept or reject a statistical hypothesis are presented in Table B.

Relationship between specification level and consideration of migration. --The response pattern in Table 21 for specification level by consideration of migration is consistent with Hypothesis 3. Relative to Hypothesis 3, a larger proportion of students in level 1 are not considering leaving their communities than level 2 which in turn has a larger proportion than level 3. The percent of students in specification levels not considering carrying out an act of migration range from 41 percent in level 1 to 13 percent in level 2 to 7 percent in level 3. Note that about one-third of the students not considering leaving are in specification level 1 which accounts for only 13 percent of the total population. It is unlikely that the observed relationship between specification level and the consideration of migration may be attributed to change since the statistical null hypothesis that the variables are independent is rejected (see Null Hypothesis 5, Table B).

Table 21. - The Percentage Distribution of the Consideration of Students to Migrate by Specification Level and Community Satisfaction

Specification Level and Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Consideration of Migration	
				Considering Moving	Not Considering Moving
Total	269	265	100.0	83.8	16.2
Level 1	37	37	100.0	59.5	40.5
Satisfied	21	21	100.0	52.4	47.6
Not Satisfied	15	15	100.0	66.7	33.3
Indifferent	10	10	100.0	70.0	30.0
Dissatisfied	5	5	100.0	66.7	33.3
No Answer	1	1	100.0	100.0	
Level 2	116	115	100.0	87.0	13.0
Satisfied	67	66	100.0	78.8	21.2
Not Satisfied	49	49	100.0	98.0	2.0
Indifferent	19	19	100.0	100.0	0.0
Dissatisfied	30	30	100.0	96.7	3.3
Level 3	98	97	100.0	92.8	7.2
Satisfied	31	31	100.0	83.9	16.1
Not Satisfied	67	66	100.0	97.0	3.0
Indifferent	19	19	100.0	89.5	10.5
Dissatisfied	48	47	100.0	100.0	0.0
Not Classified in Specification Levels	18	16	100.0	62.5	37.5
Satisfied	131	129	100.0	73.6	26.4
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	88.5	11.5
Dissatisfied	84	82	100.0	96.3	3.7
No Answer	2	2	100.0	100.0	0.0

Table B.-- Statistical Tests For Null Hypotheses Based on Hypotheses 3 and 4 and Data in Table 2]^a

Null Hypotheses	Chi Square		Degrees of Freedom		Power ^b		Level of Significance		Action
	Value								
1. Specification level, community satisfaction, and the consideration of migration are statistically independent.	53.38		7		At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$		$p < .005$		Reject
2. The consideration of migration is statistically independent of both community satisfaction and specification level.	37.51		5		At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$		$p < .005$		Reject
3. Community satisfaction is statistically independent of specification level.	15.86		2		At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$		$p < .015$		Reject
4. Consideration of migration is statistically independent of level of community satisfaction given specification level.	16.79		3		At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$		$p < .005$		Reject ¹³²
5. Consideration of migration is statistically independent of specification level.	20.73		2		At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$		$p < .005$		Reject
6. Consideration of migration is statistically independent of specification level given community satisfaction.	20.25		4		At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$		$p < .005$		Reject
7. Consideration of migration is statistically independent of community satisfaction.	17.26		1		At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$		$p < .005$		Reject ^c

^aFor this analysis the category "indifferent" has been combined with the category "dissatisfied."

^bThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table come from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^cThe chi-square value for the test of the null hypothesis "consideration of migration" is statistically independent of level of community satisfaction based upon all actors who responded to the question about level of community satisfaction is 22.560. Under the given decision rule this chi-square value would lead to the rejection of the hypothesis.

Further relative to specification level having an effect upon consideration of migration which is independent of community satisfaction, one may generally observe the expected relationship between specification level and the consideration of migration within the categories of community satisfaction. The expected relationship may be observed for satisfied and dissatisfied students, but not for indifferent students. The deviations from the expected pattern are associated with cells that have relatively few cases and thus may represent chance fluctuations. Thus, the observed patterns within community satisfaction leads one to infer the existence of an association that at least cannot be accounted for in terms of community satisfaction and which may be independent of community satisfaction. The statistical tests conducted support the inference that an association exists between specification level and consideration of migration which can not be accounted for by community satisfaction (see Null Hypothesis 6, Table B).

Relationship between community satisfaction and consideration of migration. -- The data presented in Table 21 are also not inconsistent with Hypothesis 4. The expected inverse relationship between community satisfaction and consideration of migration may be observed. The percent of students considering migration following graduation increases from 73 percent for satisfied students to 89 percent for indifferent students to 94 percent for dissatisfied students. Further the null hypothesis of no association between community satisfaction and the consideration of migration is rejected (see Null Hypothesis 7, Table B). Within specification levels, the expected patterns consistently occur between satisfied and not satisfied students. However, only within level 3 is the expected relationship observed for all levels of community satisfaction. Here again the deviations from the expected pattern (level 1 indifferent and level 2 indifferent) may be attributed to random fluctuations resulting from the relatively few cases available for analysis.

However, even though the available data may not be inconsistent with Hypothesis 4, it seems more reasonable to maintain the slightly less powerful hypothesis that within specification levels it is more likely that larger proportions of actors who are satisfied with their primary communities will not be considering carrying out an act of migration than actors who are not satisfied. Thus it may be inferred from the observed patterns within specification levels that an association exists between community satisfaction and consideration of migration that cannot be accounted for by specification level. The statistical tests conducted support this inference (see Null Hypothesis 4, Table B). Further, if one classifies students into the categories "satisfied" and "not satisfied," a direct relationship exists between community satisfaction and consideration of migration which is independent of specification levels. Additional evidence is necessary to determine if an inverse relationship exists between community satisfaction and consideration of migration which is independent of specification level when community satisfaction is viewed as a continuous variable or as a discrete variable having more than 2 levels.

Obligatory Status-role Expectations and Consideration of Migration

Introduction. --In this section the propositions relating obligations to the consideration of migration will be analyzed. In Chapter One it was stated that the generalized dimensions of ranked images and beliefs relating to obligations would be more important as determinants of the consideration of migration than factors that make communities attractive (see Hypothesis 5, Chapter One). If the above proposition is valid, one would expect the data to be consistent with the following corollaries:

Corollary 1: The reasons that students give for considering carrying out an act of migration are primarily associated with obligations.

Corollary 2: There is a strong direct relationship between the perceptions of students that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities and the consideration of migration which is independent of desire to migrate, specification level, and community satisfaction.

Corollary 3: Given that students perceive that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities, there is little or no association between community satisfaction, specification level, or desire to migrate and the consideration of migration.

Reasons for considering an act of migration and obligatory status-role expectations. --It has been assumed that for high school graduates that it is obligatory after graduation that they actively engage in establishing themselves in a vocation by either getting a full time job, getting married, or by continuing their education in preparation for a more or less specific occupation. While the above list of obligations may not exhaust the obligations of a given student or set of students, they are considered to be among the most binding and to apply to all students. Accordingly, the effect of obligations may be estimated from then. Thus for high school students if Corollary 1 represents a valid proposition, one would expect that a considerable proportion of the students would give the inadequacy the occupational structure or educational facilities of their primary communities, or the greater attractiveness of the occupational structure or educational facilities of alternative communities, or the inability to find someone they would like to marry in their primary

communities as reasons for considering carrying out an act of migration. Evidence to support Corollary 1 is presented in Table 22. This table contains the responses of students considering and not considering migrating to the open-ended question: If you are considering leaving your community soon after graduation, what are your two main reasons? The distribution of responses in Table 22 are consistent with Corollary 1. Sixty-nine percent of the students responding to the question give either the inadequacy of the occupational structure or educational facilities of their primary communities, or the greater attractiveness of the occupational structure or educational facilities of alternative communities as their first reason for considering migration. About 36 percent give vocational reasons as their second reasons. For students considering leaving their primary communities, 70 percent give vocational reasons as the first choice and 35 percent gave vocational reasons as their second choice. If one includes those students who stated that they are considering migrating because they are going into military service as an occupational reason, then nearly 76 percent of the students responding to the question give vocational reasons as their first reason and 50 percent give it as their second reason. After vocational reasons the desire for new experience and the negative evaluation of an aspect of a primary community (particularly the inadequacy of expressive activities) are given by students as reasons for considering carrying out an act of migration. One out of four of the students considering leaving give these responses as either a first or a second reason for considering carrying out an act of migration. None of the students give inadequate marital opportunities as a reason for considering carrying out an act of migration.

The relationship between obligations and consideration of migration given desire to migrate, specification level, or community satisfaction.-- Earlier in this chapter evidence was presented to indicate that specification level, community satisfaction, and the desire to migrate are

Table 22. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Reasons Students Give for Considering Migration by Consideration of Migration.

Reasons for Considering Migration	First Reason for Migration						Second Reason for Migration					
	Total			Considering Migration			Total			Considering Migration		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	269	--	222	--	43	--	269	--	222	--	43	--
Total Responding	244	100.0	219	100.0	25	100.0	209	100.0	192	100.0	17	100.0
Occupation (push) ^a	39	16.0	34	16.0	5	20.0	14	6.7	13	6.8	1	5.9
Occupation (pull) ^b	77	31.6	68	31.1	9	36.0	40	19.1	35	18.2	5	29.4
Education (push) ^c	3	1.2	3	1.4	0	0.0	5	2.4	5	2.6	0	0.0
Education (pull) ^d	50	20.5	48	21.9	2	12.0	16	7.7	14	7.3	2	11.8
New Experience ^e	14	5.7	10	4.6	4	24.0	46	22.0	46	24.0	0	0.0
Negative Evaluation ^f	23	9.4	23	10.5	0	0.0	37	17.7	33	17.2	44	23.5
Make Own Decisions ^g	7	2.9	6	2.7	1	4.0	11	5.3	9	4.7	2	11.8
Maintain Particularistic Relationships	6	2.5	5	2.3	1	4.0	5	2.4	5	2.6	0	0.0
Military Service	16	6.6	14	6.4	2	8.0	5	2.4	5	2.6	0	0.0
Other	9	3.6	8	3.7	1	4.0	30	14.4	27	14.1	3	17.6

^a Occupation (push) means the negative evaluation of the occupational structure of the primary community.

^b Occupation (pull) means the positive evaluation of the occupational structure of other areas.

^c Education (push) means the negative evaluation of the educational facilities of the primary community.

^d Education (pull) means the positive evaluation of the educational facilities of other areas.

^e New experience means the student is considering leaving because he would like to have new experiences.

^f Negative evaluation means the negative evaluation of some aspect of the primary community other than occupational or educational facilities.

^g Make own decision means the student is considering leaving because he wants to be able to make his own decisions.

associated with the consideration of migration. Evidence has now been presented to support the hypothesis that obligations are also important factors associated with the consideration of migration. The question may now be raised as to the importance of obligations relative to other dimensions associated with the consideration of migration. It is contended that there is a strong direct relationship between the perceptions of students that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities which is independent of desire to migrate, specification level and community satisfactions (Corollary 2); and that if students perceive that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities, there is little or no association between community satisfaction, specification level, or desire to migrate and consideration of migration (Corollary 3).

Given the operational procedures for identifying the students who perceive that their obligations can and cannot be carried out in their primary communities (see Chapter Three), the data necessary to substantiate the corollaries relating the perceptions actors have of the extent to which obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities and the consideration of migration are presented in Tables 23, 24, and 25. If the data are consistent with Corollary 2, one would expect that within categories of desire to migrate, specification level, and community satisfaction that the proportion of students considering carrying out an act of migration would be greater for students whose obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities than for students whose obligations can be carried out in their primary communities. Further, if the data is consistent with Corollary 3, one would expect that desire to migrate, specification level, and community satisfaction would have little or no association with the consideration of migration given the set of students who perceive that their obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their

Table 23. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Consideration of Students to Migrate by the Perceptions of Students of the Adequacy with Which Obligations Can Be Carried Out in Primary Communities and Desire to Migrate

Obligations and Desire to Migrate	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Consideration of Migration	
				Considering Migration	Not Considering Migration
Total	269	265	100.0	83.8	16.2
Obligations Cannot Be Adequately Carried Out	137	135	100.0	93.3	6.7
Eager to Migrate	52	52	100.0	98.1	1.9
Not Eager to Migrate	83	83	100.0	90.4	9.6
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	80	80	100.0	91.3	8.8
Eager Not to Migrate	3	3	100.0	66.3	33.3
No Answer	2	0	--	--	--
Obligations Can Be Adequately Carried Out	29	28	100.0	42.9	57.1
Eager to Migrate	2	2	100.0	100.0	0.0
Not Eager to Migrate	26	26	100.0	38.5	61.5
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	17	17	100.0	56.9	47.1
Eager Not to Migrate	9	9	100.0	11.1	88.9
No Answer	1	0	--	--	--
Other	100	99	100.0	82.8	17.2
Eager to Migrate	22	22	100.0	100.0	0.0
Not Eager to Migrate	77	76	100.0	77.6	22.4
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	69	68	100.0	82.6	17.6
Eager Not to Migrate	8	8	100.0	37.5	62.5
No Answer	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0

Table 24. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Consideration of Students to Migrate by the Perceptions of Students of the Adequacy with Which Obligations Can Be Carried Out in Primary Communities and Specification Level

Obligations and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Consideration of Migration	
				Considering Migration	Not Considering Migration
Total	269	265	100.0	83.8	16.2
Obligations Cannot Be Adequately Carried Out	137	135	100.0	93.3	6.7
Level 1	14	14	100.0	78.6	21.4
Level 2	59	58	100.0	94.8	5.2
Level 3	58	57	100.0	96.5	3.2
No Answer	6	6	100.0	83.2	16.7
Obligations Can Be Adequately Carried Out	29	28	100.0	41.6	55.2
Level 1	9	9	100.0	22.2	77.8
Level 2	9	9	100.0	44.4	55.6
Level 3	5	5	100.0	80.0	20.0
No Answer	6	5	100.0	40.0	60.0
Other	100	99	100.0	82.8	27.2
Level 1	13	13	100.0	69.2	30.8
Level 2	47	47	100.0	85.1	14.9
Level 3	35	35	100.0	88.6	14.4
No Answer	5	4	100.0	50.0	50.0

Table 25. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Consideration of Students to Migrate by the Perceptions of Students of the Adequacy with Which Obligations Can be Carried Out in Primary Communities and Community Satisfaction

Obligations and Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Consideration of Migration	
				Considering Migration	Not Considering Migration
Total	269	265	100.0	83.8	16.2
Obligations Cannot Be Adequately Carried Out	137	135	100.0	93.3	6.7
Satisfied	50	49	100.0	91.8	8.2
Not Satisfied	86	85	100.0	94.1	5.9
Indifferent	30	30	100.0	86.7	13.3
Dissatisfied	56	55	100.0	98.2	1.8
No Answer	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0
Obligations Can Be Adequately Carried Out	29	28	100.0	41.6	55.2
Satisfied	23	22	100.0	34.4	63.6
Not Satisfied	6	6	100.0	66.7	33.3
Indifferent	3	3	100.0	100.0	0.0
Dissatisfied	3	3	100.0	33.3	66.7
No Answer	0	0	-	-	-
Other	100	99	100.0	82.8	17.2
Satisfied	56	55	100.0	72.7	27.3
Not Satisfied	43	43	100.0	95.3	4.7
Indifferent	18	18	100.0	94.4	5.6
Dissatisfied	25	25	100.0	96.0	4.0
No Answer	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0

primary community. Corollary 3 will be considered plausible if no association exists between desire to migrate, specification level, or community satisfaction given the set of students who perceive that their obligations cannot be adequately carried out in their primary communities, or if an association exists which is substantively not important. When an association exists between any one of the independent variables and the dependent variable; it will be considered substantively not significant if the difference between the percentage of students considering carrying out an act of migration in any two categories of an independent variable does not exceed 10 percentage points given the set of students who perceive that their obligations cannot be adequately carried out in their primary communities, and if the difference between the percent of students considering carrying out an act of migration in categories of the independent variable are less when the data are controlled by obligations than when it is not. So as to minimize the effect of small categories, the above rule will only be applied when the number of students in a category of an independent variable is at least 10.

Desire to migrate and Corollaries 2 and 3.--Except for students eager to migrate, the data presented in Table 23 appears to be consistent with Corollary 2. For all categories of desire to migrate, except the category "eager to migrate," the percent of students considering carrying out an act of migration is higher for students who perceive that their obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary community than for students who perceive that obligations can be carried out in their primary communities. For students not eager to stay or leave, the percentages are 91 percent and 57 percent respectively. For students eager not to migrate the percentages are 67 percent and 11 percent respectively. For students who are eager to migrate the percent of students considering migration is uniformly high for the

population as a whole and all subcategories. Since all but one student eager to migrate are considering migration, it is not possible to determine if obligations have an effect upon consideration of migration given students eager to migrate. Thus the data is consistent with the proposition that given students not eager to migrate a direct association exists between the extent to which obligations cannot be carried out adequately in primary communities and consideration of migration which is independent of desire to migrate. The results of the statistical tests conducted are not inconsistent with the above proposition.¹ Additional data may indicate that the expected association also exists for students eager to migrate. However, to the extent that students eager to migrate are always considering migration, it will not be possible to substantiate Corollary 2. Thus one may conclude from the data in Table 23 that an association exists between obligations and consideration of migration that cannot be accounted for in terms of desire to migrate.

For the desire to migrate, Corollary 3 cannot be categorically accepted or rejected. However, it appears more reasonable to accept the hypothesis (at least as a plausible working hypothesis for further investigation) than to reject it. A direct relationship appears to exist between the desire of students to migrate and their consideration of migration given students whose obligation cannot be adequately carried out in their primary community. Thus the percent of students considering carrying out an act of migration increases from 66 percent for

¹If an association exists between the extent to which students perceive that their obligation cannot be carried out adequately in their primary community and consideration of migration which is independent of "not eager to migrate," one would expect to be able to reject or at least not accept the null hypotheses in Table C. All the Null Hypotheses in Table C can at least be tentatively rejected. Accordingly, the result of the statistical tests are interpreted as not being inconsistent with the stated proposition.

Table C. -- Statistical Tests for Null Hypotheses Based on Corollary 2 and the Data in Table 23

Null Hypotheses	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of Freedom	Power ^a	Level of Significance	Action
1. The extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities is statistically independent of consideration of migration given students not eager to migrate.	27.64	1	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
2. The extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities is statistically independent of consideration of migration given students eager not to migrate.	1.47 ^b	1	At $\alpha = .25$, power is $70 > p > .50$	$.25 > p > .10$	Tentatively reject
[The exact probability of this table or one more extreme is .127]					
3. The extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities is statistically independent of consideration of migration given students not eager to stay or leave.	12.57	1	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject

^aThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^bThis chi-square value has been adjusted. For the appropriate adjustment see Edward Paulson and W. Allen Wallis, "Planning and Analyzing Experiments for Comparing Two Percentages." Techniques of Statistical Analysis, ed. C. Eisenhart, M. W. Hastay and W. A. Wallis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947), p. 254.

students eager not to migrate to 91 percent for students not eager to stay or move to 98 percent for students eager to migrate. Further, the statistical tests conducted support the conclusion that there is an association between desire to migrate and the consideration of migration given students whose obligations cannot be carried out in their primary communities.²

But while a direct relationship does appear to exist between desire to migrate and consideration of migration, the relationship may not be substantively significant. For students whose obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities, the difference between the percent of students in the category "eager to migrate" considering carrying out an act of migration and the percent in the category "not eager to migrate" is less than 10 percentage points.³

Specification level and Corollaries 2 and 3. --Relative to specification level, the data presented in Table 24 are consistent with Corollary 2, but not Corollary 3. For all specification levels the percent of

²If no association exists between desire to migrate and consideration of migration given students whose obligations cannot be adequately carried out in their primary communities, one would expect to be able to accept the statistical null hypothesis of no association between desire to migrate and consideration of migration given said students. The exact probability has been computed for the contingency tables eager to migrate and not eager to migrate by consideration of migration under the null hypothesis that there is no association between the variables when controlled by obligations. The exact probabilities for the table being considered is .081. Thus the hypothesis of no association cannot be accepted.

³While the number of students eager not to migrate whose obligations cannot be carried out in their primary community is very small (3 students), the fact that 2 of the 3 students are considering migration whereas only 30 percent of all students eager not to migrate are considering migration suggests that an actor's perception of his ability to carry out obligations in his primary community is an extremely important and perhaps the most important dimension (of those being considered) in determining consideration of migration.

students considering carrying out an act of migration is higher for students who perceive that their obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities than for students who perceive that their obligations can be carried out adequately in their primary communities. For students classified as level 1, 79 percent of those whose obligations cannot be adequately carried out in their primary communities are considering moving as compared to 41 percent for students whose obligations can be carried out in their primary communities. For level 2, the corresponding percentages are 95 percent, and 44 percent. For level 3, the corresponding percentages are 97 percent, and 86 percent. The statistical tests conducted tend to support the position that one should not reject Corollary 2.⁴ Given the response patterns and the statistical tests one is inclined to accept the plausibility of Corollary 2 with respect to specification level.

For specification level, the data in Table 24 does not support Corollary 3. First, a direct relationship exists between specification types (going from level 1 to level 3) and consideration of migration given students whose obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities. Second, for students whose specifications cannot be carried out in their primary communities, the difference

⁴If an association exists between the extent to which students perceive that their obligations cannot be adequately met in their primary communities and consideration of migration which is independent of specification level, one would expect to be able to reject or at least not accept the null hypotheses in Table D. NullHypotheses 1 and 2 are rejected. NullHypothesis 3 is tentatively rejected. Thus the tests are consistent with the hypothesis an association exists between extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities and consideration of migration which cannot be accounted for in terms of specification level. Further, the tests are not inconsistent with the hypothesis that there may be an association between the obligations and consideration of migration which is independent of specification level.

Table D. -- Statistical Tests for Null Hypotheses Based on Corollary 2 and Data in Table 24

Null Hypotheses	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of Freedom	Power ^a	Level of Significance	Action
1. The extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities is statistically independent of consideration of migration given specification level 1.	5.35 ^b	1	At $\alpha = 10$, power is .80 > $p > .70$	.025 > $p > .01$	Reject
	(The exact probability of this table or one more extreme is .012.)				
2. The extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities is statistically independent of consideration of migration given specification level 2.	10.28 ^b	1	At $\alpha = .05$, power is .90 > $p > .80$	$p < .005$	Reject
3. The extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities is statistically independent of consideration given specification level 3.	1.69	1	At $\alpha = .25$, power is .75 > $p > .50$	.25 > $p > .10$	Tentatively reject
	(The exact probability of this table or one more extreme is .226.)				

^aThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^bThis chi-square value has been adjusted. For the adjustment see Edward Paulson and W. Allen Wallis, "Planning and Analyzing Experiments for Comparing Two Percentages," Techniques of Statistical Analysis, ed. by C. Eisenhart, M. W. Hastay and W. A. Wallis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947), p. 254.

between the percent in level 1 considering moving and the percent in level 2 or level 3 is greater than 10 percentage points. The percentage of these students considering migration increases from 79 percent in level 1 to 97 percent in level 3. Thus the response patterns in Table 25 are interpreted as supporting the proposition that a student's specifications are likely to have an important effect upon his consideration of migration even when he perceives that his obligations cannot be carried out adequately in his primary community. The statistical tests conducted support the conclusion that the data are not consistent with Corollary 3.⁵

Community satisfaction and Corollaries 2 and 3. --Relative to community satisfaction the data tends to be consistent with Corollary 2 (see Table 25). For satisfied and not satisfied students, the proportion of students considering carrying out an act of migration is higher for students who perceive that their obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities than for students who perceive that their obligations can be carried out adequately in their primary communities.⁶ For satisfied students the percentages are respectively

⁵If there is no association between specification level and consideration of migration given students whose obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities, one would expect to be able to accept the null hypothesis that specification level is statistically independent of consideration of migration given students whose obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities. (The above null hypothesis should be "true" for all levels and for any pair of levels). The exact probabilities has been computed for the contingency table based upon specification levels 1 and 2 by consideration of migration given students whose obligation cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities. The exact probability for the given table or one more extreme is .12. Using the decision rule stated in Chapter Three, one would not accept the null hypothesis.

⁶There are too few cases of dissatisfied or indifferent students whose obligations can be carried out in their primary communities to carry out an analysis for dissatisfied and indifferent students separately.

91 percent, and 36 percent. For not-satisfied students the percentages are respectively 94 percent, and 67 percent. The tests of significance conducted (relative to community satisfaction) support the conclusion that the data in Table 25 is consistent with Corollary 2.⁷

Relative to Corollary 3 and community satisfaction, the data in Table 25 are consistent with the hypothesis. While a direct relationship exists between community satisfaction (indifferent and dissatisfied categories combined) and consideration of migration given students whose obligations cannot be adequately carried out in their primary communities, the difference between the percent of satisfied students considering migration and the percent of dissatisfied students considering migration is less than 10 percentage points. Further, the statistical test conducted support the proposition that no association exists between community satisfaction (indifferent and dissatisfied categories combined) given students whose obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities.⁸

⁷If an association exists between the extent to which a student perceives that his obligations cannot be met in his primary community and consideration of migration (independent of community satisfaction), one would expect to be able to reject the null hypotheses in Table E. Both null hypotheses in Table E are rejected. Thus one may conclude that the data in Table 25 (relative to community satisfaction) are consistent with Corollary 2.

⁸If no association exists between community satisfaction and consideration of migration given students whose obligations cannot be carried out in their primary communities one would expect to accept the null hypothesis that community satisfaction would be statistically independent of consideration of migration for said students. The adjusted chi-square value for the test of the null hypothesis that there is no association between community satisfaction (indifferent and dissatisfied categories combined) and consideration of migration given students whose obligations cannot be carried out in their primary communities is .148. [For the appropriate adjustment see Edward Paulson and W. Allen Wallis, "Planning and Analyzing Experiments for Comparing Two Percentages," Techniques of Statistical Analysis, ed. by C. Eisenhart. M. W. Hastay and W. A. Wallis, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947),

Table E. -- Statistical Tests for Null Hypotheses Based on Corollary 2 and Data in Table 25

Null Hypotheses	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of Freedom	Power ^a	Level of Significance	Action
1. The extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities is statistically independent of consideration of migration given satisfied students.	12.73	1	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
2. The extent to which obligations cannot be carried out in primary communities is statistically independent of consideration of migration given not satisfied students.	13.16 ^b	1	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
(The exact probability of this table or one more extreme is .066.)					

^a The alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^b This chi-square value has been adjusted. For the appropriate adjustment in Edward Paulson and W. Allen Wallis, "Planning and Analyzing Experiments for Comparing Two Percentages," Techniques of Statistical Analysis, ed. C. Eisenhart, M. W. Hastay, and W. A. Wallis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947), p. 254.

Summary

In this chapter the relationships between the four independent dimensions (desire to migrate, specification level, community satisfaction, and the extent to which obligations cannot be adequately carried out in primary communities) and consideration of migration have been investigated.

It was expected that factors that contribute to desire to migrate would also contribute to consideration of migration. The assumption here being that the more desirable an action the more apt an actor is to be considering carrying it out. However, it was also predicted that generalized dimensions of ranked or non-ranked images and beliefs relating to obligations would be more important as determinants of consideration of migration than the relative attractiveness of situations. Accordingly, with respect to the test population in addition to an inverse relationship between community satisfaction and consideration of migration and a direct relationship between specification level and consideration of migration it was expected (1) that there would be a strong direct association between the extent to which students perceive that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities and the consideration of migration which would be independent of desire to migrate, specification level, or community satisfaction, and (2) that given that students perceive that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities, there would be little or

p. 254.] For one degree of freedom the probability of the chi-square value for the observed table or one more extreme is greater than .6. The power of the test against the alternative hypothesis that the observed table came from a population in which the expected values are those of the observed table community satisfaction (indifferent and dissatisfied categories combined) by consideration of migration is $p > .90$ at $\alpha = .50$. Thus under the decision rule suggested in Chapter Three, the null hypothesis of no association will be accepted. This conclusion is consistent with the Corollary 3.

no association between community satisfaction, specification level, or desire to migrate and consideration of migration.

The evidence presented in this chapter tended to support some but not all of the stated hypotheses. The evidence supported the proposition that the more desirable actors perceived migration to be the more apt they are to be considering carrying out an act of migration. An inverse relationship was found to exist between community satisfaction (indifferent and dissatisfied categories combined) and consideration of migration which appeared to be independent of specification level. A direct relationship was found to exist between specification level and consideration of migration which appeared to be independent of community satisfaction. Further, a direct relationship was found to exist between desire to migrate and consideration of migration.

The evidence presented in this chapter does not completely support the proposition that obligations are more important as determinants of consideration of migration than factors associated with the relative attractiveness of situations. The evidence did support the contention that obligations play a critical and perhaps independent part in determining consideration of migration. With respect to obligations the following relationships were demonstrated for the test population.

- (1) "The extent to which students perceive that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities" is an important dimension having a direct relationship with consideration of migration which at least cannot be accounted for in terms of community satisfaction, specification level, or desire to migrate, and which most likely is independent of specification level and community satisfaction.
- (2) While there is no conclusive evidence to support the proposition that if students perceive that obligations cannot be adequately carried out in their primary communities that all other attraction

dimensions would have little or no effect upon consideration of migration; it does appear that if they perceived that obligations cannot be adequately carried out in their primary communities that the association between the desire to migrate, specification level, or community satisfaction and consideration of migration is considerably reduced. Further, the predicted relationship is observed for desire to migrate, and community satisfaction.

CHAPTER 6

EXPECTATION TO MIGRATE

Introduction

In the last chapter, factors that helped to explain why some students are considering carrying out an act of migration and why some are not were discussed. In this chapter, consideration is given to the expectations of students to migrate. Given that students have reached the stage in the decision-making processes when they are considering migration, what are the factors which help to explain why some students expect to leave their communities six months after graduation and some do not?

The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, a description of the migration expectations of students after graduation relative to some of the dimensions previously considered (desire for migration, consideration of migration, specification level, and community satisfaction), will be presented. It was originally predicted, and subsequently demonstrated, that if students perceived that their obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary community that in general they would be considering migration. Accordingly, consideration of migration was viewed as an intervening variable between obligations and expectation to migrate. Therefore, the relationship between obligations and expectation to migrate was not explored. In the second section, the available data will be analyzed to determine to what extent it is reasonable to maintain that students who are considering migration are more apt to expect to migrate if they have relational and non-relational facilities for carrying out an act of migration.

Relationship Between Dimensions Previously Considered
and Expectation to Migrate

Relationship of expectation to migrate to the variables desire to migrate and consideration of migration. -- Table 26 presents the distribution of responses of students by consideration of migration, desire to migrate, and expectation to migrate.¹

The pattern of responses in Table 26 reveals that about seven out of 10 students responding to the question on expectations to migrate do not expect to be in Ontonagon County five or six months after graduation, and that a direct relationship exists between consideration of migration and expectation to migrate.² Seventy-nine percent of the students who are considering migration also expect to migrate and 21 percent of the

¹Of the 62 students who do not expect to move from Ontonagon county after graduation, 6 indicate that they will move within the boundries of the county. Of the 184 students who indicate that they do not expect to be in Ontonagon County six months after graduation, 11 did not specify a location where they expect to be, and 22 intend to enlist in one of the military services.

²The existence of this relationship raises problems of the interpretation to be given to the response patterns. Relative to an act of migration, the condition of considering carrying out an act of migration should logically precede the actual expectation to migrate. Thus, one would expect to find some actors who are considering migration but who do not expect to migrate. There are 29 such individuals in the population. Further, granting that expectation to migrate implies consideration of migration, one would not expect to find students responding that they are not considering carrying out an act of migration but that they expect to migrate. However, 9 students so responded. This represents 21 percent of the students not considering migration who indicated their expectations. How should one account for such responses? The responses may represent simple response errors, or the responses may actually reflect a students' position. The responses could mean that a student is no longer considering carrying out an act of migration because he has reached a definite decision to migrate, that a student is not considering making a permanent move out of his community even though he intends to move for a short time, or that a student is not considering migration and does not expect to migrate. Since several interpretations of the responses may be given, one may question the reliability of the instruments used to determine consideration of migration and expectation to

Table 26. --The Percentage Distribution of the Expectation of Students to Migrate by Consideration of Migration and Desire to Migrate

Consideration of Migration and Desire to Migrate	Total	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	269	263	100.0	23.6	70.0	6.5
Considering Migration	222	216	100.0	13.9	79.2	6.5
Eager to Migrate	76	73	100.0	11.0	84.9	4.1
Not Eager to Migrate	145	142	100.0	14.8	77.5	7.7
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	139	136	100.0	14.7	77.2	8.1
Eager Not to Migrate	6	6	100.0	16.7	83.3	0.0
No Answer	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Not Considering Migration	43	43	100.0	72.1	20.9	7.0
Eager to Migrate	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Not Eager to Migrate	42	42	100.0	71.5	21.4	7.1
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	28	28	100.0	71.5	21.4	7.1
Eager Not to Migrate	14	14	100.0	71.5	21.4	7.1
No Answer	4	4	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0
Eager to Migrate	77	74	100.0	12.2	83.8	4.1
Not Eager to Migrate	188	185	100.0	27.6	64.9	7.6
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	168	165	100.0	24.2	67.9	7.3
Eager Not to Migrate	20	20	100.0	55.0	40.0	5.0
No Answer	4	4	100.0	50.0	50.0	

students who are not considering migration do not expect to be in Ontonagon County six months after graduation from high school. Also a strong direct relationship between desire to migrate and expectation to migrate may be observed. The percent of students expecting to migrate increases from 40 percent for students eager not to migrate to 83 percent for students eager to migrate. This relationship in part may be accounted for in terms of the previously demonstrated relationship between consideration of migration and desire to migrate. When the dimension desire to migrate is controlled by consideration of migration, a direct relationship still exists between expectation to migrate and desire to migrate, but it is not as strong. For students who are considering carrying out an act of migration, the percent of students expecting to migrate increases from 78 percent for students not eager to migrate to 85 percent for students eager to migrate.³ The statistical test conducted supports the conclusion that a direct relationship existed between desire to migrate and expectation to

migrate. For the present, it will be assumed that the instruments are working reasonably well and that the unexpected response patterns most likely represent simple response errors.

³Students considering migration and eager not to migrate have a higher than expected percent of students expecting to carry out an act of migration. About 83 percent of the students considering migration and eager not to migrate are expecting to migrate as compared to 77.2 percent for students considering migration and not eager to stay or leave. Since the number of students classified as considering migration and eager not to migrate is small, the above response pattern is not considered to contradict the stated relationship between desire to migrate and expectation to migrate.

In addition it should be noted that if students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then for the students who are now considering migration a direct relationship may still be observed between desire to migrate and expectation to migrate.

migrate for students considering carrying out an act of migration.⁴

Relationship of expectation to migrate to specification level and community satisfaction. -- Since specification level and community satisfaction are dimensions that allow one to predict both desire to migrate and consideration of migration, one might expect that they would also allow one to predict the expectation to migrate when controlled and when not controlled by consideration of migration. Accordingly the data will be examined to determine if when controlled and when not controlled by consideration of migration, (1) an inverse relationship exists between increasing community satisfaction and the expectation to migrate, and (2) a direct relationship exists between specification level and the expectation to migrate. The data necessary to determine the validity of the above hypotheses are presented in Tables 27 and 28. An examination of the response patterns in Table 27 (the percentage distribution of the expectation of students to migrate by specification level and community satisfaction) reveals that the data are not completely consistent with the stated hypotheses. For specification level uncontrolled by community satisfaction the expected relationship in general may be observed. However, level 2 does have a slightly higher percent of students expecting to migrate than level 3 (75 percent as compared to 73 percent). When specification level is controlled by community satisfaction, the expected relationship may be observed only for students who are satisfied with their primary communities. For students who are indifferent or dissatisfied with their primary communities a higher proportion of students in level 2 than level 3

⁴For the contingency table eager to migrate and not eager to migrate by expectation to migrate given considering migration, the null hypothesis that desire to migrate is statistically independent of expectation to migrate is rejected. The chi-square value for two degrees of freedom is 12.458. The probability of such a chi-square value is less than .01. The power of the test at α equal .05 is greater than .8.

Table 27. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Expectation of Students to Migrate by Specification Level and Community Satisfaction

Specification Level and Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	269	263	100.0	23.6	70.0	6.5
Level 1	37	36	100.0	38.9	55.6	5.6
Satisfied	21	20	100.0	40.0	55.0	5.0
Not Satisfied	15	15	100.0	40.0	53.3	6.7
Indifferent	10	10	100.0	40.0	50.0	10.0
Dissatisfied	5	5	100.0	40.0	60.0	0.0
No Answer	1	1	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Level 2	116	113	100.0	19.5	75.2	5.3
Satisfied	67	66	100.0	30.3	66.7	3.0
Not Satisfied	49	47	100.0	4.3	87.2	8.5
Indifferent	19	19	100.0	10.5	89.5	0.0
Dissatisfied	30	28	100.0	0.0	85.7	14.3
Level 3	98	97	100.0	16.5	73.2	10.3
Satisfied	31	30	100.0	20.0	66.7	13.3
Not Satisfied	67	67	100.0	14.9	76.1	9.0
Indifferent	19	19	100.0	31.6	63.2	5.3
Dissatisfied	48	48	100.0	8.3	81.3	10.4
Not Classified by Specification Levels	18	18	100.0	55.6	44.4	0.0
Satisfied	131	127	100.0	33.9	61.4	4.7
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	25.0	71.2	3.8
Dissatisfied	84	32	100.0	7.3	81.7	11.0
No Answer	2	2	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0

Table 28. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Expectation of Students Considering Migration to Migrate by Specification Level and Community Satisfaction

Specification Level and Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	222	216	100.0	13.9	79.2	6.5
Level 1	22	21	100.0	14.3	81.0	4.8
Satisfied	11	10	100.0	10.0	90.0	0.0
Not Satisfied	10	10	100.0	20.0	70.0	10.0
Indifferent	7	7	100.0	28.6	57.1	14.3
Dissatisfied	3	3	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
No Answer	1	1	100.0	0.0	100.0	
Level 2	100	97	100.0	12.4	82.5	5.2
Satisfied	52	51	100.0	19.6	76.5	3.9
Not Satisfied	48	46	100.0	4.3	89.2	6.5
Indifferent	19	19	100.0	10.5	89.5	0.0
Dissatisfied	29	27	100.0	0.0	88.9	11.1
Level 3	90	88	100.0	13.6	77.3	9.1
Satisfied	26	24	100.0	12.5	79.2	8.3
Not Satisfied	64	64	100.0	14.1	76.6	9.4
Indifferent	17	17	100.0	29.4	64.7	5.9
Dissatisfied	47	47	100.0	8.5	80.9	10.6
Not classified by Specification Levels	10	10	100.0	30.0	70.0	0.0
Satisfied	95	91	100.0	18.7	76.9	4.4
Indifferent	46	46	100.0	19.6	76.4	4.3
Dissatisfied	79	77	100.0	5.2	84.4	10.4
No Answer	2	2	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0

expect to migrate. Similarly for community satisfaction uncontrolled by specification level, the expected relationship may be observed. But when community satisfaction is controlled by specification level, the expected relationships are not consistently observed. Within level 2, a higher percent of indifferent students expect to migrate than dissatisfied students; within level 3, a higher percent of satisfied students expect to migrate than indifferent students; and within level 1, community satisfaction appears to have little effect upon expectation to migrate. However, it should be noted that within levels 2 and 3 for satisfied and not satisfied students the expected relationships may be observed.

As for the population as a whole, for the sub-set of students who are considering carrying out an act of migration the expected relationships between specification level and expectation to migrate and between community satisfaction and expectation to migrate cannot be consistently observed (see Table 28).⁵ Only within level 2 for students satisfied or not satisfied with their primary communities is the expected relationships observed. Further, the response patterns in Table 28 do not appear to be inconsistent with the proposition that given the set of students who are considering carrying out an act of migration that there is little or no association between specification level and expectation to migrate, and between community satisfaction and expectation to migrate. The statistical tests conducted tend to support the plausibility of this conclusion.⁶

⁵If students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then for the students who are now considering migration the expected relationships between the two independent dimension (specification level and community satisfaction) and the dependent dimension (expectation to migrate) still cannot be consistently observed.

⁶The statistical tests conducted do not support the proposition that an association exist between the independent variables (specification level and community satisfaction) and the dependent variable

The fact that strong associations do not exist between the independent dimensions considered (desire to migrate, specification level, and community satisfaction), and expectation to migrate when controlled by considering migration indicates that other factors need to be considered if an explanation of why some actors considering carrying out an act of migration do expect to migrate and why some do not. In the next section the extent to which a student has control over facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration and a student's relationship with significant alters will be examined to determine if they help to explain expectation to migrate.

Factors Affecting Expectation to Migrate Given Consideration of Migration

It is generally accepted that in concrete social situations carrying out an instrumental action such as migration is contingent upon the relations with and the actions of significant alters, and upon the possession of control over facilities necessary and useful for the action. In an instrumental act, control over relational and non-relational facilities are considered to be conditions promoting the carrying out of the act. Further, it is expected that the effect of and need for relational

(expectation to migrate). The null hypotheses that there is no association between specification level and expectation to migrate and between community satisfaction and expectation to migrate could not be rejected (see Null Hypotheses 1 and 2, Table F).

Further evidence to support the above conclusion are obtained from the analysis of the contingency table based upon levels 2 and 3 cross-classified by community satisfaction (with the indifferent and dissatisfied categories combined), and expectation to migrate (with the categories non-migrant and don't know combined). The results of this analysis are presented in Table F. Since Null Hypothesis 5 in Table F is not rejected, one cannot conclude that for the given contingency table that non-independence exists between the dependent dimension (expectation to migrate), and the two independent dimensions (community satisfaction and specification level).

Table F. --Statistical Test for Null Hypotheses Based on Data in Table 28

Null Hypotheses	Chi-square		Degrees of Freedom	Power ^a	Level of Significance		Action
	Value						
1. Specification level is statistically independent of expectation to migrate. ^b	1.89		2	At $\alpha = .50$, power is $.70 > p > .50$	$.50 > p > .30$		Neither accept nor reject
2. Community satisfaction is statistically independent of expectation to migrate. ^b	.79		2	At $\alpha = .50$, power is $.70 > p > .50$	$.70 > p > .50$		Neither accept nor reject
3. Specification level, community satisfaction and expectation to migrate are statistically independent given students considering migration. ^c	16.07		4	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .01$		Reject
4. Specification level and community satisfaction are statistically independent given students considering migration. ^c	12.46		1	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .001$		Reject
5. Expectation to migrate is statistically independent of specification level and community satisfaction given students considering migration. ^c	3.61		3	At $\alpha = .50$, power is $.90 > p > .75$	$.5 > p > .3$		Neither accept nor reject

^aThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^bThe categories "don't know" and "non-migrant" have been combined for this test.

^cAnalysis based upon specification levels 2 and 3 only. Further, the categories "indifferent" and "dissatisfied" have been combined for this test.

facilities will depend upon the type of particularistic attachments that an actor maintains with significant alters. Thus, in Chapter One it was stated that actors who are considering migration are more apt to expect to migrate if they have (1) the relational support for migrating from significant alters (particularly when they have strong attachments to alters), (2) the means of transporting themselves from their primary interaction systems toward secondary communities, (3) the ability to re-establish residential and other relationships within secondary communities, and (4) the means of disposing of unnecessary, inappropriate or non-transportable possessions.

If one grants that high school students at the point of graduation have few possessions which need to be disposed of prior to migration and few possessions that need to be transported to their new communities, then one may assume that problems associated with the disposal and transportation of objects are at a minimum for this set of potential migrants relative to actors at other stages of their life cycles. Thus in attempting to provide an explanation of the migration plans of high school juniors and seniors considering migration, attention primarily will be given to the relational facilities students have for migration (including the conditioning effect of particularistic attachment upon the effect of and need for relational facilities) and sources of aid students have for transporting themselves to new communities. The hypotheses to be tested in this chapter are as follows:

Hypothesis 6: For students considering migration, those who have relational support for migration are more apt to expect to migrate than students who do not have such support.

Hypothesis 7: For students considering migration, those who have non-relational facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration are more apt to expect to

migrate than students who do not have such support.

Hypothesis 8: For students considering migration, students who need relational facilities (i.e. students who have relatively strong attachments to significant alters) but do not have such facilities are less likely to expect to migrate than (1) students who need and have relational facilities or (2) students who do not have a great need for relational facilities (i.e. students who have relatively weak attachments to significant alters).

As indicated in Chapter Three, to test the plausibility of the above propositions parents have been selected as the set of alters relative to which students may receive encouragement to carry out an act of migration, may obtain financial or other aid useful in migration, and may have strong attachments. While other sets of alters could have been selected, the selection of parents is based upon the assumption that parents represent one of the most significant groups effecting the behavior of students nearing graduation from high school. Two types of attachments to parents will be explored. They are the strength of the loyalty bonds between students and their parents, and the extent to which students perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation from high school.⁷

⁷It is recognized that the type of loyalty bond that exists between a student and his parents, and the extent to which a student perceives that his parents have decision-making rights over his behavior after graduation may be related. However, the two dimensions are not considered to be the same since it is considered probable that students may have strong loyalty attachments to parents and yet not believe that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation from high school, and correspondingly that students may perceive that their parents have decision making rights over their behavior and yet not have strong loyalty attachments to their parents.

Testing Hypotheses 6 and 8. --The data necessary to test Hypotheses 6 and 8 are presented in Tables 29 and 30. These tables contain the distribution of responses for students considering and not considering migration by dependency relationships with parents or type of loyalty bonds with parents, parental encouragement to carry out an act of migration, and expectation to migrate. The response patterns of these tables are consistent with Hypothesis 6. For students who are considering migration, the percent of students expecting to migrate is higher for students not discouraged by parents from migrating than for students encouraged by parents not to migrate. The percent of students expecting to migrate are 86 percent and 70 percent respectively. Further, for students considering migration within both categories of dependency relations with parents and within all three categories of loyalty relations with parents, the expected relationship between encouragement by parents to migrate and expectation to migrate may be observed.⁸ The statistical tests conducted in general are not inconsistent with Hypothesis 6⁹ (see Table G). However, the tests are not

⁸If students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then for the students who are now considering migration the expected relationship between encouragement given by parents for migration and expectation to migrate given loyalty attachments to parents or decision-making rights of parents over the behavior of their children after graduation may still be observed.

⁹If the data in Tables 29 and 30 are consistent with Hypothesis 6, one would expect to be able to reject or at least not accept the null hypotheses stated in Table G. Under the decision rule being used in this study, all but one of the null hypotheses stated in Table G would not be accepted. The null hypothesis that can be accepted is Null Hypothesis 7. Since this hypothesis can be accepted, one might be inclined to infer that the data may not be consistent with Hypothesis 6. However, since the tests of the null hypotheses in Table G are based upon categories "non-migrant" and "don't know" combined, the resulting inference of no association may be a result of combining these two categories. To test for this possibility, the exact probability of the contingency table non-migrants and don't know by encouragement to

Table 29. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Expectation of Students to Migrate by Consideration of Migration, Encouragement Given by Parents for Migration, and the Decision-Making Rights Students Believe Parents Have Over Their Behavior After Graduation from High School

Consideration of Migration, Decision-Making Rights of Parents and Encouragement Given by Parents for Migration	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	269	263	100.0	23.6	70.2	6.5
Considering Migration Parents Have Decision Making Rights	222	216	100.0	13.9	79.3	6.5
Encouraged to Not Migrate	136	132	100.0	16.2	75.7	5.1
Not Discouraged From Migrating	18	18	100.0	27.8	61.1	11.1
Other and No Answer	98	95	100.0	13.7	86.3	0.0
	20	19	100.0	21.1	52.6	26.3
Parents Do Not Have Decision-Making Rights	86	84	100.0	9.5	82.1	8.3
Encouraged to Not Migrate	15	15	100.0	13.3	80.0	6.7
Not Discouraged from Migrating	58	57	100.0	5.3	84.2	10.5
Other and No Answer	13	12	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0
Encouraged to Not Migrate	33	33	100.0	21.1	69.7	9.1
Not Discouraged from Migrating	156	152	100.0	10.5	85.5	3.9
Other and No Answer	33	31	100.0	21.2	57.6	15.2

Continued

Table 29 -- (Continued)

Consideration of Migration, Decision-Making Rights of Parents and Encouragement Given by Parents for Migration	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Not Considering Migration	43	43	100.0	72.1	20.9	7.0
Parents Have Decision- Making Rights	20	20	100.0	65.0	25.0	10.0
Encouraged to Not Migrate	7	7	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Not Discouraged from Migrating	10	10	100.0	40.0	60.0	20.0
Other and No Answer	3	3	100.0	66.7	33.3	0.0
Parents Do Not Have Decision-Making Rights	23	23	100.0	78.3	17.4	4.3
Encouraged to Not Migrate	9	9	100.0	66.7	22.2	11.1
Not Discouraged from Migrating	9	9	100.0	77.7	22.2	0.0
Other and No Answer	5	5	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
No Answer	4	4	100.0	25.0	75.0	

Table 30. --The Percentage Distribution of the Expectation of Students to Migrate by Consideration of Migration, Loyalty Attachments to Parents, and Encouragement Given by Parents for Migration

Consideration of Migration, Attachments to Parents, Encouragement Given by Parents for Migration	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non-Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	269	263	100.0	23.6	70.2	6.5
Considering Migration						
Strong Loyalty Attachment Encouraged to Not Migrate	44	43	100.0	20.9	70.5	6.8
Not Discouraged From Migrating	9	9	100.0	33.3	55.6	11.1
Other and No Answer	28	27	100.0	18.5	81.5	0.0
	7	7	100.0	14.3	57.1	28.6
Medium Strength Loyalty Attachment Encouraged to Not Migrate	56	54	100.0	9.3	79.6	11.5
Not Discouraged From Migrating	11	11	100.0	18.2	63.6	18.2
Other and No Answer	36	35	100.0	5.7	88.6	5.7
	9	9	100.0	12.5	12.5	25.0
Weak Loyalty Attachment Encouraged to Not Migrate	121	118	100.0	13.6	82.8	4.2
Not Discouraged From Migrating	13	13	100.0	15.4	84.6	0.0
Other and No Answer	91	89	100.0	10.1	85.4	4.5
	17	15	100.0	31.3	62.5	6.3
No Answer and Encouraged to Migrate	1	1	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0

Continued

Table 30 -- (Continued)

Consideration of Migration, Attachments to Parents, Encouragement Given by Parents for Migration	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Not Considering Migration						
Strong Loyalty Attachment	15	15	100.0	60.6	26.7	13.3
Encouraged to Not Migrate	5	5	100.0	80.0	20.0	0.0
Not Discouraged From Migrating	9	9	100.0	44.4	33.3	22.2
Other and No Answer	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Medium Strength Loyalty Attachment	13	13	100.0	76.9	15.4	7.7
Encouraged to Not Migrate	4	4	100.0	75.0	0.0	100.0
Not Discouraged From Migrating	5	5	100.0	80.0	20.0	0.0
Other and No Answer	4	4	100.0	75.0	25.0	0.0
Weak Loyalty Attachment	15	15	100.0	80.0	20.0	0.0
Encouraged Not to Migrate	7	7	100.0	85.7	14.3	0.0
Not Discouraged From Migrating	5	5	100.0	60.0	40.0	0.0
Other and No Answer	3	3	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
No Answer	4	4	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0

Table G. --Statistical Tests for Null Hypotheses Based on Hypothesis 6 and Data in Tables 29 and 30.

Null Hypotheses ^a	Chi-square		Degrees of Freedom	Power	Level of	
	Value				Significance	Action
1. For students considering migration, encouragement by parents to migrate is statistically independent of expectation to migrate.	4.23		1	Ata = .10, power is .75>p>.50 ^d	.05>p>.025	Tentatively Reject
2. For students considering migration, encouragement by parents to migrate is statistically independent of expectation to migrate given that students perceive that parents have a decision-making right over their behavior.	4.37 ^b		1	Ata = .10, power is .75>p>.50 ^d	.05>p>.025	Tentatively Reject
3. For students considering migration, encouragement by parents to migrate is statistically independent of expectation to migrate given that students do not perceive that parents have a decision-making right over their behavior.	.146 ^c		1	Ata = .50, power is .75>p>.50 ^e	.75>p>.50	Neither Accept nor Reject
4. For students considering migration, encouragement by parents to migrate is statistically independent of expectation to migrate given strong and medium loyalty relationships.	4.11		1	Ata = .25, power is .80>p>.70 ^d	.05>p>.025	Tentatively Reject
5. For students considering migration, encouragement by parents to migrate is statistically independent of expectation to migrate given strong loyalty bonds with parents.	1.34 ^b		1	Ata = .25 power is .75>p>.50 ^d	.25>p>.10	Tentatively Reject

Continued

Table G -- (Continued)

Null Hypotheses	Chi-square		Degrees of Freedom	Power	Level of	
	Value				Significance	Action
6. For students considering migration, encouragement by parents to migrate is statistically independent of expectation to migrate given medium strength loyalty bonds with parents.	2.06 ^b		1	At $\alpha = .25$ power is .75 > p > .50 ^d	.25 > p > .10	Tentatively Reject
7. For students considering migration, encouragement by parents to migrate is statistically independent of expectation to migrate given weak loyalty bonds with parents.	.006 ^c		1	At $\alpha = .50$ power is .90 > p > .75 ^f	.95 > p > .90	Tentatively Accept

^aTo test the null hypotheses presented in this table the categories "non-migrant" and "don't know" have been combined.

^bThis chi-square value has been adjusted for continuity. For the adjustment, see Edward Paulson and W. Allen Wallis, "Planning and Analyzing Experiments for Comparing Two Percentages," Techniques of Statistical Analysis, ed. C. Eisenhart, M. W. Hastay and W. A. Wallis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947), p. 254.

^cThis chi-square value not adjusted for continuity (not possible to get a lower chi-square value).

^dThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed for this test is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^eThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed for this test is that the observed table came from a population with a distribution as in the contingency table associated with Null Hypothesis 1.

^fThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed for this table is that the observed table came from a population with a distribution as in the contingency table associated with Null Hypothesis 6.

completely consistent with the hypothesis. Thus given the response patterns and the statistical tests, Hypothesis 6 is considered plausible. Additional data is necessary to firmly establish the validity of the proposition.

The response patterns in Tables 29 and 30 are also consistent with Hypothesis 8. As expected for students considering carrying out an act of migration, a lower proportion of students who perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior and who are not encouraged to migrate by their parents expect to migrate than (1) students who perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior. The percentage of students expecting to

migrate and expectation to migrate given the set of students considering migration who have weak loyalty attachments to their parents under the null hypothesis of no association was computed. The test resulted in a probability for the given table or one more extreme of .523. The test does not allow us to make a decision to accept or reject the above null hypothesis. It should be noted that the response pattern associated with the above null hypothesis is the best that could have been obtained from the available data to support Hypothesis 6. Thus given the test and the response pattern one would not want to categorically reject Hypothesis 6.

Relative to the statistical tests conducted, the position taken is that in general the statistical test do indicate the plausibility of Hypothesis 6.

The results of the statistical test as well as the response patterns in Tables 29 and 30 suggest that interaction effects exist between type of particularistic attachment to parents and relational support from parents and expectation to migrate. While relational facilities appears to promote expectation to migrate given students with strong or weak bonds, it may be inferred that such facilities are more necessary for students with strong particularistic attachments than for students with weak attachments. Thus for students who are considering migration and who do not perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior or who have weak loyalty bonds with their parents, encouragement to migrate has little effect upon expectation to migrate when compared to students who are considering migration and who do perceive that their parents have decision making rights over their behavior or who do not have weak loyalty bonds with their parents.

migrate are 61 percent, 86 percent and 82 percent, respectively¹⁰ (see Table 29). Also, as expected for students considering carrying out an act of migration, a lower proportion of students who have strong or medium strength loyalty attachments to their parents and who are not encouraged to migrate by their parents expect to migrate than (1) students who have strong or medium strength loyalty attachments to their parents and who are not discouraged from migrating by their parents, and (2) students who have weak loyalty attachments to their parents. The percentage of students expecting to migrate who have strong or medium strength loyalty attachments to their parents and who are not encouraged to migrate are 56 percent and 64 percent respectively. The percents of students expecting to migrate who have strong or medium strength loyalty attachments to their parents and are not discouraged from migrating are 82 percent and 89 percent, respectively. The percent of students with weak loyalty attachments to their parents expecting to migrate is 83 percent¹¹ (see Table 30). Also, the results of the statistical tests conducted are consistent with Hypothesis 8.¹²

Further examination of the response patterns in Table 29 and 30 suggests that the following hypotheses are plausible:

¹⁰If students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then for the subset of students who are now considering migration; the expected relationship still may be observed.

¹¹If students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then for the subset of students who are now considering migration; the expected relationship still may be observed.

¹²If the data in Tables 29 and 30 are consistent with Hypothesis 8, one would expect to be able to reject or at least not accept the null hypotheses stated in Table H. The null hypotheses associated with Hypothesis 8 can be rejected. Thus one may conclude that the statistical tests conducted support Hypothesis 8.

Table H.--Statistical Tests for Null Hypotheses Based on Hypothesis 8 and Data in Tables 29 and 30^a

Null Hypotheses	Chi-square		Degrees of Freedom	Power	Level of	
	Value				Significance	Action
1. For students considering migration, expectation to migrate is statistically independent of the classification of students into the categories (1) students that perceive their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior and who are encouraged not to migrate by parents, and (2) students that perceive their parents do not have decision-making rights over their behavior or students that perceive their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior and who are not discouraged from migrating by their parents. ^b	6.00		1	At $\alpha = .10$, power is .80 > $p > .70$	.025 > $p > .01$	Reject
2. For students considering migration, expectation to migrate is statistically independent of the classification of students into the categories (1) students with strong or medium strength loyalty attachments to their parents and who are encouraged not to migrate by their parents and (2) students with weak loyalty attachments to their parents or students with strong or medium strength loyalty attachments to their parents and who are not discouraged from migrating by their parents. ^b	4.76		1	At $\alpha = .10$, power is .80 > $p > .70$	.05 > $p > .025$	Reject

^aFor this analysis the category "don't know" has been combined with the category "non-migrant."
^bThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

Hypothesis 9: For students considering migration, a direct relationship exists between the decision-making right parents have over their children after graduation (going from students who perceive that their parents have a decision-making right over their behavior to students who perceive that their parents do not have a decision-making right over their behavior) and expectation to carry out an act of migration, which is independent of the encouragement that parents give to children for carrying out an act of migration.

Hypothesis 10: For students considering carrying out an act of migration and encouraged by their parents not to migrate, a direct relationship exists between strength of loyalty attachment and expectation to migrate.

Hypothesis 11: For students considering carrying out an act of migration and not discouraged by their parents from migrating, type of loyalty attachment has little or no effect upon the expectation to migrate.

Relative to Hypothesis 9, for all students considering migration and for the sub-categories "students encouraged by parents not to migrate" and "not discouraged by parents from migrating," the percent of students not expecting to migrate is greater for students who perceive that their parents have a decision-making right over their behavior after graduation than for those that do not. Correspondingly, for the same categories, the percent of students expecting to migrate is generally less for students who perceive that their parents have a decision-making right over their behavior after graduation than for

those that do not¹³ (see Table 29). The statistical tests conducted generally are consistent with Hypothesis 9.¹⁴ Since the statistical tests do not lead to the rejection of Hypothesis 9, and since the distribution of responses in Table 29 are generally consistent with the hypothesis, the hypothesis will be accepted as a plausible working hypothesis around which additional research may be organized.

Statements similar to those made about Hypothesis 9 may be made for Hypotheses 10 and 11. Relative to Hypothesis 10, for students considering migration and not encouraged by their parents to migrate, the percent of students not expecting to migrate decrease from 33 percent to 15 percent as one goes from students with strong loyalty attachments to their parents to students with weak loyalty attachments. Correspondingly, the percent of students expecting to migrate increases from 56 percent to 85 percent.¹⁵ Relative to Hypothesis 11, there is little difference in the percent of students expecting to migrate among the categories of loyalty attachment given students considering carrying out an act of migration and not discouraged from migrating by parents.

¹³If students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then the relationships expected on basis of Hypothesis 9 still may be observed.

¹⁴If the data in Table 6 is consistent with Hypothesis 9, one would expect to be able to reject Null Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 in Table I. Under the decision rule being used in this study all null hypotheses can be tentatively rejected. (The test of significance for Null Hypothesis 3 in Table I represents a crude approximation of the actual level of significance since the cell expected frequencies for two cells are less than 5). Even though one would feel more confident about the validity of Hypothesis 9 if all the null hypotheses in Table I could have been rejected at a .10 level of significance and if expected cell frequencies for the contingency tables considered were always greater than 5; given the results of the tests, one is inclined to accept Hypothesis 9 as plausible for further investigation.

¹⁵If the students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then the relationships expected on the basis of Hypotheses 10 and 11 still may be observed.

Table 1. --Statistical Tests for Null Hypotheses Based on Hypothesis 9 and Data in Table 29

Null Hypothesis	Chi-square Values	Degrees of Freedom	Power ^a	Level of Significance	Action
1. For students considering migration, expectation to migrate is statistically independent of extent to which students perceive that parents have a decision-making right over their behavior.	2.80	2	At $\alpha = .25$, power is .70 > p > .50	.25 > p > .10	Tentatively Reject
2. For students considering migration, expectation to migrate is statistically independent of extent to which students perceive that parents have a decision-making right over their behavior given the set of students encouraged by parents not to migrate. (To test this null hypothesis the categories "non-migrant" and "don't know" are combined.)	1.42	1	At $\alpha = .25$ power is .70 > p > .50	.25 > p > .10	Tentatively Reject
3. For students considering migration, expectation to migrate is statistically independent of extent to which students perceive that parents have a decision making right over their behavior given the set of students not discouraged by parents from migrating.	9.14 ^b	2	At $\alpha = .05$, power is .80 > p > .70	.025 > p > .01	Reject

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^aThe alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^bMarginals have been used to compute the chi-square values in this test. The test has been corrected for continuity since expected values for 2 cells are small. For the adjustment see Edward Paulson and W. Allen Wallis, "Planning and Analyzing Experiments for Comparing Two Percentages," Techniques of Statistical Analysis ed. C. Eisenhart, M. W. Hastay and W. A. Wallis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1947), p. 259.

Given students considering migration and not discouraged from migrating, 82 percent of the students with strong loyalty attachments expect to migrate, 89 percent of the students with medium strength loyalty attachments expect to migrate, and 85 percent of the students with weak loyalty attachments expect to migrate. The statistical tests conducted are not inconsistent with Hypothesis 10 and 11¹⁶ (see Table J).

Testing Hypothesis 7. -- To determine if the empirical relationship between the aid students can expect from parents after graduation and expectation to migrate for the set of students who are considering migration is as predicted, Table 31 (the distribution of the expectations of students to migrate by consideration of migration and amount of support students can expect from parents after graduation) has been constructed. The response patterns in Table 31 are not consistent with the hypothesis that for students considering migration a direct relationship exists between amount of aid a student can expect from parents after graduation and expectation to migrate. Thus for students considering carrying out an act of migration, the percent of students expecting to migrate is greater for students who can expect some aid from parents after graduation than for students who can expect a great deal of help from their parents. In turn the percent of students expecting to migrate is greater for students who can expect a great deal of help from their parents after graduation than for students who cannot

¹⁶If the data in Table 30 are not inconsistent with Hypotheses 10 and 11, one would expect to be able to reject or at least not accept Null Hypothesis 1 in Table J and to accept Null Hypothesis 2 in Table J. Under the decision rule being used in this study, Null Hypothesis 1 would be tentatively rejected, and Null Hypothesis 2 would be tentatively accepted if the alternative hypothesis is that the observed table for Null Hypothesis 2 came from a population with a distribution the same as that associated with Null Hypothesis 1. Thus given the results of the statistical tests of the null hypotheses in Table J, one is more inclined to accept Hypotheses 10 and 11 as plausible for further investigation than to reject them as untrue.

Table J. -- Statistical Tests for Null Hypotheses Based on Hypotheses 10 and 11, and Data in Table 30

Null Hypotheses	Chi-square		Degrees of Freedom	Power	Level of	
	Value				Significance	Action
1. For students considering migration expectation to migrate is statistically independent of loyalty attachments to parents given the set of students not encouraged to migrate by parents. (To test this hypothesis, the categories non-migrant and "don't know; and strong loyalty attachments and medium strength loyalty attachments have been combined.)	2.402		1	At $\alpha = .25$, power is $.75 > p > .50^a$	$.25 > p > .10$	Tentatively Reject
2. For students considering migration expectation to migrate is statistically independent of loyalty attachments to parents given the set of students not discouraged by parents from migrating. (To test this hypothesis the categories non-migrant and don't know, and strong loyalty attachments and medium strength loyalty attachments have been combined.	.0004		2	At $\alpha = .50$, power is $.90 > p > .75^b$	$p > .95$	Tentatively Accept

^aThe alternative hypothesis for which the power for this test is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the observed table.

^bThe alternative hypothesis for which the power of this test is computed is that the observed table came from a population which has a distribution as in the contingency table associated with Null Hypothesis 1.

Table 31.--The Percentage Distribution of the Expectation of Students to Migrate by Consideration of Migration and Amount of Aid Students Can Expect to Receive from Parents After Graduation

Consideration of Migration and Amount of Aid From Parents	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	269	263	100.0	23.6	70.0	6.5
Considering Migration	222	216	100.0	13.9	79.2	6.5
A Great Deal of Help	27	26	100.0	19.2	73.1	7.7
Some Help	156	152	100.0	11.2	84.2	4.6
No Help	33	32	100.0	25.0	59.4	15.6
No Answer	6	6	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Not Considering Migration	43	43	100.0	72.1	20.9	7.0
A Great Deal of Help	7	7	100.0	71.4	28.6	0.0
Some Help	29	29	100.0	75.9	17.2	6.9
No Help	7	7	100.0	57.1	28.6	14.3
No Answer	0	0	--	--	--	--
No Answer	4	4	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0
A Great Deal of Help	34	35	100.0	28.6	60.0	5.7
Some Help	186	182	100.0	20.9	73.1	4.9
No Help	40	39	100.0	30.8	53.8	15.4
No Answer	9	9	100.0	11.1	88.8	0.0

expect support from their parents after graduation. The percentages are 84, 73, and 57, respectively.¹⁷ Given the response patterns in Table 31, it would appear more reasonable to maintain the proposition that for students considering migration, those who can expect support from their parents after graduation (be it some aid or a great deal of aid) are more likely to migrate than students who cannot expect support from their parents after graduation. The statistical tests conducted support this proposition.¹⁸

For students considering migration it is possible that the expected relationship between amount of support parents are able to give their children after graduation and expectation to migrate was not observable in Table 31 because of the intervening effect of one or more uncontrolled dimensions which have effects upon expectation to migrate. To determine if the expected relationships could be observed when the data are controlled by dimensions which may have effects upon expectation to migrate given consideration of migration, the data were re-tabulated controlling expectation to migrate by the following dimensions in addition to consideration of migration and amount of support a student can expect from parents after graduation (see Tables 32, 33, 34, and 35):

¹⁷If students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then for students now classified as considering migration a higher proportion of students with some aid expect to migrate than students with a great deal of aid; in turn a higher proportion of students with a great deal of aid expect to migrate than students with no aid. This is the same response pattern as observed before the data was re-classified.

¹⁸Under the decision rule being used in this study, the null hypothesis that expectation to migrate is statistically independent of the classification students who can expect aid from their parents after graduation and students who cannot expect aid from their parents given students considering migration is rejected. The test of independence under the null hypothesis resulted in a chi-square value of 8.1150. With two degrees of freedom the above chi-square value would have a level of significance of between .025 and .010. The power of the test at $\alpha = .05$ is $.90 > p > .80$.

Table 32.--The Percentage Distribution of Expectation of Students to Migrate by Consideration of Migration, Desire to Migrate, and Amount of Support Students Can Expect from Parents After Graduation.

Consideration of Migration, Desire to Migrate and Aid From Parents	Population	Number		Total	Expectation to Migrate			
		Responding to Question	Responding to Question		Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know	
Total	269	263	100.0		23.6	70.0	6.5	
Considering Migration	222	216	100.0		13.9	79.2	6.5	
Eager Not to Migrate	6	6	100.0		16.7	83.3	0.0	
A Great Deal of Help	1	1	100.0		0.0	100.0	0.0	
Some Help	5	5	100.0		20.0	80.0	0.0	
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	139	136	100.0		14.7	77.2	8.1	
A Great Deal of Help	16	16	100.0		12.5	75.0	12.5	
Some Help	97	95	100.0		14.7	80.0	5.3	
No Help	22	21	100.0		19.0	61.9	19.0	
No Answer	4	4	100.0		0.0	100.0	0.0	
Eager to Migrate	76	73	100.0		11.0	84.9	4.1	
A Great Deal of Help	10	9	100.0		33.3	66.7	0.0	
Some Help	53	51	100.0		2.0	94.1	3.9	
No Help	11	11	100.0		36.4	54.4	9.1	
No Answer	2	2	100.0		0.0	100.0	0.0	
No Answer	1	1	100.0		100.0	0.0	0.0	
Not Considering Migration								
Eager Not to Migrate	14	14	100.0		71.4	21.4	7.1	
A Great Deal of Help	3	3	100.0		100.0	0.0	0.0	
Some Help	9	9	100.0		66.7	22.9	11.1	
No Help	2	2	100.0		50.0	50.0	0.0	
Not Eager to Stay or Leave	28	28	100.0		71.4	21.4	7.1	
A Great Deal of Help	4	4	100.0		50.0	50.0	0.0	
Some Help	19	19	100.0		78.9	15.8	5.3	
No Help	5	5	100.0		60.0	20.0	20.0	
Eager to Migrate	1	1	100.0		100.0	0.0	0.0	
Some Help	1	1	100.0		100.0	0.0	0.0	
No Answer	4	4	100.0		25.0	75.0	0.0	

Table 33. --The Percentage Distribution of Expectation of Students to Migrate by Consideration of Migration, Encouragement Given by Parents for Carrying Out an Act of Migration, and Amount of Support Students Can Expect from Parents After Graduation

Consideration of Migration, Encouragement Given by Parents for Migration, and Aid from Parents	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	269	263	100.0	23.6	70.0	6.5
Considering Migration	222	216	100.0	13.9	79.2	6.5
Encouraged by Parents						
Not to Migrate	33	33	100.0	21.2	69.7	9.1
A Great Deal of Help	4	4	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0
Some Help	23	23	100.0	21.7	69.6	8.7
No Help	4	4	100.0	25.0	50.0	25.0
No Answer	2	2	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Not Discouraged from						
Migrating by Parents	156	152	100.0	10.5	85.4	3.9
A Great Deal of Help	21	20	100.0	20.0	70.0	10.0
Some Help	107	104	100.0	5.8	92.3	1.9
No Help	25	25	100.0	24.0	68.0	8.0
No Answer	3	3	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
No Answer	33	31	100.0	22.6	67.6	9.7
Not Considering Migration						
Encouraged by Parents						
Not to Migrate	16	16	100.0	81.3	12.5	6.3
A Great Deal of Help	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Some Help	12	12	100.0	75.0	16.7	8.3
No Help	3	3	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
No Answer						
Not Discouraged from						
Migrating by Parents	19	19	100.0	57.9	31.6	10.5
A Great Deal of Help	5	5	100.0	60.0	40.0	0.0
Some Help	11	11	100.0	72.7	18.2	9.1
No Help	3	3	100.0	0.0	66.7	33.3
No Answer						
No Answer	8	8	100.0	87.5	12.5	0.0
No Answer	4	4	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0

Table 34.--The Percentage Distribution of Expectation of Students to Migrate by Consideration of Migration, Attachments to Parents, and Amount of Support Students Can Expect from Parents After Graduation

Consideration of Migration and Attachment to Parents, and Aid from Parents	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non-Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	269	263	100.0	23.6	70.0	6.5
Considering Migration	222	216	100.0	13.9	79.6	6.5
Attachments to Parents	164	159	100.0	17.0	77.4	5.7
A Great Deal of Help	23	23	100.0	17.4	73.9	8.7
Some Help	114	110	100.0	15.5	80.9	3.6
No Help	21	20	100.0	30.0	55.0	15.0
No Answer	6	6	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
No Attachments to Parents	58	57	100.0	5.3	86.0	8.8
A Great Deal of Help	5	5	100.0	20.0	60.0	20.0
Some Help	41	41	100.0	0.0	92.7	7.3
No Help	12	11	100.0	18.2	72.7	9.1
Not Considering Migration	43	43	100.0	72.1	20.9	7.0
Attachments to Parents	35	35	100.0	68.6	22.9	8.6
A Great Deal of Help	6	6	100.0	66.7	33.3	0.0
Some Help	24	24	100.0	70.8	20.8	8.3
No Help	5	5	100.0	60.0	20.1	20.1
No Attachments to Parents	8	8	100.0	87.5	12.5	0.0
A Great Deal of Help	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Some Help	5	5	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
No Help	2	2	100.0	100.0	50.0	50.0
No Answer	4	4	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0

Table 35.--The Percentage Distribution of Expectation of Students to Migrate by Consideration of Migration, Amount of Additional Training Students Expect to Obtain After Graduation, Possession by Students of Jobs in Their Primary Communities After Graduation, and Amount of Support Students Can Expect from Parents After Graduation

Consideration of Migration Expectation for Additional Training, and Possession of Job and Aid from Parents	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Total	269	263	100.0	23.6	70.0	6.5
Considering Migration	222	216	100.0	13.9	79.2	6.5
Job at Home and No Addi- tional Training Desired	9	9	100.0	88.9	11.1	0.0
A Great Deal of Help	2	2	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Some Help	7	7	100.0	83.3	16.7	0.0
No Help	0	0	--	--	--	--
No Answer	0	0	--	--	--	--
No Job at Home and No Ad- ditional Training Desired	98	93	100.0	14.0	77.4	8.6
A Great Deal of Help	7	6	100.0	33.3	66.7	0.0
Some Help	69	66	100.0	10.6	81.8	7.6
No Help	17	16	100.0	25.0	56.3	18.8
No Answer	5	5	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Job at Home and Additional Training Desired	16	16	100.0	25.0	68.8	6.3
A Great Deal of Help	2	2	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Some Help	9	9	100.0	11.1	88.9	0.0
No Help	5	5	100.0	60.0	20.0	20.0
No Answer	0	0	--	--	--	--
No Job at Home and Addi- tional Training Desired	99	98	100.0	5.1	89.8	5.1
A Great Deal of Help	16	16	100.0	6.3	81.3	12.5
Some Help	71	70	100.0	4.3	92.9	2.9
No Help	11	11	100.0	9.1	81.8	9.1
No Answer	1	1	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0

Continued

Table 35 -- (Continued)

Consideration of Migration Expectation for Additional Training, and Possession of Job and Aid from Parents	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Expectation to Migrate		
				Non- Migrants	Migrants	Don't Know
Not Considering Migration	43	43	100.0	72.1	20.9	7.0
Job at Home and No Additional Training Desired	7	7	100.0	85.7	14.3	0.0
A Great Deal of Help	2	2	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Some Help	4	4	100.0	75.0	25.0	0.0
No Help	1	1	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
No Job at Home and No Additional Training Desired	26	26	100.0	88.5	3.8	7.7
A Great Deal of Help	3	3	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Some Help	19	19	100.0	89.4	5.3	5.3
No Help	4	4	100.0	75.0	0.0	25.0
Job at Home and Additional Training Desired	1	1	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
A Great Deal of Help	1	1	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
No Job at Home and Additional Training Desired	9	9	100.0	22.2	66.7	11.1
A Great Deal of Help	1	1	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Some Help	6	6	100.0	33.3	50.0	16.7
No Help	2	2	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
No Answer	4	4	100.0	25.0	75.0	0.0

- (1) Encouragement given to students by their parents for carrying out an act of migration.
- (2) Desire of students to migrate.
- (3) Attachments students have to their parents.¹⁹
- (4) Expectation of students for additional training after high school.
- (5) Possession by students of jobs in their home communities after graduation.

An examination of the response patterns in Tables 32, 33, 34 and 35 consistently do not reveal the expected direct relationship between degree of support a student can expect from parents after graduation and expectation to migrate. However, the data in Tables 32 to 35 are generally consistent with the proposition that for students considering carrying out an act of migration those who can expect aid from parents after graduation are more likely to expect to migrate than students who cannot expect aid from parents.²⁰

Before summarizing the results of this chapter special attention should be given to Table 35 which brings to light several interesting and not unexpected relationships. In trying to determine if a direct relationship existed between the amount of aid students could expect

¹⁹A student is classified as having an attachment to his parents if he believed that his parents have decision-making rights over his behavior after graduation or if a student has more than a weak loyalty attachment to his parents. Correspondingly, a student is classified as having no attachment to his parents if he does not believe that his parents have decision-making rights over his behavior after graduation, or if a student has a weak loyalty attachment to his parents.

²⁰If students who expect to migrate or who are unsure about their migration plans and are not considering migration are re-classified as considering migration, then the data in Tables 32 to 35 would still not be consistent with Hypothesis 7, but generally would be consistent with the proposition that for students considering migration those who can expect aid from parents after graduation are more likely to expect to migrate than students who cannot expect aid from parents.

from their parents after graduation and expectations of students to migrate when controlled by dimensions with possible intervening effects, it seemed plausible to consider factors related to the carrying out of obligations. These factors might have independent effects upon the expectation of students to migrate when consideration of migration is controlled. Given the importance of the perceptions of students of their ability to adequately carry out obligations in their primary communities in predicting consideration of migration, it might be expected that students considering migration who can carry out obligations in their primary communities would be less apt to migrate than students who can not carry out such obligations in their primary communities. Further, since students who select to carry out obligations by going on for additional training after high school tend to be less likely to be able to perform their obligations in their primary communities than those students who selected to carry out their obligations in alternative ways, one might expect that a higher proportion of students who expect to go on for additional training after high school and are considering migration would expect to migrate than students who do not expect to go on for additional training after high school and are considering migration. The data in Table 35 is consistent with both the above propositions. Of the 25 students who have a job available in their primary communities after graduation and are considering migration less than half (48 percent) expect to migrate. This proportion is considerably less than the proportion of students expecting to migrate who do not have jobs available in their primary communities after graduation and are considering migration. For students considering migration who do not have jobs available in their primary communities after graduation 84 percent expect to migrate. Also, for students considering migration, within categories of desire for additional training

and amount of aid students can expect from parents after graduation, similar patterns may be observed.²¹

Relative to expectation for additional training after high school 87 percent of the students expecting to go on for additional training and considering migration reported that they did not expect to be in their home communities six months after graduation whereas 72 percent of those not going on for additional training after high school and considering migration expect to migrate. In addition for students considering migration, within categories of availability of jobs in primary communities and amount of aid students can expect from parents after graduation, similar patterns may be observed.²² Thus for students considering migration, it would appear that a student's possession of a job in his primary community and a student's expectation to obtain additional training must be added to the dimensions that may have independent effects or effects that can not be accounted for in terms of other dimensions upon expectation to migrate. The statistical tests conducted support the above proposition.²³

There also appears to be several interaction effects among the variables presented in Table 35. First, for students considering

²¹Re-classification of students expecting to migrate or unsure about their migration plans and not considering migration as considering migration does not effect the response pattern.

²²Re-classification of students expecting to migrate or unsure about their migration plans and not considering migration as considering migration does not effect the response pattern.

²³If one can reject Null Hypothesis 1, and 3 to 7 in Table K, then one could conclude that the data in Table 35 (summed over aid from parent) is consistent with the proposition that for students considering migration possession by a student of a job in his home community after graduation and the expectation of a student to obtain additional training after graduation both have an effect upon expectation to migration. Since Null Hypotheses 1, and 3 to 7 in Table K are at least tentatively rejected, the data will be considered to be consistent with the stated proposition.

Table K.--Statistical Test for Null Hypotheses Based on Data in Table 35 Summed Over Aid from Parents^a

Null Hypotheses ^b	Chi-square Values	Degrees of Freedom	Power ^c	Level of Significance	Action
1. For students considering migration expectation to migrate, possession by a student of a job in his primary community after graduation, and expectation of a student to obtain additional training after graduation are statistically independent.	29.74	4	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
2. For students considering migration possession by a student of a job in his primary community after graduation and expectation of a student to obtain additional training after graduation are statistically independent.	1.40	1	At $\alpha = .25$, power is $.70 > p > .50$	$.25 > p > .10$	Tenta- tively Reject
3. For students considering migration expectation to migrate is statistically independent of the possession by a student of a job in his primary community after graduation and expectation of a student to obtain additional training after graduation.	28.28	3	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject
4. For students considering migration expectation to migrate is statistically independent of the possession by a student of a job in his primary community after graduation given the expectation of a student to obtain additional training after graduation.	20.45	2	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$	Reject

Continued

Table K -- Continued

Null Hypotheses ^b	Chi-square Values	Degrees of Freedom	Power ^c	Level of Significance		Action
5. For students considering migration expectation to migrate is statistically independent of the expectation of a student to obtain additional training after graduation.	7.82	1	At $\alpha = .05$, power is .90 $> p > .80$	.01	$p > .005$	Reject
6. For students considering migration expectation to migrate is statistically independent of expectation of a student to obtain additional training after graduation given possession by a stu- dent of a job in his primary community after graduation.	13.93	2	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$		Reject
7. For students considering migration expectation to migrate is statistically independent of possession by a student of a job in his primary community after graduation.	14.35	1	At $\alpha = .05$, power is $p > .90$	$p < .005$		Reject

^a For this analysis the category "don't know" has been combined with the category "non-migrant."

^b "Possession by a student of a job in his primary community after graduation" represents the dimension consisting of the categories "students with jobs" and "students without jobs" in their primary communities after graduation.

^c The alternative hypothesis for which the power is computed is that the observed table came from a population which had a distribution as in the observed contingency table.

migration who select not to carry out their obligations by going on for additional training after high school, possession of a job in their primary communities resulted in an extremely high percent of students not expecting to migrate (89 percent). In addition, for this set of students the availability of aid from parents may have little effect upon expectation to migrate. For students considering migration, nearly all students who can expect aid from their parents after graduation who have a job in their primary communities and who are not going on for additional training expect to remain in their primary communities six months after graduation. Of the nine such students, eight are non-migrants. Thus if students expect to carry out their obligations by not going on for additional training, and can carry out their obligations in their primary communities, even though considering an act of migration, they will generally not expect to leave their primary communities immediately after graduation.²⁴

A second interaction effect among the dimensions appears for the set of students considering migration with jobs in their primary communities after graduation who expect to go on for additional training after high school. It appears that the availability of aid from parents after graduation has a very important effect upon their decision to carry out an act of migration. For such students, those that cannot expect aid from their parents after graduation generally do not expect to migrate (1 out of 5 expects to migrate) whereas those that can expect aid expect to migrate (10 out of 11 expect to migrate).²⁵

²⁴Re-classification of students expecting to migrate or unsure about their migration plans and not considering migration as considering migration does not effect the response pattern.

²⁵Re-classification of students expecting to migrate or unsure about their migration plans and not considering migration as considering migration does not effect the response pattern.

Summary

In this chapter the attempt was made to determine what factors help to explain why some students who are considering migration expect to migrate and others do not. Migration has been viewed as an instrumental act. In such acts control over facilities including the collaboration of significant alters has been considered a condition promoting the carrying out of an act. Accordingly, it was expected that a student's access to relational and non-relational facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration would help to explain why some students expect to migrate and others do not. Further, it was expected that the effect of and need for relational facilities would depend upon the type of particularistic attachments that an actor maintained with significant alters. It was assumed that an actor considering migration would be less likely to expect to migrate when an act of migration led to negative sanctions resulting from the disruption or modification of strong particularistic attachments than when it did not unless mechanisms existed for adjusting the actor to the change. Relational support from significant alters was considered a mechanism which helped to counteract negative sanctions incurred as a result of the disruption or modification of strong particularistic attachments to significant alters. Accordingly, it was expected that actors considering migration with strong attachments to significant alters and with relational support from said alters, or without strong attachments to significant alters would be more likely to migrate than actors considering migration with strong particularistic attachments to significant alters and without relational support from said alters. Parents were selected as the set of significant alters upon which to demonstrate the plausibility of the hypotheses. Strength of loyalty attachments and perceived decision-making rights of parents over their children after graduation from high school were selected as dimensions to represent the effects of

particularistic ties upon relational facilities and expectation to migrate. The data presented in this chapter tended to support the plausibility of the hypotheses as stated. In addition, the existence of interaction effects of particularistic ties and relational support upon expectation to migrate were noted. Relative to facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration the following empirical relationships were observed for students considering carrying out an act of migration:

1. Students who are not discouraged from migration by their parents are more apt to expect to migrate than students discouraged from migrating by their parents.
2. Students who have strong or medium strength loyalty attachments or who perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation and are discouraged from migrating by their parents are less apt to expect to migrate than (1) students who had strong or medium strength loyalty bonds or who perceived that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation and are not discouraged from migrating by their parents, and (2) students who have weak loyalty attachments or who do not perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior.
3. Students who have weak loyalty attachments to their parents or who do not perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior appear to have less of a need for relational support from parents for carrying out an act of migration than students who have strong or medium strength loyalty attachments or who perceive that their parents have decision-making rights over their behavior.
4. Students who can expect aid from their parents to carry out an act of migration are more apt to expect to migrate than students who can expect no aid from their parents.

It has been demonstrated that relational and non-relational facilities from parents help to explain expectation to migrate given students who are considering migration. Further, it has been demonstrated that the effect of relational facilities from parents is conditioned by the type and intensity of particularistic attachments that a student has with his parents. The existence of the above relationship leads one to accept the plausibility of the general propositions about the effect of facilities, and particularistic relationship with significant alters upon expectation to migrate. While the plausibility of the general propositions are demonstrated by the use of a single set of alters from which facilities may be obtained and with which particularistic attachments may be maintained, further studies must be undertaken of other facility sources and other types of particularistic attachments if an understanding of the total effect of facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration upon expectation to migrate is to be obtained.

While knowledge of the type of relational and non-relational facilities possessed by students which were useful in carrying out an act of migration increases ones ability to predict expectation to migrate for students considering migration, it was found that certain categories of facilities deterred students considering migration from expecting to migrate. In the process of determining the relationship between aid from parents and expectation to migrate, it emerged that students considering migration who are able to carry out obligations in their primary communities are less apt to migrate than students who may not be able to carry out obligations in their primary communities. Thus students considering migration who had jobs in their primary communities after graduation were less likely to expect to migrate than students considering migration who did not have jobs. This was particularly true for students who did not expect to go on for additional

training after high school. These results suggest that in future studies that consideration should be given to estimating the independent and interaction effects of facilities which tend to encourage actors considering migrating to expect to migrate and of facilities which tend to discourage actors considering migrating from expecting to migrate. More specifically, further consideration should be given to an actor's possession of facilities which allow him to carry out obligations either in his primary community or in an alternative community.

In addition to facilities several other dimensions helped to explain why some students considering migration expected to migrate and others did not. These dimensions were type of particularistic attachments to parents, planning to obtain additional training after high school, and desire to migrate. For students considering migration, particularistic attachments not only conditioned the need for relational support, but appeared to have at the least a conditional effect upon expectation to migrate given relational facilities. Different plausible patterns emerged for the two types of particularistic bond considered. For students considering migration the relationships were as follows:

- (1) A direct relationship exists between the decision-making right students perceived their parents have over them after graduation from high school (going from students who perceived that their parents have a decision-making right to students who perceived that their parents do not have such a right) and expectation to migrate which is independent of the type of encouragement that parents give to their children for carrying out an act of migration.
- (2) For students not discouraged by their parents from migrating, type of loyalty attachments have little or no effect upon expectation to migrate. However, for students encouraged by their parents not to migrate, a direct relationship exists between strength of loyalty attachments and expectation to migrate.

The fact that two types of particularistic attachments to a set of significant alters, parents, appeared to have slightly different effects upon expectation to migrate suggests that other types of attachments to parents may effect the migration plans of students and that particularistic attachments to other significant alters may effect migration plans. Thus in this study selected particularistic ties with parents have been used to demonstrate that particularistic ties should be a variable in an adequate conceptual model of migration. In future studies the effect upon expectation to migrate of particularistic attachments with other sets of significant alters should be explored.

For students considering migration, the ways in which they selected to carry out their obligations also appeared to have an effect upon expectation to migrate. Thus for students considering migration, those planning to go on for additional training after high school were more apt to migrate than those that did not. In addition, relative to status-role expectations and expectation to migrate, several interaction effects emerged. For students considering migration the inter-action effect may be summarized as follows:

- (1) For students who had jobs in their home communities and were planning to go on for additional training after high school, the amount of aid they could expect from their parents had a significant influence upon their decisions to carry out an act of migration.
- (2) For students who had jobs in their home communities and were not planning to go on for additional training after high school not only were relatively few planning to migrate but aid from parents appeared to have had little effect upon expectation to migrate.

It was also found that for students considering migration that a direct relationship existed between desire to migrate and expectation

to migrate. Specification level and community satisfaction did not appear to be strongly associated with expectation to migrate.

For students who have reached the stage in the decision-making process where they are considering migration this chapter has demonstrated that there are factors such as relational and non-relational facilities, planning to go on for additional training, and desire to migrate that promote expectation to migrate, and that there are factors such as particularistic attachments, and ability to carry out obligatory status-role expectations in a primary community that deter expectation to migrate. It also became apparent in this chapter that factors which effect migration expectations have interaction effects as well as independent effects. Not all interaction effects were explored since the population is not of sufficient size to undertake such an analysis. However, in future studies with larger populations, it would be valuable to measure the magnitude of the independent and interaction effects of factors encouraging or discouraging expectation to migrate.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE

This study has been concerned with the initial phase of voluntary migration. A frame of reference was developed for conceptualizing voluntary migration. Relative to this frame of reference a set of propositions was stated which was expected to help explain the initial phase of voluntary migration. High school students from Ontonagon County were selected as a test population upon which to demonstrate the plausibility of the model. This chapter will summarize the results of this study. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, the results of the analysis conducted in terms of the original model will be presented. In the second section, problems that emerged with respect to the original model will be discussed in terms of the modifications necessary to improve the predictive efficiency and explanatory value of the model.

Summary

Frame of reference. -- In this study an act of migration was taken to be any relatively permanent change of residence which an actor makes that necessitates the severance of his face-to-face and day-to-day contacts with members of his concrete interaction systems who do not correspondingly change their residences. Operationally, an act of migration on the part of an actor was a spatial change of residence of sufficient distance that the actor is not able to maintain direct contact with persons in his primary community. An act of migration was conceived of as taking place in the following distinct but

interrelated phases: (1) the initial phase, the period during which a decision is reached by or for an actor to migrate, (2) the journey phase, the period during which an actor is moving from one relatively permanent residence to another; (3) the re-establishment phase, the period during which an actor re-establishes his residence in a new community. This study was concerned only with the initial phase of voluntary migration. Voluntary migration was conceived of as taking place in social situations where the institutionalized alternatives of migrating or not migrating exist, where regardless of the obligatoriness of migrating or not migrating the individual is not objectively forced to migrate or not migrate.

The initial phase of voluntary migration represents the covert part of the migration act. From the actors point of view, the covert part of the act has been viewed as an on going decision-making process in which the actor relative to his evaluation of his situation reaches a decision to carry out an act of migration in at least two analytically separable phases. First, an actor reaches the stage in the covert act when he begins to consider or think about carrying out an act of migration. Second, given that an actor has reached the stage in the act where he is considering migration, he may then proceed to make a definite decision about his migration plans. An actor who is considering migrating is definitely thinking about carrying out an act of migration but may not have made a definite decision to migrate. An actor who expects to migrate has reached a definite decision and is planning to migrate. Thus, consideration of migration has been considered to be temporally prior to or coincident with expectation to migrate. A third dimension, the desire to migrate, was expected to affect both the consideration of migration and expectation to migrate but was not considered to be identical with them. The dimensions "considerations of migration" and "expectation to migrate" emphasize

an actor's cognitive and evaluative interests in the act whereas the desire to migrate emphasizes the primacy of an actor's expressive interest in the act. In the migration process, the desire to migrate could arise at any point in the development of the act. The major focus of this study has been the conceptualization and empirical investigation of the factors that give rise to the desire, the consideration, and the expectation to migrate.

The original explanatory model was conceived in social psychological terms. The model is based upon the point of view of the actor. Further, it was assumed in the model that an act of migration could be explained by viewing it as an instrumental act. In arriving at decisions leading up to migration, it was assumed that actors relative to their belief-value matrices took into account their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life in their primary communities, their degree of attraction to alternative social situations, their status-role obligations (particularly those necessitating staying or leaving), and their perception of the facilities available for moving or not moving. Each actor was considered to relate himself to this situation in terms of belief-value matrices. These matrices, while derived from and capable of being related back to concrete social systems, were taken to represent generalized action orientations. Belief-value matrices consisted of cognitive images ranked along generalized dimensions in terms of sentiments. Between dimensions, images were related by means-ends beliefs or generalized expectations. Relative to generalized dimensions, those images and beliefs which were perceived of as being directly gratifying or as instrumentally desirable or necessary, and which were accordingly ranked high along general dimensions were referred to as attractions. The combination of such beliefs and images which were perceived of as realistically possible and which were most attractive to the actor at a given point in time were referred to as attraction standards. It was assumed that attraction standards would

be the criterion upon which a situation or course of action would be evaluated as attractive or unattractive.

Desire to migrate. -- It was expected that an actor's degree of expressive interest in migration would depend upon the attractiveness of his primary community as compared to the attractiveness of alternative communities. Thus two subsets of attraction standards were expected to help explain desire to migrate. They were factors that contribute to an actor's level of primary community satisfaction and factors that contribute to an actor's specification level, the extent to which an actor perceives that his specifications for an ideal community cannot be met in his primary community or conversely the extent to which an actor perceives that his specification for an ideal community can be met in communities other than his primary community. Accordingly, it was expected that knowledge of an actor's community satisfaction and specification level, as intervening variables reflecting the effect of attraction standards, would help to explain why some students desired to migrate and some did not. Community satisfaction represented an index of the extent to which an actor evaluated his concrete situation viewed as a whole as gratifying or noxious, or as desirable or undesirable for instrumental purposes. Specification level represented a summary index of the extent to which the realistically possible attributes that an actor designated as highly desirable to have in a community could not be found in his primary community. Relative to the test population, community satisfaction and specification level did help to explain desire to migrate. As predicted, an inverse relationship existed between community satisfaction and desire to migrate that was independent of specification level; and a direct relationship existed between specification level and desire to migrate that was independent of community satisfaction.

Consideration of migration. -- While it was expected that an actor's perception of the relative attractiveness of social situations would be of primary importance in accounting for desire to migrate, it was expected that an actor's cognitive and evaluative orientations rather than cathectic would be of primary importance in accounting for consideration of migration. Thus, it was expected that in order to explain why some actors are considering migration and others are not that one would have to take into account an actor's perception of the extent to which major obligations cannot be carried out in his primary community in addition to factors that make migration desirable or undesirable. It should be noted that unlike community satisfaction and specification level, the effects of beliefs about the more obligatory aspects of status-roles do not depend upon their ranking along generalized dimensions in terms of sentiments. The importance of status-role expectations depends upon the extent to which actors perceive that they are obligatory.

It was predicted that factors that contribute to desire to migrate would also contribute to consideration of migration. The assumption here is that the more desirable an action the more apt an actor is to be considering carrying it out. However, it was also predicted that generalized dimensions of ranked or non-ranked images and beliefs relating to obligations would be more important as determinants of consideration of migration than the relative attractiveness of situations. Accordingly, with respect to the test population in addition to an inverse relationship between community satisfaction and consideration of migration and a direct relationship between specification level and consideration of migration, it was expected (1) that there would be a direct association between the perceptions of students that obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities and the consideration of migration which could not be accounted for in terms of

the desire to migrate, specification level, or community satisfaction; and (2) that given that students perceive that major obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities, there would be little or no association between community satisfaction, specification level, or desire to migrate and consideration of migration.

For high school students nearing graduation, the obligations selected to demonstrate the plausibility of the hypotheses was that after graduation students must actively engage in establishing themselves in a vocation by either getting a full time job, getting married, or by continuing their education in preparation for a more or less specific occupation. While other obligations undoubtedly exist for high school students, the obligations selected were considered to be among the most binding, and to apply to all students. Accordingly, it was expected that some indication of the effect of obligations upon consideration of migration could be estimated from the necessity that high school students actively engage in establishing themselves in vocations.

The evidence presented in Chapter Five tended to support some but not all of the stated hypotheses. The evidence supported the proposition that the more desirable actors perceived migration to be, the more apt they are to be considering migrating. An inverse relationship was found to exist between community satisfaction (indifferent and dissatisfied categories combined) and consideration of migration which was independent of specification level. A direct relationship was found to exist between specification level and consideration of migration which was independent of community satisfaction. Further, a direct relationship was found to exist between desire to migrate and consideration of migration.

The evidence presented in Chapter Five did not completely support the proposition that obligations are more important as determinants of consideration of migration than factors associated with the relative

attractiveness of situations. The evidence did support the contention that obligations play a critical and perhaps independent part in determining consideration of migration. With respect to obligations the following relationships were demonstrated for the test population.

- (1) "The extent to which students perceived that major obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities" was an important dimension having a direct relationship with consideration of migration which could not be accounted for in terms of level of community satisfaction, specification level, or desire to migrate and which most likely was independent of specification level and community satisfaction.
- (2) While there was no conclusive evidence to support the proposition that if students perceive that major obligations cannot be carried out adequately in their primary communities, that all other attraction dimensions would have little or no effect upon consideration of migration, it did appear that if they perceived that major obligations could not be adequately carried out in their primary communities that the association between desire to migrate, specification level, or community satisfaction and consideration of migration was considerably reduced. Further, the predicted relationship was observed for desire to migrate, and community satisfaction.

Expectation to migrate. --In the original model presented in Chapter One it was assumed in concrete social situations that an actor's plans to carry out an instrumental action that he was considering such as migration were contingent upon relations with and actions of significant alters and upon the control over facilities useful and necessary for the action. Thus, in an instrumental act, control over relational and non-relational facilities was considered to be a condition promoting an actor's plans to carry out an act. Further, it was expected that



the effect of and need for relational facilities would depend upon the type of particularistic attachments that an actor maintained with significant alters. Accordingly, it was expected that for actors who had reached the stage in the covert part of an act of migration where they were considering migration that they would be more apt to expect to migrate if they had relational and non-relational facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration than if they did not have such facilities. Further, for actors considering migration, it was expected that actors with strong particularistic attachments to significant alters and with relational support from said alters, or actors without strong attachments to significant alters would be more likely to be expecting to migrate than actors with strong particularistic attachments to significant alters and without relational support from said alters. Parents were selected as the set of significant alters upon which to demonstrate the plausibility of the above hypothesis. "Strength of loyalty attachments" and "perceived decision making rights of parents over their children after graduation from high school" were selected as dimensions to represent the effect of particularistic ties upon the relationship between relational facilities and expectation to migrate. The data presented in Chapter Six tended to support the stated proposition about the relationship among the dimensions. In addition, the data supported the proposition that for actors who are considering migration those who have weak particularistic attachments to significant alters have less need for relational support from said alters than those who have strong particularistic attachments to significant alters.

Relative to facilities useful in carrying out an act of migrating the following empirical relationships were observed for students considering carrying out an act of migration:

1. Students who were not discouraged from migration by their parents were more apt to expect to migrate than students discouraged from migrating by their parents.

2. Students who could expect aid from their parents to carry out an act of migration were more apt to expect to migrate than students who could expect no aid from their parents.
3. Students who had strong or medium strength loyalty attachments or who perceived that their parents had decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation and were discouraged from migrating by their parents were less apt to expect to migrate than (1) students who had strong or medium strength loyalty bonds or who perceived that their parents had decision-making rights over their behavior after graduation and were not discouraged from migrating by their parents, and (2) students who had weak loyalty attachments or who did not perceive that their parents had decision-making rights over their behavior.
4. Students who had weak loyalty attachments to their parents or who did not perceive that their parents had decision-making rights over their behavior appeared to have less of a need for relational support from parents for carrying out an act of migration than students who had strong or medium strength loyalty attachments or who perceived that their parents had decision-making rights over their behavior.

It should be noted that the plausibility of the general propositions is demonstrated by the use of a single set of significant alters from which facilities may be obtained and with which particularistic attachments may be maintained. However, further studies should be undertaken of other facility sources and other types of particularistic attachments if an understanding of the total effect of facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration upon expectation to migrate is to be obtained.

While knowledge of the type of relational and non-relational facilities possessed by a student which were useful in carrying out an act of migration increases ones ability to predict expectation to migrate for students considering migration, it was found that certain categories of facilities deterred students considering migration from expecting to migrate. In the process of determining the relationship between aid from parents and expectation to migrate, it emerged that students considering migration who were able to carry out obligations in their primary communities were less apt to migrate than students who were not able to carry out obligations in their primary communities. Thus, students considering migration after graduation who had jobs in their primary communities were less likely to expect to migrate than students who did not have jobs. This was particularly true for students who did not expect to go on for additional training after high school. These results suggest that in future studies that consideration should be given to estimating the independent and interaction effects of facilities which tend to promote actors considering migrating to expect to migrate and of facilities which tend to deter actors considering migrating from expecting to migrate.

In addition to facilities several other dimensions helped to explain why some students considering migration expected to migrate and why some did not. These dimensions were type of particularistic attachments to parents, plans to obtain additional training after high school, and desire to migrate. For students considering migration particularistic attachments not only conditioned the need for relational support, but also appeared to have effect upon expectation to migrate which could not be accounted for in terms of relational facilities. Different patterns emerged for the two types of particularistic bonds considered. For students considering migration the relationships were as follows:

- (1) A direct relationship existed between the decision-making rights students perceived their parents had over them after

graduation from high school (going from students who perceived that their parents have a decision-making right to students who perceived that their parents did not have such a right) and expectation to migrate which was independent of the type of encouragement that parents give to their children for carrying out an act of migration.

- (2) For students not discouraged by their parents from migrating, type of loyalty attachments had little or no effect upon expectation to migrate. However, for students encouraged by their parents not to migrate, a direct relationship existed between strength of loyalty attachments and expectation to migrate.

The fact that two types of particularistic attachments to a set of significant alters, parents, appeared to have slightly different effects upon expectation to migrate suggests that other types of attachments to parents may affect the migration plans of students and that particularistic attachments to other significant alters may also affect migration plans. Thus, in this study selected particularistic ties with parents demonstrate that particularistic ties should be a variable in an adequate conceptual model of migration. In future studies the effect upon expectation to migrate of particularistic attachments with other sets of significant alters should be explored.

In future studies it also appears reasonable to investigate the proposition that for actors who have reached the stage in the migration act where they are considering migration that the way in which they select to carry out major obligations has an effect upon expectation to migrate. Also, one should investigate the proposition that in conjunction with the ability of actors to perform major status-role expectations, the way in which actors select to carry out obligations has an effect upon the need for non-relational facilities. The need to investigate the above relationship was suggested by the following results. For students considering migration, those planning to go on for additional

training after high school were more apt to migrate than those that do not. In addition, relative to status-role expectations and expectation to migrate, several interaction effects emerged. For students considering migration, the interaction effect may be summarized as follows:

- (1) For students who had jobs in their home communities and were planning to go on for additional training after high school, the amount of aid they could expect from their parents had a significant influence upon their decisions to carry out an act of migration.
- (2) For students who had jobs in their home communities and were not planning to go on for additional training after high school not only were relatively few planning to migrate but aid from parents appeared to have little effect upon expectation to migrate.

It was also found that for students considering migration that a direct relationship existed between desire to migrate and expectation to migrate. Specification level and community satisfaction did not appear to be strongly associated with expectation to migrate. Thus the expressive interests of actors in migration does appear to have an effect upon the expectation of actors to migrate.

In the original model it was expected that facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration as conditioned by particularistic ties would in general account for an actors expectation to migrate given that the actors had reached the stage in the migration process that they were considering migration. It was demonstrated that facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration helped to explain why some students who were considering migration expected to migrate and why some did not, and that particularistic ties effect the need for relational support from significant alters to carry out an act of migration. However, it

also became apparent that factors such as the way in which actors expected to carry out obligations, the ability of actors to carry out such obligations in their primary communities, the type and intensity of particularistic attachments actors have to significant alters, and the desire of actors to migrate had an effect upon expectation to migrate given consideration of migration. Although not adequately demonstrated it did appear that the above factors may have had effects upon expectation to migrate which could not be accounted for in terms of facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration. Therefore, before additional studies are conducted it would appear necessary to revise the present model to include factors which tend to deter expectation to migrate as well as factors that tend to promote expectation to migrate given consideration of migration. Further, since it became apparent in Chapter Six that factors which affect expectation to migrate have interaction effects as well as main effects, it would be valuable in future studies where the populations are of sufficient size to measure the magnitude of the main and interaction effects of factors encouraging or discouraging expectation to migrate given consideration of migration.

Limitations of the study as conducted. -- A major object of this study has been to determine the plausibility of the hypotheses stated in Chapter One. The writers ability to adequately accomplish this task was severely limited by the size of the test population. Because the population contained only 269 individuals, it was not possible to approximate experimental designs by simultaneously controlling all variables that may effect a given dependent variable. Further, the study design did not allow for randomization of uncontrolled dimensions. Thus, while control of major dimensions was maintained in the study, it was not possible to determine the independent affect of an independent variable upon a dependent variable relative to all other variables that may have an effect upon the dependent variable.

The ability to construct instruments to concisely identify the extent to which individuals had different orientations, obligations, and facilities was also effected by the size of the population. Continuous variables had to be represented by discrete variables. In many cases contiguous categories of discrete variables had to be combined to maintain adequate marginal and cell frequencies in contingency tables. If the population had been larger the above procedure may not have been necessary. The need to combine categories arose with respect to the operationalization of community satisfaction, specification level, obligations, encouragement given by parents for carrying out an act of migration, and particularistic attachments to parents.

The size of the population also effected the statistical tests conducted. For a given degree of association, as the sample size decreases, it becomes increasingly difficult to make a decision to accept or reject a hypothesis.

In addition to limitations imposed upon the study by population size, the precise determination of relationships was also effected by the actual instruments employed in the study. Some of the instruments used were not constructed so as to elicit the responses necessary to identify important changes in the positions of individuals along a variable. This was particularly true for desire to migrate.

Questions regarding the validity and reliability of several of the instruments can also be raised. In Chapter Five problems emerged with respect to consideration and expectation to migrate. It was found that some students not considering migration did expect to migrate. If it is assumed that expecting to migrate implies considering migration, then the above response pattern requires interpretation. The response pattern may represent simple response errors, or the pattern may reflect a student's position (see Chapter 6, footnote 3). Thus the instruments used to measure consideration of migration and expectation

to migrate should be revised to either reduce response errors or to identify the appropriate substantive meanings of the responses.

Further it was noted that the question used to ascertain if a student perceived that the educational facilities of his primary community were adequate had a tendency to confound the evaluation of educational facilities with the evaluation of other cultural facilities. In future studies the question used to evaluate educational facilities should be modified so that only an evaluation of educational facilities is obtained. In addition it would be worthwhile before other studies are conducted to re-evaluate all instruments with respect to their unidimensionality.

Also the reliability of the variable "the extent to which obligations can be adequately carried out in primary communities" might have been improved if direct measures of the variable had been used instead of indirect measures.

Critique

Introduction. --In the previous section a summary of the results of this study was presented. The results indicated that the model used did allow one to predict desire to migrate, consideration of migration, and expectation to migrate. However, in the processes of carrying out this study the writer became more and more aware that the original model had weaknesses that need to be corrected before the model is used again. In this section problems that emerged with respect to the original model will be discussed in terms of the modifications necessary to improve the predictive efficiency and explanatory value of the model. After reconsidering the factors associated with desire to migrate, consideration of migration, and expectation to migrate, a revised model will be presented.

Reconsideration of the factors affecting desire to migrate. --In this study the desire to migrate was taken to represent an actors

expressive interest in migration--the extent to which an actor would or would not like to carry out an act of migration. It was demonstrated that two dimensions, community satisfaction and specifications level, helped to predict the desire of actors to migrate. Together the dimensions indicated the attractiveness of social situations relative to specific concrete social systems. However, neither together nor separately did the two dimensions completely account for the desire of students to migrate. The desire of students to migrate may not have been accounted for because there were factors not considered that promoted or deterred desire to migrate. The fact that most but not all students dissatisfied with their primary communities and in specification level 3 were eager to migrate leads one to suspect that there are factors operating which affect desire to migrate even when the act would appear to be desirable. Thus it might be that even though a total community situation is rated as undesirable by actors that they have bonds perhaps obligatory in nature which they recognize must be carried out in their primary communities or which they are willing to carry out. The existence of such bonds may result in an awareness on the part of actors that migration cannot easily take place. The fact that an act of migration cannot easily be completed may result in a lowering of the desire to migrate. It does not seem unreasonable to expect that the desire of actors to carry out a specific course of action may in part be related to their perception of the accessibility of the end of the action. In future studies the validity of the following proposition should be examined:

The desire of actors to migrate is in part a function of their control over facilities useful in carrying out an act of migration, of their ability to carry out (including an assessment of the adequacy) major status obligations in their primary community, and of their perception that duties exist

which even though negatively evaluated from the point of view of the actors can only be fulfilled in their primary communities.

In addition to dissatisfied students in level 3 who were not eager to migrate, it was also found that there were satisfied students in level 1 who were eager to migrate. The existence of the above relationship again suggests that factors other than those contributing to the relative attractiveness of a given situation exists which may promote the desire to migrate. One such factor may be the desire of actors to obtain new experience. Unlike community satisfaction and specification level, the extent to which an actor would like to have new experiences represents the extent to which a change of communities would result in increasing their gratification. Such a dimension may help to account for why some actors who were satisfied with their communities and whose specifications could be met in their home communities were not "eager not to migrate."

As for the previously stated proposition about the accessibility of the end of an action process, in future studies of initial phase of voluntary migration it would be worthwhile to determine if the dimension "desire for new experience" has an effect upon desire to migrate which cannot be accounted for in terms of community satisfaction or specification level. However, it is still the writer's opinion that desire to migrate can be primarily accounted for in terms of the relative attractiveness of situations. In addition to taking into account the possible effects of the desire for new experience and the accessibility of migration as an end upon desire to migrate, it is believed that considerable improvement in the prediction of both the desire to migrate and consideration of migration can be accomplished by improving the instruments for measuring community satisfaction and specification level. In the next section problems that emerged with respect to community satisfaction and specification level will be discussed.

Reconsideration of community satisfaction and specification

levels. --It has been demonstrated that both community satisfaction and specification level whether viewed as general evaluated beliefs (gestalts) or as hypothetical constructs derived from attraction standards have important and independent effects upon desire to migrate and consideration of migration. The fact that the two dimensions as operationalized did have effects independent of each other upon desire to migrate and consideration of migration makes the assumption that they do not represent the same underlying dimension seem plausible. However, while community satisfaction and specification level had independent effects upon desire to migrate and consideration of migration, it was demonstrated in Chapter Four and Appendix One that they are not independent of each other. Thus, it can be expected that obtaining more information about what the dimensions represent to actors in given situations would allow one to improve the predictive efficiency and the explanatory value of the measures. Knowing more about the content of the dimensions would allow one to more adequately distinguish the dimensions. If information about the specific content of various levels of community satisfaction and specification levels were available, one would not only have knowledge of the attraction standards that contribute to the relative attractiveness of a given situation but the necessary information to more accurately assess their independent and interaction effects upon desire to migrate and consideration of migration. If one could construct content variables of the following sort: A and not B, A and B, not A and B, where A refers to set of conditions contributing to community satisfaction for a given set of actors and B refers to the content of a specification level for the same set of actors; one could construct orthogonal dimensions in which the effect of one dimension did not reflect the effects of the others. One would expect that predictive efficiency would be improved by such variables.

A knowledge of the content of community satisfaction and specification level would have additional advantages. One should not discount the possibility that a given level of community satisfaction or specification level may have associated with it different orientations to action and to objects of action, and differential abilities to act in terms of orientations. Further, it would not be unexpected that actors with similar levels of community satisfaction and/or specification levels but different orientations to action and objects of action as well as differential abilities to act in terms of orientations may not have the same expressive interest in migration and may not have reached the same decision relative to consideration of migration. Thus, given a knowledge of the content of the two dimensions one would be in a position to determine if specific content factors have effects upon desire to migrate and consideration of migration which cannot be accounted for in terms of the general dimensions. Further, one would also be in a position to determine if specific content factors can account for effect of the general dimensions and accordingly be substituted for them. Also, an examination of the possible content of the two general dimension would allow one to determine to what extent general dimensions represent gestalts which cannot be accounted for in terms of specific content. Thus it is the writer's opinion that an analysis of the content of the two general dimensions would not only lead to a better understanding of substantive meaning of the dimensions, but would most likely lead to the development of better instruments for predicting both desire to migrate and consideration of migration. Thus, in future studies it is considered essential that consideration be given to the content of the dimensions.

Even without specific knowledge of the content community satisfaction and specification level, the predictive efficiency of the dimensions can still be improved. From the actors point of view, the attractiveness of social situations is a relative thing. The relative

attractiveness of a situation in part depends upon an actor's level of community satisfaction which among other things is an indicator of degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction an actor will derive from his ability to participate in an actual participation in the ongoing life in his community of residence. The relative attractiveness of a situation also depends upon the extent to which an actor perceives that specifications for an ideal community can be met in given types of communities. The extent to which an actor's specifications can be met in a given type of community represents an index of the availability of positively and non-negatively evaluated characteristics in a community and does not necessarily indicate an actor's assessment of his ability to participate in community life. In this study only the extent to which specifications could be carried out in an actor's primary community was measured. If a student perceived that his specification could not be met in his primary community, it was taken to indicate that his specifications could best be met in an alternative community. Correspondingly, if a student perceived that his specification could be met in his primary community, it was assumed that his specifications could best or at least could adequately be carried out in his primary community. However, it is possible that an actor may perceive that this specification can be met in his primary community and still believe that his specification can best be met in another similar or dissimilar type of community, or that an actor may perceive that some of his specification can be met in his primary community but that more of them can be met in an alternative types of communities. Such situations were not adequately controlled in this study. Since an actor may compare the extent to which his specifications can be carried out in his primary community with the extent to which they can be carried out in alternative communities, it is suggested that for future studies instruments be constructed to measure both the extent to which an actor perceives

that his specifications can be met in his primary community and the extent to which he perceives that they can be met in alternative types of communities. Controlling factors that can be expected to have an effect upon desire to migrate and consideration of migration (including the extent to which an actor perceives that his specifications can be met in his primary community), it is expected that actors will desire and be considering moving towards a type of community wherein specifications can best be met. It should be noted that both "the extent to which an actor perceives that specification can be met in his primary community" and "the extent to which an actor perceives that specifications can be met in an alternative community" are expected to have effects upon desire to migrate and consideration of migration which cannot be accounted for in terms of each other.

Reconsideration of the factors affecting consideration of migration. --Originally it was felt that consideration of migration could be explained primarily in terms of obligatory status-role expectations that necessitated migrating or not migrating. It was expected that an actor's perception of the extent to which major obligations could or need to be carried out in his primary community or in alternative communities would be more important in determining consideration of migration than the relative attractiveness of situations as measured by community satisfaction and specification level. Beliefs about obligations were expected to effect an actor's decision to consider migrating whether or not he positively or negatively evaluated the performance of the action associated with the belief. The data from this study did indicate that obligations have an important effect upon consideration of migration that cannot be accounted for in terms of other factors considered. It was demonstrated that for high school students that the adequacy with which major and perhaps most institutionalized obligations could be carried out adequately in the primary communities had an effect upon consideration of migration that could not be accounted for in terms of the

relative attractiveness of situations or the desire to migrate. It was further demonstrated that the beliefs of students that major obligations could not be adequately carried out in their primary communities did not account for total effect of specification level, community satisfaction, or desire to migrate upon consideration of migration. However, in spite of the above fact, the writer still believes that obligatory status-role expectations play the critical role in accounting for an actor reaching a decision to consider carrying out an act of migration. The expected effect of obligations may not have been observed for the following reasons:

1. The operational procedures used in this study did not adequately distinguish actors who perceived that their obligations could adequately be carried out in their primary communities from those who perceived that they could not.
2. No attempt was made to determine if the actual ability of actors to perform the obligations in their primary community effected consideration of migration.
3. No attempt was made to determine if obligations of actors other than the ones considered, particularly those that can only be performed within an actor's primary community, had an effect upon consideration of migration.

Since each of the above conditions could account for why the expected relationship was not observed, in future studies consideration should be given to them. However, it is felt that the major reason the expected relationship was not observed was the failure to control for the effects of all major obligations. Failure to control for more than one type of obligation in part derives from the fact that in the original model the types of obligations that ought to be investigated were not adequately specified. The writer now feels that two types of obligatory expectations are of critical importance in explaining

consideration of migration. They are (1) status obligations, and (2) primary role obligations. Each of these types will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Status obligations are highly institutionalized expectations which designate a set of status-role alternatives from which an actor at a given stage in his life cycle must select to carry out at least one. Status obligations do not designate the specific type of social system in which an actor is expected to seek membership, nor do they prescribe the type of interaction behavior within a given system that an actor is expected to perform. The actor has the decision-making right to select from among a set of status-role alternatives. As highly institutionalized expectations, one can expect that significant alters, as well as other community members, will hold the actor to carrying out the expectations. It is the type of expectation that significant alters who may have no strong commitment to holding the actor to his obligations may do so because of their sensitivity to outside reactions. Further being highly institutionalized throughout a society, it is expected that in general an actor will have knowledge of his status obligations, will accept his status obligation as proper for a person at his stage in the life cycle, and will be committed to carrying them out. It should be noted that to the extent that the above statement is true that ability to perform one or more of the set of status-role alternatives of a status obligation in a community may be part of an actor's specifications. It should also be noted that the expectation that high school students after graduation must actively engage in establishing themselves in a vocation is a status obligation.

If an actor can be expected to perform status obligations because they are institutionalized, there are other sets of obligatory expectations which an actor can be expected to perform not so much because they represent expectations that are institutionalized throughout a society,

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but because they represent the demands of alters who are in direct and continuous contact with the actor in his concrete situation. Thus, it would appear that a second set of obligatory expectations that can be expected to have an important and perhaps independent effect upon consideration of migration are those that emerge as a result of ongoing interaction processes. Such expectations are not necessarily institutionalized throughout a society or even a community, but they designate how an actor given his status-roles in concrete groups must behave if he is not to be the recipient of extensive negative sanctions from group members. Such expectations are truly status-role expectations. Emphasizing the role aspect of such relationships, they will be designated as role obligations.

Relative to consideration of migration, not all role obligations are expected to be of equal importance. It is considered necessary to assess the effects of role obligations wherein the actor perceives that alters have sanctioning power over his behavior outside the community of residence in which both actor and alter reside. In such situations, it may be irrelevant to determine whether or not the actor perceives that alter has legitimate rights over his behavior. It is expected that alters will have sanctioning powers that extend beyond the concrete systems of which both actor and alter are members when the actor has particularistic diffuse attachments to the alters and to the group of which they are both members and tends to be collectivity oriented. In such situations it may be almost an obligation for the actor to remain as a participating member of the group. It is further expected that such conditions are most likely to be found in primary groups like the family where the actors have maintained high levels of interaction with group members over a long period of time. Thus, a role obligation will be called a primary role obligation when as a result of continuous intense and frequent interaction in primary groups an actor perceives

that alters have sanctioning power over his behavior outside his community of residence.

It is expected that status obligations and primary role obligations are the critical factors that will account for consideration of migration. Thus in future studies it will be necessary to determine if status obligation and primary role obligations have important and independent effects upon consideration of migration; if together they can account for the effect of specification levels, desire for new experience, community satisfaction, and desire to migrate upon consideration of migration. In determining the effect of status obligations and primary role obligation upon consideration of migration, it is necessary to take into consideration the extent to which actors perceive that status obligations and primary role obligations can and need to be carried out in their primary communities or in alternative communities, and the extent to which actors perceive that they can adequately be performed in primary communities or in alternative communities.

Reconsideration of the factors affecting expectation to migrate. --

It had been predicted that once actors had reached the stage in the migration process where they were considering migration that they would be planning to migrate if they had relational and non-relational facilities useful in carrying out the act. It was subsequently demonstrated that in addition to the possession by actors of relational and non-relational facilities other factors such as the ability of actors to perform status obligations in their primary communities and the particularistic ties of actors had effects upon the expectations of actors to migrate. Since factors other than facilities effect expectation to migrate, the model should be revised to take into consideration factors known or expected to have an effect upon expectation to migrate. However, even though factors other than facilities useful in carrying out the act effect expectation to migrate, in the revised model it will still be assumed that facilities are still the key factor accounting for

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expectation to migrate. It is assumed that when actors have reached the stage in the migration process where they are considering migrating that there exists relative to their situations a set of facilities the control of which will result in their planning to migrate. An actor's need for facilities is now a function of his situation. Different situations can be expected to have different facility requirements. The problem of the original model was that it did not adequately specify or suggest the set of facilities that actors must control in given situations if they are to be both considering and expecting to migrate. The original model indicated only that some facilities were a necessary condition for expectation to migrate; it did not indicate what facilities were necessary.

For actors considering migration, it is now felt that the set of facilities which will result in actors planning to migrate are related their perceptions of their situations with respect to factors that deter migration. Unless mechanisms exist to counteract them, the factors which deter planning to migrate tend to be related to the abilities, the willingness, and the responsibilities of actors to perform status-role expectations in their primary communities. It is assumed that for each factor which may tend to deter planning to migrate there exists one or more facilities which will counteract the restraining factors. Thus it is expected that actors with differential abilities, willingness, and responsibilities to perform status-role expectations in their primary communities will have to have different sets of facilities if they are to go from just considering migration to expecting to migrate. Granting that different situations have different facility requirements, in future studies in order to facilitate the discovery of the set of facilities required under different conditions, one ought to construct a typology of situations with expected different facility requirements. The typology may be based upon the following dimensions:

- (1) The extent to which actors have strong particularistic collectivity orientations to groups or collectivities in their communities of residence. (The existence of such orientations may indicate that actors have a responsibility to remain in direct contact with groups or collectivities in their communities of residence.)
- (2) The extent to which the particularistic collectivity orientations of actors result in demands (obligations) being made upon them not to migrate.
- (3) The extent to which the types of status obligation actors select to carry out can be carried out adequately or inadequately in their primary communities.
- (4) The extent to which actors can carry out status obligations other than the type they would prefer to carry out in their primary communities.

In addition to some control over facilities to transport and re-establish themselves in new communities and to dispose of unnecessary or nontransportable possessions, the following statements represent a preliminary list of the type of facilities that actors must have to overcome primary community conditions that tend to deter migration:

- (1) If actors have strong particularistic collectivity orientations they must have strong relational support for migration from one or more significant alters.
- (2) If actors are able to carry out status obligations in their primary communities they must be able to carry out their status obligations at least as adequately in alternative communities.

Attraction standards reconsidered. --Originally the concept "attraction standards" was viewed as a useful way of conceptualizing the criterion in terms of which the attractiveness of a given situation

relative to alternatives could be determined. Thus given knowledge of the attraction standards in terms of which the relative attractiveness of situations could be ascertained, one would be able to determine if migration or non-migration was an end that actors desired and (obligations controlled) were considering. However, it now appears that if one accepts the original formulation he must make assumptions that may not be reasonable. If one is willing to assume that community satisfaction and specification level are not beliefs about situations, but are hypothetical constructs derivable from appropriate attraction standards that yield information about the end of an act of migration that is desired and being considered, then the model need not be revised. However, if one insists that an actor's level of community satisfaction and or specification level are or may be evaluated beliefs about situations, and accordingly an element in an actor's belief-value matrix, then one is in the position of stating that low ranked beliefs yield significant information about the end of an action. This is equivalent to stating that beliefs that are not part of attraction standards are the criterion in terms of which a situation may be perceived as attractive or unattractive. However, one may still accept the original formulation if one is willing to assert that general beliefs such as community satisfaction and specification level which summarize an actor's perception and evaluation of total situations are less permanent than attraction standards, and are preceded in time by attraction standards from which they are derived. If one accepts the above statement, then one is in the position of asserting that the perception and evaluation of specific images and beliefs that contribute to community satisfaction or specification level occur prior to the perception and evaluation of the situations as a totality. Without empirical evidence, the writer is unwilling to assert that an evaluation of a total situation, a gestalt, necessarily comes after or is less permanent than the evaluation of the parts that make up the total situation, or that the evaluation

of the parts of a total situation can always account for an evaluation of the total situation. At this time it would appear preferable to drop the idea of attraction standards, and to assume the conceptually less complicated position that an actor's desire to carry out an act and an actor's consideration of carrying out an act (obligations being controlled) are in part dependent upon the degree of positive or negative value commitments or sentiments (goodness or badness) deposited upon images and beliefs associated with the action process.

Modified predictive model. --In this section the revised predictive model for the analysis of the initial phase of voluntary migration will be presented. This model will incorporate the dimensions identified in the earlier parts of this chapter which were not included in the original formulation presented in Chapter One. It will still be assumed that actors relate themselves to the real world in terms of belief-value matrices. Belief-value matrices consist of cognitive images ranked along generalized dimensions in terms of sentiments or value commitments. Between dimensions, images are related by means-ends beliefs or generalized expectations. To predict the outcome of a possible course of action it is necessary to know (1) the extent to which an actor ranks appropriate images and beliefs high or low along relevant dimensions, (2) the extent to which an actor believes he has obligations or responsibilities that require carrying out the action or not carrying out the action, (3) the extent to which the actor relative to his situation believes he has the minimum facilities necessary to carry out the action. Obligations and facilities being equal, it is assumed actors will desire and be considering actions that are associated with highly valued images and beliefs. Further, it is assumed that actors will tend to be considering and expecting to perform obligations before considering and expecting performing actions that are directly gratifying or instrumentally desirable. It is further assumed that without control over

some set of facilities for carrying out an act, actors will not be expecting to carry out the action. The set of facilities actors need will be a function of their beliefs about their situation with respect to status obligations, and role obligations or responsibilities. It is assumed that to predict desire to migrate, consideration of migration, and expectation to migrate, one does not have to consider the whole range of theoretically possible beliefs and images. The sets of ranked and non-ranked images and beliefs that one should take into account in order to predict desire of actors to migrate, the consideration of actors to migrate, and the expectation of actors to migrate are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Desire to migrate. -- To predict an actor's expressive interest in migration it is considered necessary to take into account an actor's beliefs about the relative attractiveness of situations, about the attractiveness of new experience, and about the accessibility of the migration as an end.

It is assumed that an actor's evaluation of the relative attractiveness of situations will depend upon the following conditions:

- (1) The extent to which an actor's specifications can be met in his primary community,
- (2) The extent to which an actor's specifications can be met in communities other than his primary community.
- (3) The extent to which an actor has a high or low level of community satisfaction.

In general, controlling for an actor's desire for new experience and an actor's beliefs about the accessibility of migration as an end, the more attractive an actor perceives alternative situations relative to his primary community, the greater will be his desire to migrate. The three variables that contribute to the relative attractiveness of situations are expected to have main and interaction effects upon desire



to migrate which should be explored. Further, the three variables that contribute to the relative attractiveness of situations are expected to be more important in accounting for desire to migrate than the other dimensions that are expected to effect desire to migrate. To the extent that information about the content of specifications and community satisfaction is available, content factors should be substituted for specification level and community satisfaction.

The extent to which an actor would like to have new experiences is expected to be directly associated with an actor's desire to migrate. An actor's desire for new experience is expected to be of primary importance in accounting for an actor's desire to migrate in situations where an actor is satisfied with his primary community and his specifications can best be met in his primary community.

Relative to the accessibility of migration as an end, it is expected that an actor's desire to migrate will in part be a function of his control over facilities useful and necessary for carrying out the act, of his ability (including an assessment of the adequacy) to carry out major status obligations in his primary community relative to alternative communities, and of his beliefs that primary role obligations exist which even though negatively evaluated can only be carried out in his primary community. It is expected that there will be an inverse association between the extent to which an actor perceives that migration as an end is not accessible and his desire to migrate.

Consideration of migration. --To predict whether or not an actor will be considering migration it is believed necessary to take into account the following conditions:

- (1) The extent to which an actor believes that status obligations and/or primary role obligations can or need to be carried out in his primary community or in alternative communities.

- (2) The extent to which an actor believes that status obligation and/or primary role obligations can adequately be carried out in his primary community or in alternative communities.
- (3) The extent to which an actor has an expressive interest in migration.
- (4) The extent to which an actor believes that the attractiveness of alternative situations is greater than the attractiveness of his primary community.
- (5) The extent to which an actor has a desire for new experience.
- (6) The extent to which an actor has the facilities necessary for carrying out an act of migration.
- (7) The extent to which an actor believes he has responsibilities which should be carried out in his primary community.
(A responsibility is an action an actor is expected to perform which will not result in strong negative sanctions if not carried out.)

Obligations are expected to play the critical role in accounting for consideration of migration. Thus, if an actor believes that his obligation cannot be carried out and/or cannot be carried out adequately in his primary community, or if an actor believes that his obligations can be carried out more adequately in alternative communities than in his primary community, the probability is high that he will be considering carrying out an act of migration. If an actor believes that obligations need to be carried out in his primary community, the probability is high that he will not be considering carrying out an act of migration. Since an actor can be expected to have more than one obligation, one should expect (relative to consideration of migration) independent and interaction effects among the obligations. These should be investigated in future studies.

Controlling status obligations and primary role obligations, a direct association is expected between (1) the desire of actors to migrate, (2) the beliefs of actors that alternative communities are more attractive than their primary communities, or (3) the desire of actors for new experience and their consideration of migration. However, controlling status obligations and primary role obligations, the above associations are expected to be small since the generalized dimensions of images and beliefs relating to obligations are expected to be more important as determinants of consideration of migration than other factors.

Further, it is expected actors who have the facilities necessary for migration are more apt to be considering than those who do not, and that actors who believe that they have responsibilities which should be carried out in their primary communities are less apt to consider migration than actors who do not have such responsibilities. However, facilities and responsibilities are expected to have only a very small effect upon consideration, particularly when status obligations and primary role obligations are controlled.

Expectation to migrate. --It is expected that once actors have reached the stage in the migration process where they are considering migration that they will expect to migrate if they have the necessary facilities for carrying out the act. The type and amount of facilities necessary will depend upon the extent to which actors have particularistic attachments to individuals and group in their primary communities which place a responsibility or an obligation upon them not to migrate and on the extent to which status obligation can be carried out and/or can be carried out adequately in their primary communities. In addition to some facilities to transport themselves to new communities, to re-establish themselves in new communities, and to dispose of unnecessary, or non-transportable possessions; it is expected that for actors

considering migration to be expecting to migrate that they must have relational support for migration from significant alters in proportion to the extent to which they have strong particularistic attachments which result in non-migration being a responsibility or an obligation. Further, they must believe they have the ability to carry out status obligation in alternative communities at least as adequately as in their primary communities. Also it is expected that an actor's expressive interest in migration may help to overcome some of the situational conditions that tend to deter migration.

Contribution of This Study to Sociological Theory

Migration research has usually been in the hands of demographers whose major interests have been the analysis of migration streams and differential migration patterns. While such studies are important they yield only fractional knowledge about the processes of migration. There is the urgent need to know what factors give rise to migration and the consequences of migration for the persistence and change of social groups. This study has been focused on the problem of identifying the factors that give rise to decisions to migrate. A major concern of this study was the development of an analytical frame of reference for conceptualizing voluntary migration. Relative to the frame of reference, a model was presented in Chapter One and modified in this chapter that helped to explain the initial phase of voluntary migration. The model was shown to be operationalizable and to have an empirical basis. The model was cast within an action frame of reference, and represents a significant advancement over earlier push-pull models of migration. The model allows one to relate migration to the more general sociological problem of movement out of social groups. The study demonstrated that to predict and explain the

decision-making processes taking place in instrumental actions such as migration it is necessary to view the desire to act, the consideration of a course of action, and the expectation to act as being conceptually different. Further, it was demonstrated that to understand the processes leading up to an act such as migration it is necessary to consider not only the orientations of actors to situations, but also the structural constraints placed upon actors as a result of their occupancy of status-roles and the facilities relevant to an action that actors control.

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APPENDIX I

CONTENT OF COMMUNITY SATISFACTION AND SPECIFICATION LEVEL

Statement of the Problem

It has been demonstrated that in order to explain the initial phase of voluntary migration consideration should be given to an actor's specifications for an ideal community and an actor's level of community satisfaction. Community satisfaction and specification level were used as independent, abstract dimensions to predict desire to migrate and consideration of migration. No attempt as yet has been made to indicate the nature of the concrete beliefs and images that may be associated with a student's level of community satisfaction or specification level. In this appendix the results of an exploratory analysis of the content of the two dimensions will be presented. Relative to the population as a whole, the aim will be to demonstrate the tendencies of students with certain attributes to be found in higher concentrations in one specification level or level of community satisfaction than another. For the purpose of simplifying description and facilitating comparisons, the proportion of the total population having a given characteristic will be spoken of as the expected proportion or percentage. Two types of attributes of actors will be investigated. They are elements of social structure such as socio-economic position, and ethnic status and attitudes maintained by actors relative to their evaluation of the components of social situations and social situation as such.

Community Satisfaction and Associated Characteristics

Introduction. --In Chapter One an actor's community satisfaction was taken to be an actor's overall positive or negative evaluation of his primary community as a whole. It was the end result of the processes of evaluation in which actors evaluated the concrete social systems or communities in which they lived as satisfactory or unsatisfactory. It was pointed out that the actor as the evaluator could base his appraisal upon his position or upon projected position; and also that an actor's evaluation might refer to a past, present or future situation. The purpose of this section is to identify the components of concrete social systems which actors characterize as gratifying or noxious, or as desirable or undesirable for instrumental purposes which contribute to or are associated with total community satisfaction. Relative to the content of the three categories of community satisfaction used in this study, attitudinal dimensions will be considered first and then selected structural components.

Community satisfaction and attitudinal components. --It was pointed out in Chapter One that relationships with parents and peers, availability of facilities for having a good time, and adequacy of vocational opportunities are expected to be important factors affecting the lives of high school students nearing graduation. It is therefore expected that community satisfaction will be associated with these dimensions. In addition the relationship between community satisfaction and several other dimensions will be explored. It is felt that community satisfaction may be associated with a student's orientation toward style of life characteristic of rural or urban places.

Interpersonal relationships: --Relative to interpersonal relationships no strong associations appear to exist between the community

satisfaction and relationship with parents¹ and or peers² (see Tables 36 and 37). Most students appear to have good relations with parents (54 percent). However, there is a slight tendency towards a direct

¹A student's evaluation of the relationship between himself and his parents is based upon the following 9 item Likert-type scale:

1) Regarding your relationships with your parents (or guardian, the people you live with): (Check the phrase that most nearly represents your own personal belief).

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unde- cided	Dis- agree	Strongly Disagree
a. It is hard for me to feel pleasant at home.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. My parents try to understand my problems and worries.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. As far as my ideas are concerned my parents and I live in two different worlds.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. There is real love and affection for me at home.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. My parents criticize me too much.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. My friends have happier homes than I do	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Too often my parents compare me unfavorably with other children.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. As I have known it, family life is happy.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. My parents expect too much of me.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Responses to items are scored from 1 to 5 such that the lower the score the more favorable the relationship. Each student's total score is computed by summing his responses to all items. If a student has a score between 9 and 14, he is considered to have 'good' relations with his parents. If a student has a score between 15 and 24, his relations with his parents are considered to be 'fair.' If a student has a score greater than 24, his relations with his parents are considered to be 'poor.'

²Student's evaluation of the relationship between himself and his peers is based upon the following question:

relationship between increasing community satisfaction and a positive relationship with parents. Thus, 57 percent of the students who are satisfied with their primary communities report that they have good relations with their parents as against 48 percent and 51 percent, respectively, for students who are indifferent to or dissatisfied with their primary communities; and correspondingly, 24 percent of the students who are dissatisfied with their primary communities report that they have poor relations with their parents as compared with 14 and 16 percent, respectively, for students who are indifferent to or satisfied with their communities.

With respect to relationship with peers, no direct relationship between increasing community satisfaction and a positive relationship with peers can be observed (see Table 37). About 95 percent of the students report average or better than average relations with peers. Satisfied students have the highest percentage of students who report better than average relations with peers (40 percent). Dissatisfied students have the next highest percentage (33 percent) and indifferent students the lowest (23 percent).

Availability of facilities for having a good time:--There appears to be a relatively strong direct relationship between increasing community satisfaction and a student's positive evaluation of the availability

How often do you feel that you do not get along with your classmates?

- a. _____ very often
- b. _____ often
- c. _____ sometimes
- d. _____ never

If a student responds 'very often' or 'often,' he is considered to have 'poor' relations with his peers. If a student responds 'sometimes' his relations with his peers are considered to be average. If a student responds 'never,' he is considered to have above average relations with his peers.

Table 36.--The Percentage Distribution of the Relationships Between Students and Their Parents by
Community Satisfaction

Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Relationship with Parents	
				Good	Poor
Total	269	267	100.0	53.6	17.6
Satisfied	131	129	100.0	56.6	15.5
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	48.0	13.5
Dissatisfied	81	81	100.0	51.2	23.8
No Answer	2	2	100.0	100.0	0.0

Table 37.--The Percentage Distribution of the Relationships Between Students and Their Peers By
Community Satisfaction

Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Relationship with Peers		
				Above Average	Average	Poor
Total	269	267	100.0	34.6	60.2	5.2
Satisfied	131	131	100.0	39.7	55.7	4.7
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	23.1	69.2	7.7
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	33.2	61.9	4.8
No Answer	2	2	100.0	50.0	50.0	0.0

of facilities for having a good time in his primary community.³ Thus 50 percent of the students who are satisfied with their primary communities indicate that the recreational facilities of their primary communities are inadequate whereas 79 percent of the students who are indifferent to their primary communities and 82 percent of the students who are dissatisfied evaluate the recreational facilities of their communities as inadequate (see Table 38). It also should be noted that most students did not positively evaluate their communities as a place to find facilities for having a good time after graduation.

Adequacy of vocational opportunities.--Relative to a student's evaluation of the vocational opportunities of his primary communities, three dimensions will be considered. They are (1) a student's evaluation of adequacy of the occupational structure of his primary community, (2) a student's evaluation of adequacy of the educational and cultural facilities of his primary community, and (3) a student's evaluation of his primary communities as a place in which to find a spouse. Because occupational and educational aspirations might influence a student's evaluation of his primary communities with respect to the vocational opportunities, the existence of associations between community satisfaction and occupational or educational aspirations will also be explored.

Even though most students (76 percent) evaluate their communities as a poor place to find the job they would like to have, there is an

³A student's evaluation of the expressive facilities available in his primary communities is based upon the following question:

After graduation your community will be a good place to live since there are facilities in town or close by for young adults to have a good time?

If a student responds 'strongly agree' or 'agree' to the question, he is considered to have given a positive evaluation of his primary community with respect to expressive facilities. If a student responds 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree,' he is considered to have given a negative evaluation. If a student responds 'undecided,' he is considered to be undecided about his evaluation.

Table 38.--The Percentage Distribution of Students' Evaluations of the Expressive Facilities in Their Primary Communities by Community Satisfaction

Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Evaluation of Expressive Activities		
				Positive Evaluation	Undecided About Evaluation	Negative Evaluation
Total	269	269	100.0	21.7	12.3	65.3
Satisfied	131	131	100.0	31.3	19.1	49.6
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	17.3	3.8	78.8
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	10.7	7.1	82.1
No Answer	2	2	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

inverse relationship between increasing community satisfaction and a student's negative evaluation of his primary community as a place to find a job. Students who are dissatisfied with their communities are more likely to negatively evaluate the occupational structure of their primary communities than students who are satisfied with their communities. The percentages go from 89 percent for students who are dissatisfied to 75 for students who are indifferent to 67 for students who are satisfied with their communities (see Table 39).

In addition, from the data available, there appears to be an association between occupational aspirations, and community satisfaction. Thus, while most students aspired for white collar jobs (72 percent), a larger percentage of students who are dissatisfied with their communities have aspirations for either high status or low status white collar jobs than students who are indifferent or satisfied with their primary communities. From satisfied to dissatisfied students the percentages wanting white collar jobs are 61 percent, 80 percent and 84 percent. Correspondingly a higher percentage of students who are satisfied with their primary communities have aspirations for manual occupational occupations than expected (see Table 40).

No strong systematic relationship emerged for increasing communities satisfaction and a student's evaluation of the educational and cultural facilities of his primary communities. Over 75 percent of the students evaluate the educational and cultural facilities of their primary communities as inadequate (see Table 41). However, the percent of indifferent and dissatisfied students negatively evaluating the educational facilities of their primary community exceeds the expected by 11 percent and 2 percent, respectively. Thus students not satisfied with their primary communities tend to have a slightly higher proportion of students negatively evaluating the educational facilities of their primary communities than satisfied students. Relative to educational aspirations,

Table 39. --The Percentage Distribution of Students' Evaluations of Their Primary Communities as Places to Find the Jobs They Would Like to Have by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Evaluation of Primary Community			
				Job Structure		Undecided	
				Positive Evaluation	About Evaluation	Negative Evaluation	
Community Satisfaction	269	268	100.0	14.6	9.7	75.7	
Satisfied	131	130	100.0	20.0	13.1	66.9	
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	17.3	7.7	75.0	
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	4.8	6.0	89.2	
No Answer	2	2	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
Specification Level	269	268	100.0	14.6	9.7	75.7	
Level 1	37	37	100.0	35.1	8.1	56.8	
Level 2	116	115	100.0	9.6	11.3	79.1	
Level 3	98	98	100.0	10.2	8.2		
Not Classified by Level	18	18	100.0	27.8	11.2	61.1	

Table 40. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Occupation Aspirations of Students by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Occupational Aspirations					
				White Collar			Manual		
				Total	High Status	Low Status	Total	High Status	Low Status
Community Satisfaction	269	231	100.0	72.3	46.3	26.0	27.7	6.1	21.6
Satisfied	131	110	100.0	60.9	41.8	19.1	39.1	7.3	31.8
Indifferent	52	44	100.0	79.5	50.0	29.5	20.5	4.5	15.9
Dissatisfied	84	75	100.0	84.0	50.7	33.3	16.0	5.3	10.7
No Answer	2	2	100.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Specification Level	269	231	100.0	72.3	46.3	26.0	27.7	6.1	21.6
Level 1	37	32	100.0	68.8	34.4	34.4	31.3	6.3	25.0
Level 2	116	106	100.0	68.9	47.2	21.7	31.1	6.6	24.5
Level 3	98	81	100.0	84.0	53.1	30.9	16.1	2.5	13.6
Not Classified by Levels	18	12	100.0	33.3	25.0	8.3	66.7	25.5	41.7

Table 41. --The Percentage Distribution of Students' Evaluations of the Educational and Other Cultural Facilities of Their Primary Communities by Community Satisfaction

Level of Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Evaluation of Educational Facilities		
				Positive Evaluation	Undecided About Evaluation	Negative Evaluation
Total	269	267	100.0	13.5	10.9	75.6
Satisfied	131	129	100.0	13.2	16.3	70.5
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	9.6	3.8	86.5
Dissatisfied	84	83	100.0	15.7	7.2	77.1
No Answer	2	2	100.0	50.0	0.0	50.0

an inverse relationship between increasing community satisfaction and educational aspirations of students may be observed in Table 42. Fifty-six percent of the students who are dissatisfied with their communities and 53 percent of the students that are indifferent state that they expect to continue their education after graduation from high school. However, most of the students who are satisfied with their communities do not intend to go on for additional training after graduation from high school. The percent of satisfied students not planning to go on for additional training is 62 percent.

There appears to be a relatively strong direct relationship between increasing community satisfaction and students' evaluation of their primary communities as places to find someone they would like to marry. Fifty-six percent of the students who are dissatisfied with their communities negatively evaluate their communities with respect to this characteristic whereas only 30 percent of the indifferent students and 21 percent of the satisfied students negatively evaluate the marriage opportunities of their communities (see Table 43).

Rural-Urban orientation.--From the data currently available, it would appear that the community satisfaction of students is closely associated with their positive or negative evaluation of small rural communities and their associated styles of life. Evidence to support this contention is based upon the following three sets of responses:

1. Students' evaluation of the size of the small rural communities in which they reside.⁴

⁴A student's evaluation of the size of his primary community is based upon the following question:

Not much can be said in favor of a place this size?
If a student responds 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree,' he is considered to have positively evaluated the size of his primary community. If a student responds 'strongly agree' or 'agree,' he is considered to have negatively evaluated the size of his primary community. If a student responds 'undecided,' he is considered to be undecided relative to the evaluation of the size of his primary community.

Table 42.--The Percentage Distribution of Educational Aspirations of Students by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Educational Aspirations			
				Going for Additional		Not Going for	
				Total	Training College	Other	Additional Training
Community Satisfaction	269	269	100.0	47.2	30.9	16.4	52.8
Satisfied	131	131	100.0	38.2	25.2	13.0	61.8
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	53.8	34.6	19.2	46.2
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	56.0	38.1	17.9	44.0
No Answer	2	2	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Specification Level	269	269	100.0	47.2	30.9	16.4	52.8
Level 1	37	37	100.0	35.1	10.8	24.3	64.9
Level 2	116	116	100.0	48.3	36.2	12.1	51.7
Level 3	98	98	100.0	53.1	34.7	18.4	46.9
Not Classified by Levels	18	18	100.0	33.3	16.7	16.6	66.7

Table 43.--The Percentage Distribution of Students' Evaluations of Their Primary Communities as Places to Find Someone They Would Like to Marry by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Evaluation of Primary Community as a Place to Find Someone to Marry			
				Undecided		Positive Evaluation	Negative Evaluation
				About	Evaluation		
Community Satisfaction	269	265	100.0	33.2	33.2	38.6	
Satisfied	131	129	100.0	44.4	36.4	20.2	
Indifferent	52	50	100.0	34.4	36.0	30.0	
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	16.7	27.4	56.0	
No Answer	2	1	100.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	
Specification Level	219	265	100.0	33.2	33.2	33.6	
Level 1	37	35	100.0	60.0	17.1	22.9	
Level 2	116	114	100.0	36.0	38.6	25.4	
Level 3	98	98	100.0	20.4	32.7	46.9	
Not Classified by Levels	18	18	100.0	33.3	33.3	33.3	

2. Students' preference for rural or urban places.⁵
3. Students' evaluation of the significant segments of adult life characteristic of their primary communities after graduation.⁶

The data presented in Tables 44 and 45 indicate that there is a direct relationship between level of community satisfaction and a positive evaluation of the size of primary communities or a preference for rural areas. Students who are satisfied with their communities are more apt to respond negatively to the statement, "not much can be said in favor of a place this size," than indifferent or dissatisfied students. The percentages of satisfied, indifferent, and dissatisfied students negatively evaluating the size of their primary communities are 16 percent, 25 percent, and 37 percent, respectively. Relative to the size of the communities that students are evaluating, it should be remembered that all communities in Ontonagon were classified as

⁵A student's preference for a rural or an urban place is based upon the following question:

Which of the following best indicates the kind of community in which you would prefer to live: (Please check only one).

- a. ☐ In the open country
- b. ☐ In a village under 2,500 (like Ewen or Ontonagon)
- c. ☐ In a city of 10,000 to 100,000 (like Marquette or Lansing)
- d. ☐ In a city of over 100,000 (like Detroit or Chicago)
- e. ☐ In a suburb outside of a large city
- A. If you checked the open country or a village, do you prefer the location to be near a big city? Yes ☐ No ☐. If YES, how near? _____.
- B. Do you have any specific place in mind? Yes ☐ No ☐. If YES, where? _____.

⁶A student's evaluation of his primary community as a place to carry out adult status-roles is based upon the following questions:

After graduation your community will be a good place to build a home and raise a family?

People have to do without adequate shopping facilities?

If a student responds 'strongly agree' or 'agree' to a question, he is considered to have positively evaluated his community with respect to the characteristic. If a student responds 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' to the question, he is considered to have negatively evaluated his community with respect to a characteristic. If a student responds 'undecided,' he is considered to be undecided about his evaluation of his primary community relative to the characteristic being considered.

Table 44. --The Percentage Distribution of Students' Evaluations of the Size of Their Primary Communities
By Community Satisfaction

Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Evaluation of Size of Primary Community			
				Positive Evaluation	Undecided About Evaluation	Negative Evaluation	
Total	269	268	100.0	60.8	14.9	24.3	
Satisfied	131	130	100.0	67.7	16.2	16.2	
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	61.5	13.5	25.0	
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	48.8	14.3	36.9	
No Answer	2	2	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	

Table 45. --The Percentage Distribution of Students' Preferences for Rural or Urban Places by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Preferences for Rural or Urban Places				
				Rural Places				
				Urban Places	Total	Near a City	Not Near a City	No Answer
Community Satisfaction	269	267	100.0	56.6	43.3	25.5	15.4	2.6
Satisfied	131	130	100.0	40.8	59.2	30.0	25.4	3.8
Indifferent	52	51	100.0	60.8	39.2	31.4	7.8	0.0
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	77.4	22.6	15.5	4.8	2.4
No Answer	2	2	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Specification Level	269	267	100.0	56.6	43.4	25.5	15.4	2.6
Level 1	37	36	100.0	31.1	63.9	36.1	25.0	2.8
Level 2	116	115	100.0	54.8	45.2	25.2	16.5	3.5
Level 3	98	98	100.0	68.4	31.6	22.4	9.2	0.0
Not Classified by Levels	18	18	100.0	44.4	55.6	22.2	22.2	11.1

rural places in 1950. Thus as community satisfaction decreases, one finds increasing proportions of students negatively evaluating small rural communities as places to live.

Just as satisfied students are less apt to negatively evaluate the small rural communities in which they resided than indifferent or dissatisfied students, they are also more apt to prefer living in rural than in urban areas. Fifty-nine percent of the satisfied students prefer to live in rural areas whereas 61 percent of the indifferent students and 77 percent of the dissatisfied students prefer to live in urban places. Also a considerably higher than expected percent of satisfied students than indifferent or dissatisfied students want to reside in rural places which are not near cities (see Table 44).

Assuming that raising a family is an important part of an adult status-role, then there is a strong direct association between level of community satisfaction and a positive evaluation of primary communities as a place to carry out this segment of adult status-roles (see Table 46). Satisfied students generally agreed that their primary communities are good places to raise families (62 percent). However, slightly less than one-half (46 percent) of the indifferent students, and under one-third (29 percent) of the dissatisfied students evaluate their primary communities as good places to raise families. Since all the communities in Ontonagon county are rural communities, the above results may be taken as indicating that there is a direct relationship between increasing community satisfaction and students' positive evaluation of rural areas for carrying out significant segments of adult status-roles.

Further evidence that community satisfaction is associated with the preference of students for rural or urban styles of life is presented in Table 47. Table 47 contains the evaluations that students make of the shopping facilities of their primary communities by community

Table 46. --The Percentage Distribution of Students' Evaluations of Their Primary Communities as Places to Raise a Family by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Evaluation of Primary Community as a Place to Raise a Family			
				Positive Evaluation	Undecided About Evaluation	Negative Evaluation	
Community Satisfaction	269	268	100.0	48.9	29.1	22.2	
Satisfied	131	130	100.0	61.5	29.2	9.2	
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	46.2	34.6	19.2	
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	29.8	26.2	44.0	
No Answer	2	2	100.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	
Specification Level	269	268	100.0	48.9	29.1	22.4	
Level 1	37	36	100.0	77.8	11.1	11.1	
Level 2	116	116	100.0	51.7	33.6	14.7	
Level 3	98	98	100.0	34.7	31.6	33.7	
No Classified by Levels	18	18	100.0	44.4	22.2	33.3	

Table 47. -- The Percentage Distribution of Students' Evaluations of the Shopping Facilities in Their Primary Communities by Community Satisfaction

Community Satisfaction	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Evaluation of Shopping Facilities in Primary Communities		
				Positive Evaluation	Undecided About Evaluation	Negative Evaluation
Total	269	267	100.0	35.2	13.5	51.3
Satisfied	131	130	100.0	35.4	17.7	46.9
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	46.2	5.8	48.0
Dissatisfied	84	83	100.0	26.5	12.0	61.4
No Answer	2	2	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0

satisfaction. There is a direct relationship between community satisfaction and the evaluation of the shopping facilities. Thus, 47 percent of the students who are satisfied with their communities negatively evaluate the shopping facilities of their primary communities whereas 48 percent of the indifferent students and 61 percent of the dissatisfied students negatively evaluate the adequacy of their communities' shopping facilities. If shopping activities represent an important dimension of adult status-role, then the data in Table 47 is consistent with the proposition that satisfied students are less apt to negatively evaluate the style of adult life in their primary communities and perhaps other similar small rural communities than indifferent students or dissatisfied students.

Community satisfaction and social structure.--Seven standard dimensions of social structure will be considered. They are religion, family income, nationality, residence, occupation of father, class in school, and sex. The result of the analysis with respect to community satisfaction and the structural dimensions are given below.

Income.--The data from Table 48 reveals that there is a slight inverse relationship between community satisfaction and family income of students. Thirty-three percent of the satisfied students report family incomes below 3,000 dollars, whereas 27 percent of the indifferent and 23 percent of the dissatisfied students report family incomes below 3,000 dollars.

Occupation.--For the population as a whole no systematic increasing or decreasing relationship may be observed between community satisfaction and occupation of a student's father (see Table 49). However, for the 17 percent of the students who report that their fathers have white collar jobs, a direct relationship between community satisfaction and professional and non-professional white collar occupations may be observed. Thus for students whose fathers have white collar jobs,

Table 48, -- The Percentage Distribution of the Family Income of Students by Community Satisfaction
and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Family Income			
				Under 3,000 Dollars	3,000 to 4,999 Dollars	5,000 Dollars and Over	
Community Satisfaction .	269	208	100.0	28.4	46.6	25.0	
Satisfied	131	100	100.0	33.0	44.0	23.0	
Indifferent	52	37	100.0	27.0	51.4	21.6	
Dissatisfied	84	70	100.0	22.9	48.6	28.6	
No Answer	2	1	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
Specification Levels	269	208	100.0	28.4	46.6	25.0	
Level 1	37	25	100.0	36.0	44.0	20.0	
Level 2	116	92	100.0	28.3	47.8	23.9	
Level 3	98	68	100.0	26.0	45.4	28.6	
Not Classified by Levels	18	13	100.0	28.6	50.0	21.4	

Table 49.--The Percentage Distribution of the Occupations of Students' Fathers by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Occupation of Father					
				White Collar			Manual		
				Total	Profes- sional	Non- Profes- sional	Total	Skilled and Farmers	Non- Skill- ed
Community Satisfaction	269	243	100.0	17.6	6.6	10.7	82.8	28.7	53.3
Satisfied	131	116	100.0	15.4	2.6	12.8	84.6	29.1	55.6
Indifferent	52	47	100.0	19.1	8.5	10.6	76.6	27.7	48.9
Dissatisfied	84	78	100.0	18.8	11.3	7.5	81.3	31.3	50.0
No Answer	2	2	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
Specification Level	269	269	100.0	17.2	6.6	10.7	82.8	28.7	53.3
Level 1	37	30	100.0	28.2	6.3	21.9	73.3	25.0	46.9
Level 2	116	103	100.0	16.8	4.7	12.1	83.2	26.9	56.1
Level 3	98	95	100.0	12.2	8.9	3.3	87.8	34.5	53.3
Not Classified by Levels	18	15	100.0	16.7	6.7	20.0	73.3	26.7	46.7

3 of the 18 satisfied students have fathers with professional occupations; 4 of the 9 indifferent students and 9 of the 15 dissatisfied students report that their fathers have professional occupations.

Residence.--No systematic relationship can be observed between increasing community satisfaction and residence of a student (see Table 50). There is, however, a concentration of students with village residence in the indifferent category of community satisfaction. Seventy-three percent of the indifferent students reside in villages as compared to 63 percent for the population as a whole.

Religion.--No strong systematic relationship appears to exist between community satisfaction and the religious preference of a student (see Table 51). However, higher than expected percentages of Methodist students are found among the indifferent students and higher than expected percentages of Baptist, Episcopalians and Presbyterian among the dissatisfied students.

Nationality.--Relative to the nationality of a student's father, two relationships should be noted. First, the proportion of students reporting that their father was of Northern European background other than Finnish, English, Scotch or Irish increases as one goes from satisfied students to dissatisfied students. Thus 37 percent of the satisfied students report their father's nationality as 'other Northern European' as compared to 41 percent for indifferent students and 43 percent for dissatisfied students. Second, there is a higher than expected percentage of satisfied students who report their father's nationality as 'other foreign countries.' The observed is 12 percent as compared to the expected 7 percent (see Table 52).

Class and Sex.--Relatively strong systematic relationships can be observed between community satisfaction and a student's class in school or sex. Going from junior to senior class in school and from females to males, there is a direct relationship between community

Table 50.--The Percentage Distribution of the Residences of Students by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Residence of Students		
				Village	Open Country	Open Country Farm
Community Satisfaction	269	269	100.0	63.2	37.2	11.2 26.0
Satisfied	131	131	100.0	61.1	38.9	13.7 25.2
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	73.1	26.9	3.8 23.1
Dissatisfied	84	84	100.0	59.5	40.5	10.7 29.8
No Answer	2	2	100.0	50.0	50.0	50.0 0.0
Specification Level	269	269	100.0	63.2	37.2	11.2 26.0
Level 1	37	37	100.0	54.1	45.9	21.6 24.3
Level 2	116	116	100.0	60.3	39.7	9.5 30.2
Level 3	98	98	100.0	67.3	32.7	9.2 23.5
Not Classified by Levels	18	18	100.0	72.2	27.8	11.1 16.7

Table 51. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Religious Preferences of Students by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Religious Preference of Students					
				Catho-lic	Luth-eran	Metho-dist	Epis. and Pres.	Bapt-ists	Other
Community Satisfaction	269	267	100.0	27.0	43.8	15.7	4.9	3.7	0.6
Satisfied	131	130	100.0	31.5	43.8	16.2	2.3	3.1	0.0
Indifferent	52	52	100.0	19.2	44.2	23.1	5.8	0.0	1.9
Dissatisfied	84	83	100.0	23.8	41.7	11.9	8.7	7.1	0.0
No Answer	2	2	100.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Specification Level	269	267	100.0	27.0	43.8	15.7	4.9	3.7	0.6
Level 1	37	36	100.0	36.1	36.1	16.7	5.6	2.8	0.0
Level 2	116	116	100.0	27.8	47.0	13.9	5.2	1.7	0.0
Level 3	98	98	100.0	21.4	44.9	15.3	5.1	7.1	1.0
Not Classified by Levels	18	17	100.0	35.3	35.3	29.4	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table 52. -- The Percentage Distribution of the Nationality of Students' Fathers by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Nationality of Fathers					
				Finnish	English		Other		Amer- ican
					Irish	Scotch	Northern European	Foreign Countries	
Community Satisfaction	269	153	100.0	38.7	15.8	15.8	37.2	7.1	1.6
Satisfied	131	121	100.0	39.7	16.5	16.5	32.2	11.6	0.8
Indifferent	52	49	100.0	38.8	18.4	18.4	40.8	4.1	0.0
Dissatisfied	84	81	100.0	38.3	13.6	13.6	43.2	2.5	2.5
No Answer	2	2	100.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
Specification Level	269	253	100.0	38.7	15.8	15.8	37.2	7.1	1.6
Level 1	37	35	100.0	28.6	25.7	25.7	34.3	11.4	0.0
Level 2	116	110	100.0	40.0	14.5	14.5	36.4	8.2	0.9
Level 3	98	90	100.0	43.3	13.3	13.3	37.8	3.3	3.2
Not Classified by Levels	18	18	100.0	27.8	16.7	16.7	44.4	11.1	0.0

satisfaction and a student's class in school or sex. Thus 47 percent of the satisfied students are juniors as compared to 58 percent of the indifferent students and 61 percent of the dissatisfied students. Also 44 percent of the satisfied students are females as compared to 50 percent for the indifferent students and 66 percent for the dissatisfied students (see Table 53).

Summary.--The exploratory analysis of the content of community satisfaction revealed that community satisfaction appears to be associated with: (1) a student's preference for rural or urban places and associated styles of life, (2) a student's evaluation of the adequacy of his primary community as a place to carry out aspects of young adult status-roles such as getting married, raising a family, getting a job, shopping for household goods, and having a good time. Community satisfaction is also associated with class in school, sex, educational aspirations, and to a lesser extent occupational aspirations.

In general it may be stated that students who are satisfied with their primary communities prefer rural to urban living and tend to positively evaluate the size of their small rural primary communities. They tend to be males and seniors who do not wish to go on for additional training after high school. They are less likely to negatively evaluate the small rural communities in which they reside as a place to find a spouse, raise a family, engage in expressive and shopping activities than indifferent or dissatisfied students. Further even though most satisfied students negatively evaluate the occupational structure, and the cultural and educational facilities of their primary communities, they are less apt to negatively evaluate these characteristics than indifferent or dissatisfied students. In addition, while most students who are satisfied with their communities want white collar occupations, the proportion is lower than that of the other two categories of community satisfaction. Also, the satisfied set of students tend to have

Table 53. --- The Percentage Distribution of Class in School and Sex of Students by Community Satisfaction and Specification Level

Community Satisfaction and Specification Level	Population	Responding to Question	Total		Class in School		Sex	
					Juniors	Seniors	Male	Female
Community Satisfaction	269	100.0			53.9	46.1	48.0	52.0
Satisfied	131	100.0			47.3	52.7	56.5	43.5
Indifferent	52	100.0			57.7	42.3	50.0	50.0
Dissatisfied	84	100.0			60.7	39.3	34.5	65.5
No Answer	2	100.0			100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Specification Level	269	100.0			53.9	46.1	48.0	52.0
Level 1	37	100.0			48.6	51.4	40.5	59.5
Level 2	116	100.0			50.9	49.1	53.4	46.6
Level 3	98	100.0			58.2	41.8	41.8	58.2
Not Classified by Levels	18	100.0			61.1	38.9	61.1	38.9

higher than expected percentages of students with above average relations with peers, good relations with parents, family incomes under 3,000 dollars, fathers who had non-professional white collar occupations, and fathers whose nationality is "other foreign countries."

Students who are dissatisfied with their communities generally prefer to live in urban than rural places; correspondingly they tend not to positively evaluate the size nor the style of life of the rural areas in which they resided. Most dissatisfied students are juniors and females who want white collar jobs and additional training after high school. By and large dissatisfied students negatively evaluate their primary communities as places to find a spouse, find a job, go shopping, engage in expressive activities, and find adequate cultural and educational facilities. Also, they do not positively evaluate their primary communities as places to raise families. In addition the dissatisfied set of students contained a higher than expected proportion of students who have poor relations with parents, whose family incomes are 5,000 dollars and over, whose fathers have professional occupations, and who are Baptist, Episcopalians, or Presbyterians.

Students who are indifferent to their primary communities tend to be more urban oriented than rural oriented, but not to the extent of the dissatisfied students. Thus they prefer urban to rural places; but in general they do not negatively evaluate the size of small rural primary communities in which they reside. Their levels of occupational and educational aspirations are similar to dissatisfied students. The vast majority of the indifferent students aspire for white collar occupations, and a little over half want to go on for additional training after high school. There are more juniors than seniors among the indifferent students, but an equal number of males and females. Like the satisfied set of students, the indifferent students do not negatively evaluate the shopping facilities of their primary communities, nor did they negatively

evaluate their communities as places to find someone to marry or raise a family. However, the proportion negatively evaluating their communities with respect to the above characteristic tends to be somewhat larger than that for the satisfied students. On the other hand, like dissatisfied students, the indifferent students tend to negatively evaluate the job structure, the cultural and educational facilities, and the expressive facilities of their primary communities. Here again, except for the evaluation of educational and cultural facilities, the proportion negatively evaluating the above characteristics is less than that of the dissatisfied students, but more than that of satisfied students. In addition, indifferent students tend to have higher than expected percentages of students with average or below average relations with peers, family incomes between 3,000 and 4,999 dollars, village residences, and Methodist religious preferences.

Before ending the analysis of the context of community satisfaction, a word of caution is necessary. It should be recognized, that even though one category or another of community satisfaction has a higher proportion of students with a given characteristic than the population as a whole or another category, that all categories have sizable proportions of actors with all characteristics.

Specification Level and Associated Characteristics

Introduction. -- Specifications for an ideal community were defined in Chapter One as the collection of realistically possible attributes that an actor designates as highly desirable to have in a community. In this study three general specification levels were identified. Each of the specification levels was taken to represent a part of a continuum representing the extent to which the specifications of students can be carried out in their primary communities. In order to demonstrate that the specification levels as used in this study do represent a

continuum of content, the task of this section will be to present a preliminary analysis of the specific specifications that students have for ideal communities relative to the designated levels. Also the relationships between selected dimensions of social structure and the specification level will be indicated.

Specification levels and attitudinal components.--To ascertain the content of the specification levels the following attitudinal dimensions of students will be examined:

- (1) The preferences of students for rural or urban communities and associated styles of life.
- (2) The relative importance that students attach to the presence in an ideal community of adequate facilities for carrying out vocational expectations and expressive activities. (Because students' vocational aspirations may effect their specifications, these dimensions will also be considered.)
- (3) The relative importance that students attach to being able to maintain particularistic relationships in an ideal community.

Rural-Urban Orientation.--There is a direct relationship between specification level and an urban orientation as measured by a student's preference for a rural or an urban community, or by a student's preference for a community with an open country atmosphere⁷ (see Tables 45 and 54). Thus, most students in level 1 (64 percent) prefer to live in rural communities; further nearly half (48.6 percent) feel that it is very important for a community to have an open country atmosphere. An additional indication that students classified as level 1

⁷A student's preference for an open country atmosphere is based upon the following question:

How important [is it that] . . . [a] community should have an open country atmosphere away from the hustle, bustle, and the noise of the city?

_____ very important
 _____ of some importance
 _____ of little or no importance

Table 54. --The Percentage Distribution of Students' Preferences for Communities with Open Country Atmospheres by Specification Level

Specification Level	Population	Number Responding to Question	Total Responding to Question	Open Country Atmosphere		
				Very Important	Some Importance	No Importance
Total	269	269	100.0	45.7	41.3	13.0
Level 1	37	37	100.0	48.6	40.5	10.8
Level 2	116	116	100.0	54.3	37.1	8.6
Level 3	98	98	100.0	33.7	46.9	19.4
Not Classified by Levels	18	18	100.0	50.0	38.9	11.1

prefer rural communities and associated style of life is given by their responses to the statement, "After graduation your community will be a good place to build a home and raise a family." Over 77 percent of the students in level 1 respond that the rural communities in which they reside are good places to raise families (see Table 46).

Unlike students in level 1, students classified as level 3 are more likely to select urban communities with their associated styles of life as ideal places to reside. Sixty-eight percent of the students in level 3 specify a city as the place where they would like to reside, and only 33 percent indicate that an ideal community should have an open country atmosphere. Further, 71 percent of the 31 students in level 3 who prefer rural to urban places specify that their ideal community should be near a city. In addition, relatively few students in level 3 (35 percent) feel that their primary communities are good places to raise a family. Such response patterns might well be expected from students who generally negatively evaluate rural living.

Given that students in level 1 tend to be rural oriented and that students in level 3 tend to be urban oriented, it appears that students in level 2 should be placed in an intermediate position between level 1 and level 3. Like level 3, most students in level 2 want to live in urban places (55 percent). An additional 25 percent want to live in rural areas close to cities. However, like level 1, most students in level 2 (54 percent) feel that an ideal community should have an open country atmosphere. Relative to family living, about one half (52 percent) of the students in level 2 agree that their primary communities are good places to raise a family.

Vocational attitudes.--Systematic differences among the specification levels may be observed with respect to vocational specifications and aspirations (see Tables 39, to 43, and 55). While there is general consensus among the students that an ideal community should be one

Table 55. --The Percentage of Students Responding that Selected Conditions are Very Important to Have in an Ideal Community

How Important are the Following Qualities of the Community in Which You Would Eventually Like to Live?	Responding Very Important		
	Total	Level 1	Level 2 Level 3
1. The community should be one in which you can be close to your friends.	61.1	59.4	68.7 54.1
2. The community should have available entertainment like movies or bowling.	66.7	63.9	69.0 63.9
3. The community should have available sports events like boxing, football, baseball and basketball.	51.7	41.7	57.8 45.3
4. The community should be one in which a person can be close to nature with opportunities for hunting, fishing, and hiking.	58.1	50.0	71.5 42.3
5. The community should have good TV reception.	32.1	27.8	34.5 29.6
6. The community should have available entertainment like concerts, lectures, and plays.	32.7	27.6	37.1 31.6
7. The community should be one where there are good jobs.	91.1	100.0	91.4 89.4
8. The community should be near shopping centers with department stores and supermarkets.	61.9	67.6	60.0 62.3
9. The community should have libraries, museums, art galleries, and colleges.	41.4	13.5	42.1 47.9

in which good jobs can be obtained, students in level 1 are more apt to feel that having "good" jobs available is an essential characteristic of an ideal community than students in level 2 or 3. All the students in level 1 respond that it is "very important" for the community they eventually would like to reside in to have good jobs available, whereas 91 percent of the students in level 2 and 89 percent of the students in level 3 so respond (see Table 55). Further while students in level 1 are more apt to feel that an ideal community should have good jobs, they are less apt than students in levels 2 or 3 to negatively evaluate the occupational structure of their primary communities. Slightly over one-half (55 percent) of the students in level 1 negatively evaluate the occupational structure of their primary communities as compared to 78 percent of the students in level 2 and 81 percent of the students in level 3. The above response patterns are what one would expect to find if the specifications of students in level 1 are more apt to be met in their primary communities than the specification of students in levels 2 and 3. Further evidence that important specifications of students in level 1 are more apt to be met in their primary communities than those of students in levels 2 or 3 is presented in Table 43. In Table 43 one can observe an inverse relationship between specification level and a student's positive evaluation of his primary community as a place to find someone he would like to marry. Going from level 1 to level 3, the percent of students positively evaluating their primary communities as places to find a spouse decreases from 60 percent in level 1 to 20 percent in level 3.

Systematic differences also can be observed among the specification levels with respect to vocational aspirations and related attitudes. Students classified as level 1 aspire to have low status white collar or manual occupations more often than would have been expected given the distribution of occupational aspirations in the population as a whole (see Table 40). Thus 34 percent of the students in level 1 want low

status white collar occupations and 26 percent want low status manual occupations as compared to 27 percent and 22 percent in the population as a whole. Since it is more likely that low rather than high status occupations will be available to students in small rural areas, the data in Table 40 would tend to be consistent with the proposition that there is a tendency for students in level 1 to want jobs that are likely to be available in small rural communities not dissimilar to their primary communities. The fact that students in level 1 are less apt to negatively evaluate the occupational structure of their primary communities than students in level 2 and 3 also supports the above proposition.

Consistent with the occupational aspirations of students in level 1, relatively few desire to continue their education after high school. Thirty-five percent of the students in level one want to go on for additional training after high school; and 10 percent want to go to college. The expected percentages are 47 and 31 percent, respectively. Also, few students in level 1 feel it is very important that an ideal community have educational and cultural facilities such as libraries, museums, art galleries and colleges. About 14 percent of the students in level 1 think it is very important for an ideal community to have libraries, museums, art galleries, and colleges as compared to about 41 percent in the population as a whole (see Table 55).

A considerably higher percentage of students in level 3 would like to have white collar occupations than students in level 1. A total of 84 percent of the students in level 3 want white collar occupations as compared to the expected 72 percent. Fifty-three percent of the students in level 3 want high status white collar occupations. This is 10 percent more than the expected. Since white collar jobs, particularly high status ones, are more apt to be available in communities more urban than those in Ontonagon County, the occupational aspirations of students in level 3 are less apt to be met in small rural areas like their primary communities than students in level 1.

Not only do the students in level 3 want white collar occupations, but over half are planning to continue their education after graduation from high school (53 percent). About 35 percent as compared to an expected 31 percent are planning to go to college. Since there are no major educational institutions in Ontonagon County and since major educational institutions are more apt to be located in urban centers than rural areas, the educational aspirations of students in level 3 are more apt to be met in urban areas than in their primary communities.

Further evidence supporting the proposition that the educational specifications and aspirations of students in level 3 are less likely to be met in their primary communities than students in level 1 may be found in Table 20. Nearly one-half (48 percent) of the students in level 3 feel that it is essential that an ideal community have cultural and educational facilities such as libraries, museums, art galleries and colleges. It should be recalled that only 14 percent of the students in level 1 think that such facilities are very important.

With respect to vocational specification and aspirations being met in a student's primary community, students in level 2 are more similar to students in level 3 than students in level 1. The proportion of students in level 2 wanting white collar jobs is about the same as in level 1 (69 percent). However, the percentage desiring high status white collar occupations is greater than level 1 but somewhat less than level 3 (see Table 5). Nearly half of the students in level 2 wish to continue their education after graduation from high school (48 percent). This is over 10 percent more than level 1 but five percent less than level 3. In addition a slightly higher percent of students in level 2 than level 3 want to go to college (see Table 6). The students in level 2 are more similar to the students in level 3 than 1 with respect to the importance that they attach to having cultural and educational facilities in an ideal community. About 42 percent of the students in level 2 think

it is very important that an ideal community have museums, libraries, art galleries, and colleges.

From the analysis of vocational specifications and aspirations just presented, the following general tendencies emerged:

- (1) In general students classified as level 1 are more likely to have vocational specifications and aspirations that can be carried out in rural areas similar to their primary communities or in their primary communities than students classified as level 2 or level 3.
- (2) Students classified as level 2 or level 3 tend to have vocational specifications and aspirations which can most easily be fulfilled in or near urban areas.

Expressive activities and close particularistic relationships:-The existence of adequate expressive activities and close particularistic relations in an ideal community seem to be of greater importance to students in level 2 than students in level 1 or 3. This conclusion is based first upon the fact that for the five questions about selected leisure time activities a higher proportion of students in level 2 than levels 1 or 3 respond that it is very important to have the given activities in a community in which they would eventually like to reside (see Table 55). Secondly, taking the proportion of students responding that it is very important that "a community should be one in which you can be close to your friends" as an index of the relative importance of having close particularistic relationships in an ideal community, a higher proportion of students in level 2 than students in levels 1 or 3 feel that an ideal community should be one in which they can maintain close particularistic relationships. The percent of students who feel that it is very important to have close particularistic relationships in an ideal community goes from 59 percent in level 1 to 69 percent in level 2 to 59 percent in level 3 (see Table 20).

Specification level and social structure.--A larger number of systematic relationships exist between specification level and the elements of social structure considered than existed for community satisfaction. In addition, using the difference between the observed percentage for a given characteristic and the expected percentage as a criterion of strength of a relationship, the relationships between specification level and structural characteristics also tend to be stronger than the corresponding ones for community satisfaction.

Income.--As for community satisfaction, there is a slight direct relationship between specification level and increasing family income. Thus a higher than expected percent of students in level 1 report family incomes under 3,000 dollars (37 percent as compared to an expected 28 percent). A higher than expected percent of students in level 2 report family incomes between 3,000 and 4,999 dollars (48 percent as compared to the expected 47 percent) and a higher than expected percent of students in type 3 report family incomes over 5,000 dollars (28 percent compared to the expected 25 percent) (see Table 48).

Occupations.--Several interesting patterns emerge with respect to specification level and the occupations students report for their fathers. First, the percent of students who report that their fathers have white collar occupations increases as one goes from level 3 to level 1; and correspondingly, the percent who report manual occupations for their fathers decreases. Thus, 28 percent of the students in level 1 have fathers who have white collar occupations. The percentages for levels 2 and 3 are 17 percent and 12 percent, respectively. However, for students whose fathers have white collar occupations the proportion of students reporting that their fathers have professional occupations is highest for level 3 (9 percent as compared to an expected 7 percent). With respect to manual occupations, the percent of students whose

fathers have skilled occupations increases from 25 percent for students in level 1 to 34.5 percent for students in level 3. Students whose fathers have non-skilled manual occupations tend not to be in level 1. The expected percentage of 53 percent exceeds the percentage in level 1 by 6 percent (see Table 49).

Religion.--The only systematic relationship between specification level and religious preference occurs for Catholic students. The percentage of students responding that they are Catholic decreases from 36 in level 1 to 21 in level 3. Unlike Catholic students, Lutheran students tend not to be in level 1. Thus 36 percent of the students in level 1 report that they are Lutherans whereas 44 percent is expected. In addition there is a higher than expected proportion of Baptist students in level 3. Of the 10 Baptist students in the population, 7 are in level 3 (see Table 51).

Nationality.--Relative to nationality of a student's father, systematic relationships between specification level and nationality emerge for students of Finnish background and for students whose fathers' nationality is English, Irish or Scotch. Going from level 1 to level 3, the percent of students reporting that their fathers are of Finnish background increases from 29 percent to 45 percent; and the percent of students reporting that their fathers nationality is English, Scotch or Irish, decreases from 26 percent to 14 percent (see Table 52).

Residence.--Going from level 3 to level 1 and from village residence to open country or farm residence, there is a direct relationship between the specification level and residence of a student. Thus 67 percent of the students in level 3 report village residence whereas 60 percent of level 2 and 54 percent of level 1 report village residences. Separating out students who report farm residence from the category "open country and farm residence," one finds a higher than expected percentage of students reporting farm residence in level 2 (the

difference between expected percentage and the observed is 4 percent), and a higher than expected proportion of students reporting an open county residence in level 1 (the difference between expected percentage and the observed is 10 percent)(see Table 50).

Class and Sex.--There is a direct association between the specification level and class in school if one goes from specification level 1 to level 3 and from junior class in school to senior class in school. Thus 47 percent of the students in level 1 are juniors as compared to 51 percent for students in level 2 and 58 percent for students in level 3. With respect to sex, a high concentration of males can be found in level 2. While 48 percent of the population is male, 53 percent of the students in level 2 are males. Higher than expected percentages of females can be found in levels 1 and 3. Whereas 52 percent of the population are females, 60 percent of the students in level 1 and 58 percent of the students in level 3 are females (see Table 53).

Summary.--The general impression that one gains from the analysis just presented is that students in level 1 tend to prefer styles of life and occupations obtainable in rural areas not dissimilar to the ones they are currently living in or in their primary communities. Most students in level 1 select communities of less than 2,500 persons with an open country atmosphere as the ideal place to live and prefer low-status white collar or manual occupations to high status white collar occupations. Nearly all the students in level 1 do not negatively evaluate the size of their small rural primary communities. Nor do they negatively evaluate their primary communities as sites to find a husband or wife, and raise a family. They do not feel that educational and cultural facilities such as museums, libraries, art galleries, and colleges which are not normally found in a rural area are necessary attributes of an ideal community, and most do not wish to continue their education after graduation. In addition, while most students

(including those in level 1) negatively evaluated the occupational structure of their home communities, students in level 1 are less apt to negatively evaluate the occupational structure of their primary communities than students in levels 2 or 3. All students in level 1 agree that an ideal community is one in which good jobs are available. Also, level 1 contains more females than males and more seniors than juniors. Further, consistent with preference of students in level 1 for rural areas, a higher than expected proportion of these students do not reside in villages. Also, specification level 1 contains a higher than expected percentage of Catholic students; students of Scotch, Irish, or English background; students who report family incomes under 3,000 dollars; and students whose fathers have non-professional white collar occupations.

Unlike level 1, students in level 3 tend to prefer styles of life and occupations not obtainable in their primary communities or other rural areas. They generally select urban places to live in preference to rural and do not feel that an open country atmosphere is necessary for an ideal community. Most students in level 3 aspire for high status white collar occupations, and negatively evaluate the existing job structure of their primary communities. They are less apt than students in level 1 to feel that it is very important for an ideal community to have good jobs available. Relative to education, most students in level 3 want additional training after high school and place a high value upon urban-like communities which contain cultural and educational facilities like libraries, museums, art galleries, and colleges. Like level 1, most students in level 3 are female; but unlike level 1 most are juniors. Also, level 3 contains higher than expected proportions of Baptist students, students of Finnish background, residents of villages, students with fathers who have skilled and professional occupations, and students reporting family incomes of 5,000 dollars a year and over.

As previously stated, students classified as level 2 can be placed in a scale of rural-urban orientation between the urban oriented students in level 3 and the rural orientated students in level 1. They appear to have some specifications that can be met in small rural communities and some that can not. Similar to level 3, most students in level 2 prefer urban to rural places; but unlike students in level 3, most students feel that an ideal community should have an open country atmosphere. The proportion preferring urban places is less than level 3, and the proportion considering an open country atmosphere very important is greater than level 1. Like level 1 but to a lesser extent, students in level 2 in general positively evaluate the size of their small rural primary communities and do not negatively evaluate their communities as sites to find a spouse or raise a family. Relative to occupational and educational aspirations, students in level 1 are more similar to students in level 3 than students in level 2. Nearly half of the students in level 2 aspired for high status white collar occupations and over half wish to continue their education after high school. Also the percentage of students in level 2 negatively evaluating the occupational structures of their primary communities and designating "availability of a good job" as a very important specification is closer to level 3 than level 1. Further, the availability of adequate expressive activities and the ability to maintain close relations with friends are most important specifications of students in level 2 than students in levels 1 or 3. Also, level 2 contains more males than females and about an equal number of juniors and seniors. In addition, level 2 contains a higher than expected proportion of Finnish students, Lutheran students, and students who report family incomes of between 3,000 and 4,999 dollars.

Conclusion. -- Throughout this study it has been maintained that the three specification levels going from level 1 to level 3 represent non-overlapping segments of a continuum designating the extent to which

students' specifications for an ideal community can be met in their primary community. In this appendix it has been demonstrated that it is reasonable to maintain that the levels do in fact represent different segments of a continuum based upon student preference for rural or urban communities, and associated styles of life as well as the corresponding evaluations of their primary communities. Thus students in level 1 not only prefer rural communities but tend not to negatively evaluate the existing style of life in their primary communities. While not all their specification can be met in their primary communities, generally more of them can be met there than for students classified into level 2 or 3. Level 3 contains, by and large, students whose specifications are more apt to be met in urban communities and who negatively evaluate the style of life available in rural areas such as their primary communities. To a greater extent than students in levels 1 or 2, the specifications of students classified in type 3 can not be met in their primary communities. Students in level 2 occupied an intermediate position between level 1 and level 3 relative to their specification for an ideal community being met in their primary community. They had specifications some of which can and some of which can not be met in their primary communities. Students in level 2 generally are more urban oriented than students in level 1 but they are less apt to negatively evaluate rural living than students in level 3. Perhaps students in level 2 would prefer smaller urban places than students in level 3--places that still have an open country atmosphere.

No attempt is made in this appendix to compare the content of community satisfaction and the content of specification level. While it has been demonstrated that community satisfaction and specification level have independent effects upon orientations to migration, it is clear that rural-urban orientations as well as vocational aspirations appear to be important content dimensions of both specification level

and community satisfaction. However, until the association between content of the categories of the two independent measures is more rigorously measured, the relative importance of content factors for distinguishing categories of either dimension cannot be made and the relative similarity or dissimilarity of the content of specification level and community satisfaction determined.

APPENDIX B

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

WHAT THIS STUDY IS ABOUT

This survey is an attempt to get a better picture of the problems high school students in Michigan face in selecting an area where they would like to live and work. You and only you can provide the answers. By carefully filling out this questionnaire you will help us to gain a better understanding of these problems. This information will be of great value in developing counseling programs for high school students. For this reason we are anxious to have you answer the questions on this form to the best of your ability.

PLEASE FOLLOW THESE DIRECTIONS

1. Read each question and all items listed beneath the question carefully. Then answer the question to the best of your knowledge.
2. Be sure to answer each question, but do not spend too much time on any one question.
3. If you are in doubt or don't understand an item, raise your hand and you will receive aid.

1. Your name: _____
(First) (Middle) (Last)
2. Your mailing address: _____
Do you live on a farm? Yes _____ No _____
If you do not live on a farm, have you ever lived on a farm? Yes _____ No _____
3. Your high school: _____
(Name and Location)
4. Your sex: Male _____ Female _____
5. How old are you? _____ Your date of birth: _____
Month Day Year
6. Your class: Junior _____ Senior _____
7. With whom do you live regularly?
 - a. _____ My own parents
 - b. _____ A parent and a step-parent
 - c. _____ One parent only
 - d. _____ My grandparents
 - e. _____ Uncle or Aunt
 - f. _____ Others (write in who they are) _____
8. Your church preference is:
 - a. _____ Baptist
 - b. _____ Catholic
 - c. _____ Episcopal
 - d. _____ Lutheran
 - e. _____ Methodist
 - f. _____ Presbyterian
 - g. _____ Other (write in the name) _____

Are you a member: Yes _____ No _____

YOUR ACTIVITIES: Many students participate in some activities in their school and in their community. We would now like to know something about your activities and what you think about them.

XXXXXX

1. The kinds of extra-curricular activities in which you participate are:
(Check the ones in which you participate actively, and add to the list if necessary.)

a. ☐ band-orchestra b. ☐ chorus-vocal c. ☐ dramatics d. ☐ debates e. ☐ 4-H or FFA f. ☐ high school teams g. ☐ other athletics (specify) _____ _____	h. ☐ school paper i. ☐ annual (year book) j. ☐ student government k. ☐ hobby club l. ☐ hunting or fishing m. ☐ other _____ _____
---	--
2. When you have some free time, what do you like best to do? _____

3. Compared with most students in your high school, the number of activities you are in is:
a. ☐ greater than average
b. ☐ about average.
c. ☐ less than average.
4. Compared with most students in your high school, your leadership activities are:
a. ☐ greater than average.
b. ☐ about average.
c. ☐ less than average.
5. How often do you feel that you would like to take part in more activities?
a. ☐ very often
b. ☐ often
c. ☐ sometimes
d. ☐ never
6. How often do you feel that you do not get along with your classmates?
a. ☐ very often
b. ☐ often
c. ☐ sometimes
d. ☐ never
7. How often do you avoid your classmates because they are unkind or unfriendly?
a. ☐ very often
b. ☐ often
c. ☐ sometimes
d. ☐ never
8. What do you usually do at the following times: (If you have a job, state what kind)
a. Immediately after school? _____
b. In the evenings? _____
c. On Saturdays? _____
d. On Sundays? _____
9. Write the names and ages of your three closest friends.

a. Your closest friend _____	(Name)	(Age)
b. Your next closest friend _____	(Name)	(Age)
c. Your next closest friend _____	(Name)	(Age)

YOUR COMMUNITY: All of us have feelings about the community in which we live; there are things in it that we like and things that we do not like. We should like to have your honest opinion about the following questions as they apply to your community.

XXXXXX

1. Below is a list of statements that express opinions about any given community. Read each item carefully and quickly check the phrase that most nearly represents your personal belief about the community in or near which you live.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
SAMPLE: Working is great fun.	___	___	☒	___	___
a. Anything of a progressive nature is generally approved.	___	___	___	___	___
b. With few exceptions the leaders are capable and ambitious.	___	___	___	___	___
c. It is difficult for the people to get together on anything.	___	___	___	___	___
d. The people as a whole mind their own business.	___	___	___	___	___
e. Everyone helps to decide how things should be run.	___	___	___	___	___
f. The future of the community looks bright.	___	___	___	___	___
g. No one seems to care how the community looks.	___	___	___	___	___
h. It will never seem like home to me.	___	___	___	___	___
i. Quite a number of the residents have really amounted to something.	___	___	___	___	___
j. Persons with real ability are usually given recognition.	___	___	___	___	___
k. Not much can be said in favor of a place this size.	___	___	___	___	___
l. The church services as a rule are well worth attending.	___	___	___	___	___
m. The community is not located in a very desirable place.	___	___	___	___	___
n. The people have to do without a good many conveniences like telephone service, sewage disposal, water works, and good roads.	___	___	___	___	___
o. A person has to leave town in order to have a good time.	___	___	___	___	___
p. There are not many families you would care to marry into.	___	___	___	___	___
q. Few if any of the neighboring towns are able to surpass it.	___	___	___	___	___
r. Cultural and educational facilities like colleges, libraries, theaters, and museums are adequate.	___	___	___	___	___
s. People have to do without adequate shopping facilities.	___	___	___	___	___

2. After graduation many changes will take place in your way of life. You and your friends will be looking for jobs, thinking of getting married, going to college, or moving to a new town. Many of the activities that you formerly engaged in like playing basketball or just visiting will be difficult to do since many of your friends will not be around. Thinking about the changes that take place after graduation, read each statement below carefully and quickly check the phrase that most nearly represents your personal belief about your community.

XXXXXX

AFTER GRADUATION YOUR COMMUNITY WILL BE:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. A good place to engage in farming	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. A good place to get the job you would like to have	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. A good place to find someone you would like to marry	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. A good place to find <u>people your own age</u>	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. A good place to live since there are facilities in town or close by for young adults to have a good time	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. A good place to have fun with people your own age--like dating, visiting, going to movies, or other such social activities	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. A good place to have fun with people your own age--like watching or playing volleyball, basketball, or other such organized sports	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. A good place to go hunting, fishing, hiking, or other similar outdoor activities	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. A good place to enjoy being members of adult organizations like the VFW, the Eagles, the Rotary, the church, or womens' clubs	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. A good place to build a home and raise a family	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. A good place to remain close to your friends	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. A good place to remain close to your relatives	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. What facilities or activities should a community have for young adults, that your community does not have?	a. _____ b. _____ c. _____				
4. As a place to live soon after graduation, how well do you like your community?	a. _____ strongly dislike it d. _____ I like it b. _____ I dislike it e. _____ I am enthusiastic about it c. _____ I am indifferent				
5. After you are married and have a family, how well would you like your community as a place to live?	a. _____ strongly dislike it d. _____ I would like it b. _____ I would dislike it e. _____ I would be enthusiastic about it c. _____ I would be indifferent				

YOU AND YOUR PARENTS: Below is a list of statements about the relations between parents and their children. We would like to have your honest opinion about these statements as they apply to your family. (If you do not live with your parents, answer the question in terms of your guardian, or the people you live with.)

XXXXXX

1. Regarding your relationships with your parents (or guardian, the people you live with): (Check the phrase that most nearly represents your own personal belief.)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. It is hard for me to feel pleasant at home.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. My parents try to understand my problems and worries.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. As far as my ideas are concerned my parents and I live in two different worlds.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. There is real love and affection for me at home.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. My parents criticize me too much.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. My friends have happier homes than I do.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Too often my parents compare me unfavorably with other children.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. As I have know it, family life is happy.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. My parents expect too much of me.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

2. When do you think your parents are most likely to consider you an adult?
(Write your answer here) _____

3. What right did your parents (or guardian, the people you live with) have to make decisions for you when you were in the 9th grade (beginning high school)?
- They had a definite right to help make my decisions.
 - They had some right to help make my decisions.
 - They had no right, but they could give me their opinions.
 - They had no right to even give their opinions.

4. What right do your parents have to make decisions for you after you graduate from high school?
- They have a definite right to help make my decisions.
 - They have some right to help make my decisions.
 - They have no right, but they may give me their opinions.
 - They have no right even to give their opinions.

5. Which of the following statements best indicates what your parents have encouraged you to do after graduation?
- Get a full time job and continue to live at home.
 - Get a full time job and live as close to home as possible.
 - Get the best full time job possible even if you have to move to another community.
 - Continue your education or training, and then return to your community.
 - Continue your education or training, and then get the best job possible even if you have to move to another community.
 - Other (indicate) _____.

6. Do your parents expect you to help support them after graduation? Yes ___ No ___.

- a. They will be financially able to help you a great deal.
- b. They will be financially able to give you some help.
- c. They will be financially able to give you no help.

8. How willing will your parents be to help you after you graduate from high school?

- a. Willing to help you a great deal.
b. Willing to give you some help.
c. Willing to give you no help.

9. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even if it means giving up a good job? Yes No Undecided.

10. Even when teenagers get married, their first loyalty still belongs to their parents. Yes No Undecided .

LEAVING YOUR COMMUNITY: At times many have considered moving away from their communities. We would now like to know if you have considered leaving your community, and something about your reasons.

1. Have you ever seriously considered moving away from your community?
Yes _____ No _____

2. Are you considering moving away from your community after graduation?
Yes No

3. How eager are you to stay or move from your community after graduation?

- a. Eager to stay
b. Probably stay, but not eager to stay
c. Probably leave, but not eager to leave
d. Eager to leave

4. If you are considering leaving your community soon after graduation, what are your two main reasons?

a. First reason _____

b. Second reason _____

5. Below is a list of reasons high school students sometimes give for leaving their communities after graduation. If the statement represents a reason for your wanting to leave your community, check yes; if not, check no.

	Yes	No	Undecided
a. Few good jobs available	_____	_____	_____
b. Unable to make a go of farming	_____	_____	_____
c. Little chance of finding someone I would like to marry	_____	_____	_____
d. Few people of my own age	_____	_____	_____
e. Feeling pleasant at home is difficult for me	_____	_____	_____
f. Few occasions to engage in activities you consider important	_____	_____	_____
g. Few occasions to engage in outdoor sports	_____	_____	_____
h. To get away from the domination of my family	_____	_____	_____
i. Not enough facilities in town or nearby to have a good time	_____	_____	_____
j. No privacy--everyone knows my business	_____	_____	_____
k. The climate is not good	_____	_____	_____
l. Not enough night life for young adults	_____	_____	_____
m. Feeling pleasant with some of the people my own age is difficult	_____	_____	_____
n. The community has no future.	_____	_____	_____
o. The location is poor	_____	_____	_____
p. Parents criticize me too much	_____	_____	_____
q. To be able to make my own decisions	_____	_____	_____
r. Public services such as telephone, service, water supply, sewage disposal, and road repairs are poor	_____	_____	_____
s. My reputation in the community is not as I want it	_____	_____	_____
t. My community is not a good place to raise a family	_____	_____	_____
u. There are not enough good shopping centers nearby	_____	_____	_____
v. There are not enough facilities like libraries, museums, art galleries, and colleges	_____	_____	_____
w. I want a change of scenery and new experiences	_____	_____	_____

- A. Which of the above do you consider most important?(Please write the letter of the two most important) First _____ Second _____.

NEW COMMUNITY: The following questions seek to find out some of your preferences about the kind of place in which you would like to live.

XXXXXXX

1. Which of the following best indicates the kind of community in which you would prefer to live: (Please check only one).

- a. ☐ In the open country
- b. ☐ In a village under 2,500 (like Ewen or Ontonagon)
- c. ☐ In a city of 10,000 to 100,000 (like Marquette or Lansing)
- d. ☐ In a city of over 100,000 (like Detroit or Chicago)
- e. ☐ In a suburb outside a large city

- A. If you checked the open country or a village, do you prefer the location to be near a big city? Yes ☐ No ☐ IF YES, how near? _____.

- B. Do you have any specific place in mind? Yes ☐ No ☐
IF YES, where? _____

2. How important are the following qualities of the community in which you would eventually like to live? (Read each statement carefully and quickly check the phrase that most nearly represents your own personal belief.)

	Very Important	Of Some Importance	Of Little or No Importance
a. The community should have libraries, museums, art galleries, and colleges.	_____	_____	_____
b. The community should have available entertainment like concerts, lectures, and plays.	_____	_____	_____
c. The community should have available entertainment like movies or bowling.	_____	_____	_____
d. The community should have good TV reception.	_____	_____	_____
e. The community should have available sports events, like boxing, football, baseball, and basketball.	_____	_____	_____
f. The community should be one in which a person can be close to nature with opportunities for hunting, fishing, and hiking.	_____	_____	_____
g. The community should have conveniences like telephone service, water supply, good transportation, sewage disposal and good roads.	_____	_____	_____
h. The community should have a climate that you like.	_____	_____	_____
i. The community should have an open country atmosphere away from the hustle, bustle, and noise of the city.	_____	_____	_____
j. The community should be busy and exciting with lots of people and no one knowing your business.	_____	_____	_____
k. The community should have many avenues to success, and not limit a person to a job they may not like.	_____	_____	_____
l. The community should be one where there are good jobs.	_____	_____	_____
m. The community should be one in which you can be close to your friends.	_____	_____	_____

Very Of Some Of Little or
Important · Importance No Importance

n. The community should be near shopping centers with department stores and supermarkets.

o. The community should have or be close to some interesting and exciting night life.

p. What other qualities not mentioned above should the community have? (Write your answer here)

A. Which of the above do you consider most important? (Please write the letter of the two most important.) First _____ Second _____

YOUR FUTURE OCCUPATION: Now that high school graduation is nearing, we'd like to know something about your plans for your future life's work.

XXXXXX

1. Of all the jobs in this community, which job would you like best? _____ Which least? _____

2. How do you think that farming compares with city jobs like working in a factory, store, or office? Better _____ Worse _____ Undecided _____

How do you think that mining compares with city jobs like working in a factory, store, or office? Better _____ Worse _____ Undecided _____

How do you think that woods work compares with city jobs like working in a factory, store, or office? Better _____ Worse _____ Undecided _____

3. If you could have any job you wanted, regardless of the training or experience required, what job would you pick? _____

4. What jobs have your parents mentioned that they would like to see you do?

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

5. What jobs are you now seriously considering as a lifetime work?

a. First choice _____. Have your parents encouraged this? Yes _____ No _____

b. Second choice _____. Have your parents encouraged this? Yes _____ No _____

6. Regarding your first choice, what do you think are the reasons for your selecting it? (Check as many reasons as apply)

a. _____ Encouraged by family

b. _____ Advised by friends

c. _____ Suggested by school study

d. _____ Suggested by motion pictures

e. _____ Suggested by TV or radio

f. _____ Suggested by magazines and books

g. _____ Interest developed out of experience

h. _____ Most profitable work I could get

i. _____ Suggested by counseling and testing

j. _____ Admired someone in this job

k. _____ Other (indicate) _____

A. Which of the above do you consider most important? (Please write the letter of the two most important.) First _____ Second _____

7. Generally, what do you most expect of the job you want to make your life's work? (Check as many statements as apply).

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. ☐ Freedom of behavior | g. ☐ Money |
| b. ☐ Chance for advancement | h. ☐ Security |
| c. ☐ Friendship with fellow employees | i. ☐ Public recognition |
| d. ☐ Power and authority | j. ☐ Benefit to humanity |
| e. ☐ Intellectual challenge | k. ☐ Time to enjoy myself |
| f. ☐ Prestige or respect | l. ☐ Other (indicate) _____. |

A. Which of the above do you consider most important? (Please write the letter of the two most important) First _____ Second _____.

8. How do you expect to get started in the job you want for your life's work?

9. Do you intend to get further training after high school?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____.

If Yes, what do you plan?

- a. ☐ College. Where _____
- b. ☐ Trade School. Where _____
- c. ☐ Apprentice. Where _____
- d. ☐ Other. What and Where _____

If Yes, how do you intend to pay for the training? (Check as many as apply and underline the most important.)

- a. ☐ Parents will help
- b. ☐ Work on the side
- c. ☐ Scholarships
- d. ☐ Borrow the money
- e. ☐ Other (specify) _____
- f. ☐ Don't know

If Yes, when do you intend to start?

- a. ☐ When the new term starts in the fall
- b. ☐ After working for a year or so
- c. ☐ After military service
- d. ☐ Other (indicate) _____

10. Do you expect to enter military service soon after graduation?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

If Yes, for how long?

- a. ☐ Permanent career
- b. ☐ Two years only
- c. ☐ Other (indicate) _____

11. Has the possibility of military service affected your job plans?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____

If Yes, check in what way or ways?

- a. ☐ Delayed making any definite plans
- b. ☐ Employers are hesitant to hire me
- c. ☐ Figured I'd get it out of the way and then decide
- d. ☐ Other (indicate) _____

12. Do you have a job waiting for you when you graduate?
 Yes ___ No ___ Don't Know ___ (If yes, please check the following; if no or
 don't know, go to Question 13.)

If yes, what type of job is it? (If more than one job is available, state them
 in order of your preference. _____)

Who would you be working for? (For your first choice if more than one job.)

Parents ___ Other relatives ___ Non relatives ___

They
 Don't

Do your parents expect you to take that job? Yes ___ No ___ Don't Know ___ Care ___

What is the location of the job? _____

Do you intend to keep the job permanently? Yes ___ No ___ Don't Know ___

If no or don't know, which of the following best indicates what you would do?

- a. ___ Not take the job
 b. ___ Take the job temporarily until _____
 c. ___ Other (specify) _____
 d. ___ Don't know

13. If you don't have a job you intend to take, and don't expect to go to college
 (or on for additional training) or into the Service, do you expect to seek a
 job near home or away from home?

- a. ___ I expect to seek a job near where I live.
 b. ___ I expect to look for a job away from home.
 c. ___ I don't know as yet just what I will do.

What type of job will you be looking for? _____

YOUR COMMUNITY AFTER GRADUATION: Now we would like to know something about the
 community you intend to reside in after graduation.

XXXXXXX

1. Where do you expect to live while working or going to school soon (5 or 6 months)
 after graduation? _____
 (place)

2. Why do you intend to live in the community named in the above question?
 (Check as many statements as apply.)

- a. ___ Because the community has cultural facilities like libraries, museums,
 and colleges.
 b. ___ Because the community has recreational and entertainment facilities you
 consider important.
 c. ___ Because the community has adequate conveniences like telephone service,
 water supply, good transportation, sewage disposal, and good roads.
 d. ___ Because the community has a good climate.
 e. ___ Because the community is the size you want.
 f. ___ Because the community has many good jobs available.
 g. ___ Because the community has good shopping centers.
 h. ___ Because you have a job waiting for you there.
 i. ___ Because you will be going to school there.
 j. ___ Because many of your friends are there.
 k. ___ Because many of your relatives are there.
 l. ___ Because you will have freedom of behavior there.
 m. ___ Because the community will be a 'change of scenery', a place where
 you can have new and exciting experiences.

- n. ☐ Better chance to find someone you want to marry.
- o. ☐ Because there are more people your own age there.
- p. ☐ Because the community has an open country atmosphere away from the hustle and bustle of the city.
- q. ☐ Because the community has more avenues to success and advancement.
- r. ☐ Other _____

A. Which of the above do you consider most important? (Please write the letter of the two most important.) First _____ Second _____

B. If the community you intend to live in after graduation is not your home community, how did you learn about it? _____

2. Do you have a second choice of a community where you would like to live soon (5 or 6 months) after graduation? Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know ☐

If Yes, where? _____

If Yes, why did you select the first choice rather than the second? _____

3. Now, considering the kind of job and the way of life you eventually wish to have, do you think it is necessary for you to move from your present community? Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know ☐

4. Would you remain or eventually return to your community if jobs were available? Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know ☐

5. Twenty years from now, what job do you expect to have? _____
Where do you expect to be living twenty years from now? First choice _____
Second choice _____

YOUR PARENTS: Now we would like to have some information about your parents.

XXXXXXX

1. Your parents are:
- a. ☐ Both living together
 - b. ☐ Both dead
 - c. ☐ Father is dead
 - d. ☐ Mother is dead
 - e. ☐ Divorced
 - f. ☐ Separated

2. Your mother:
- a. ☐ has no job outside the home.
 - b. ☐ has a part-time job outside the home.
 - c. ☐ has a full-time job outside the home.

3. Your father's occupation is: (or was, if dead or retired) (Specify the kind of work he does and not where he works.) Main occupation _____
Part-time occupation _____

If your father is a farmer, how many acres does he operate _____
How many milk cows does he have _____

4. What does your father think of his occupation:
- a. ☐ Completely satisfactory
 - b. ☐ Fairly satisfactory
 - c. ☐ Good enough
 - d. ☐ Not very good
 - e. ☐ Very poor

5. Where was your father born? _____
(State or Country)
- Where was your mother born? _____
(State or Country)

6. What nationality is your father? _____
 What nationality is your mother? _____
7. How much formal schooling (does, did) your father have?
 a. Less than 4 years
 b. 5-7 years
 c. 8 years
 d. 9-11 years
 e. High school graduate
 f. Some college
 g. College graduate
 h. Don't know
 i. Other (indicate) _____
8. How much formal schooling (does, did) your mother have?
 a. Less than 4 years
 b. 5-7 years
 c. 8 years
 d. 9-11 years
 e. High school graduate
 f. Some college
 g. College graduate
 h. Don't know
 i. Other (indicate) _____
9. How old is your father? _____ Your mother? _____
10. Indicate by a check ☒ the number of the category in which your parents' income fell last year. (If not sure, make an estimate.)
 a. Under \$1,000
 b. 1,000 to 1,999
 c. 2,000 to 2,999
 d. 3,000 to 3,999
 e. 4,000 to 4,999
 f. 5,000 to 5,999
 g. 6,000 to 6,999
 h. 7,000 to 8,999
 i. 9,000 and over
11. How many brothers do you have? _____
 How many are older than you? _____
12. How many sisters do you have? _____
 How many are older than you? _____
13. IN THE SPACE BELOW WRITE THE NAME, SEX, OCCUPATION AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF EACH OF YOUR OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS: (Start with your oldest brother or sister and include all your older brothers and sisters. If in school, put "student." If older sister is married and not working outside the home, put "housewife.")

Name	Male or Female	Occupation	Place or Residence (town and state)
1. _____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____
6. _____	_____	_____	_____

YOUR HOME: Now we would like to know something about your home.

XXXXXX

1. Your parents home is: a. ☐ owned b. ☐ rented c. ☐ being bought
If renting, how much is your rent? .
2. The number of persons who live in your house is: .
- The number of rooms in your house is: .
- (Do not include basements, bathrooms, porches, closets, halls.)
3. The construction of your house is:
 - a. ☐ brick
 - b. ☐ Unpainted frame
 - c. ☐ Painted frame
 - d. ☐ Other (specify) .
4. The lighting in your house is:
 - a. ☐ Oil lamps
 - b. ☐ Electric
 - c. ☐ Gas, mantle, or pressure lamps
 - d. ☐ Other or none.
5. What kind of refrigeration do you have?
 - a. ☐ ice
 - b. ☐ mechanical (gas or electric)
 - c. ☐ other or none
6. Do you have a deep freeze locker in your house? Yes ☐ No ☐.
7. Do you have running water in your house? Yes ☐ No ☐.
- Do you have an indoor toilet? Yes ☐ No ☐.
8. Does your family take a daily newspaper? Yes ☐ No ☐.
9. Does your family have a power washing machine in your home? Yes ☐ No ☐.
10. Do you have a radio in your home? Yes ☐ No ☐.
- Does this radio work? Yes ☐ No ☐.
11. Do you have a TV set in your home? Yes ☐ No ☐.
12. Does your family have a car?(other than a truck) Yes ☐ No ☐.
13. Does your home have a telephone? Yes ☐ No ☐.
14. Does your father (or guardian) go to church at least once a month? Yes ☐ No ☐.
- Does your mother (or guardian) go to church at least once a month? Yes ☐ No ☐.

Directions: Below are two stories and five questions about each story. Read each story carefully and then answer the questions. (In each question check the statement that most nearly represents your personal belief.)

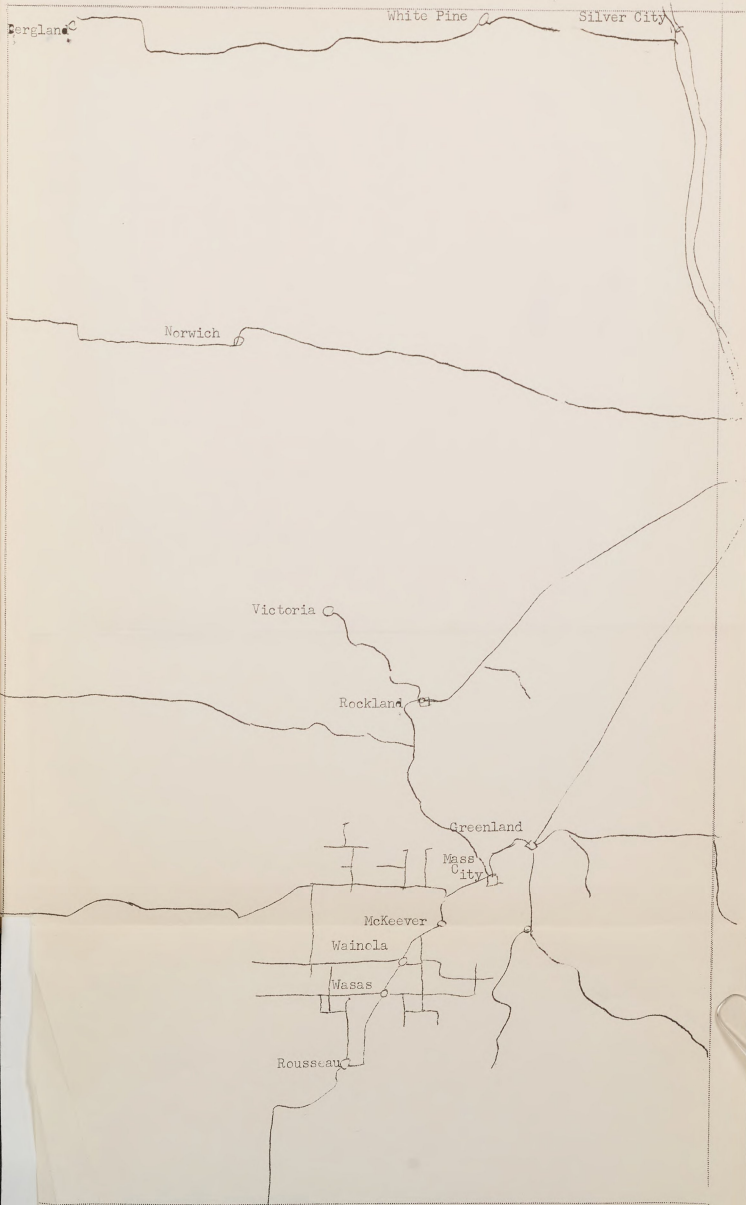
Story 1. After graduation you will be looking for a job. You have been talking to some of your friends. All of you have decided to go to Detroit together to look for work. You also, of course, told your parents about the idea several weeks ago, and they did not object then. Today your parents told you that they would prefer that you didn't go to Detroit. They would prefer that you stay home and work in Ontonagon County.

- A. In a situation like this, what right do your parents have to expect you to stay home instead of going to Detroit as you planned?
- a. ☐ My parents would have a definite right to expect me to stay home.
 - b. ☐ My parents would have some right to expect me to stay home.
 - c. ☐ My parents would have no right to expect me to stay home.
- B. Considering your own interests as well as your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do?
- a. ☐ I think I would go to Detroit with my friends, since I had been planning to do so.
 - b. ☐ I think that I would stay in Ontonagon County if my parents wanted me to do so.
- C. How do you think your father would feel if you decided to go against his wishes?
- a. ☐ Since I had made up my mind, he would no longer object.
 - b. ☐ He would continue to disapprove of my decision, but would recognize that I was old enough to make up my own mind.
 - c. ☐ He would rigorously disapprove, and indicate that I had a definite duty to remain at home.
- D. How would your mother feel if you decided to go against her wishes?
- a. ☐ Since I had made up my mind, she would no longer object.
 - b. ☐ She would continue to disapprove of my decision, but would recognize that I was old enough to make up my own mind.
 - c. ☐ She would rigorously disapprove, and indicate that I had a definite duty to remain at home.
- E. If you went to Detroit against your parents wishes, which of the following best indicates the help that you might expect from your parents:
- a. ☐ No help.
 - b. ☐ Some help.
 - c. ☐ All the assistance they could give.

Story 2: Your parents are not well. They could use someone at home to help them in their business and around the house. All of your brothers and sisters have moved to other towns, and you are the only child at home. Your parents expect you to stay and help them. You have been talking to some of your friends and all of you have decided that you would like to go to Detroit and look for work.

- A. In a situation like this, what right do your parents have to expect you to stay home instead of going to Detroit as you planned?
- a. ___ My parents would have a definite right to expect me to stay home.
 - b. ___ My parents would have some right to expect me to stay at home.
 - c. ___ My parents would have no right to expect me to stay home.
- B. Considering your own interests as well as your obligations to your parents, what do you think you would do?
- a. ___ I think I would go to Detroit with my friends since I had been planning to do so.
 - b. ___ I think that I would stay in Ontonagon County since my parents needed me.
- C. How would your father feel if you decided to go against his wishes?
- a. ___ Since I had made up my mind, he would no longer object to my leaving.
 - b. ___ He would continue to disapprove of my decision, but would recognize that I was old enough to make up my own mind.
 - c. ___ He would rigorously disapprove, and indicate that I had a definite duty to remain at home.
- D. How would your mother feel if you decided to go against her wishes?
- a. ___ Since I had made up my mind, she would no longer object to my leaving.
 - b. ___ She would continue to disapprove of my decision, but would recognize that I was old enough to make up my own mind.
 - c. ___ She would rigorously disapprove, and indicate that I had a definite duty to remain at home.
- E. If you went to Detroit against your parents wishes, which of the following best indicates the help you might expect from your parents?
- a. ___ No help
 - b. ___ Some help
 - c. ___ All the help they could give

DIRECTIONS: Please put an X on the spot where you live regularly.



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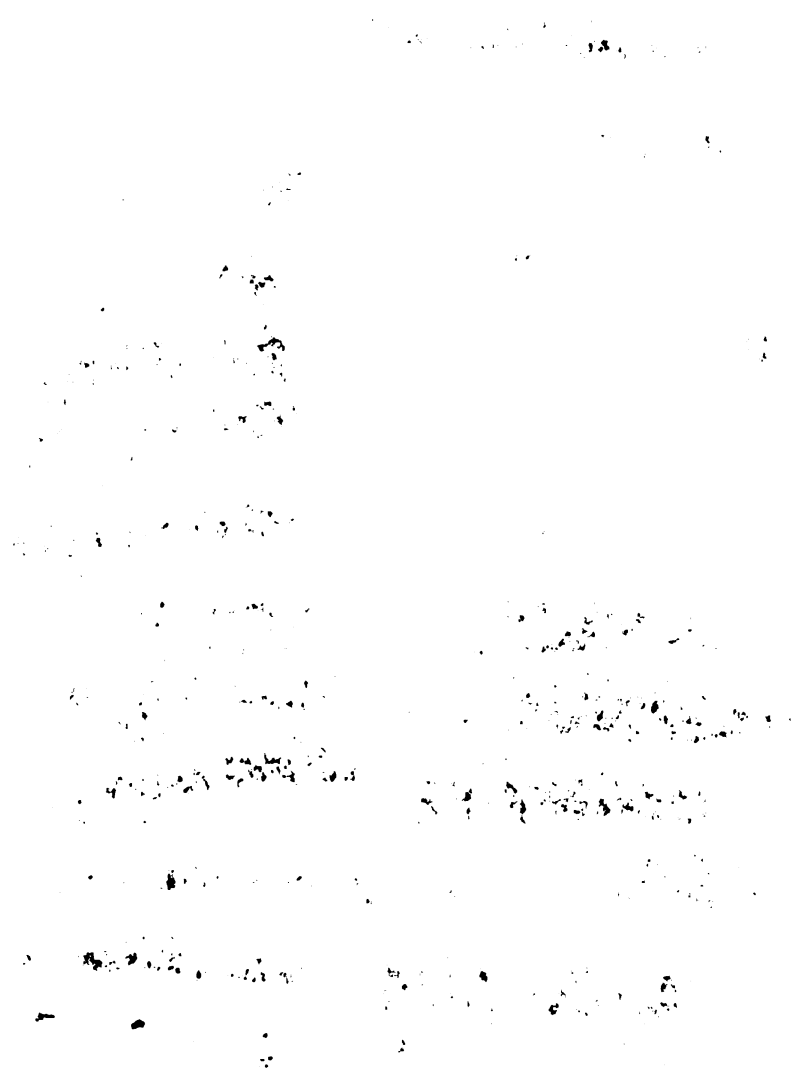
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