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LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF AN UPPER MICHIGAN
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OF RURAL YOUTH: A TEN YEAR LONGITUDINAL STUDY
OF AN UPPER MICHIGAN SAMPLE**

By

Jon Hill Rieger

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AND OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF RURAL YOUTH: A TEN YEAR LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF AN UPPER MICHIGAN SAMPLE

By

Jon Hill Rieger

This dissertation addresses itself to the relationship of geographic mobility and occupational attainment of rural youth, a subject of continuing interest in sociological research. A survey of the literature yields the following generalizations concerning the migration behavior and career achievement of these young people: 1) Most of them depart their rural communities after leaving school; 2) Most of the departees migrate to urban areas; 3) The migrants generally exhibit higher occupational attainments than nonmigrants; 4) Superior occupational achievement among migrants may be explained only partly in terms of selectivity of migration; 5) Persons reared in larger communities tend to achieve higher occupational levels than those from smaller ones; and 6) Migrants to small cities show the highest occupational attainment while migrants to large cities rank second. Migrants to other rural places rank behind migrants to large cities but ahead of nonmigrants.

These generalizations are based on research which is typically cross-sectional or historico-reconstructive in

design. The few longitudinal studies carried out have been hampered by reliance on simple "Time 1, Time 2" observations or by significant data loss through attrition of cases, or both. An indication of the limitations of previous research is revealed in the lack of systematic analysis of "circular migration," which is shown to be a widespread phenomenon. It is observed that a need exists for a more complete analysis of the experience of a single cohort over the period of their basic career development.

A micro-level study is then outlined in which the above generalizations are restated as hypotheses and tested under strict longitudinal conditions utilizing a) continuous data over the time period of the study, and b) recovery of information for 100% of the cases. The study uses a sample of young males from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. These subjects were first studied while they were still enrolled in high school and then were tracked for the subsequent ten year period. Data were initially obtained concerning various objective and social psychological background factors. Ten years later detailed information was gathered concerning all changes of residence, occupations held, and education obtained during the decade.

The results support each of the hypotheses and point up the significance of the circular migration phenomenon. Most of those residing in their home community at the end of the ten year period were found to have lived elsewhere

for a significant period during the decade, and their occupational attainment was distinctly higher than that of the true nonmigrants, but lower than that of the migrants to other rural areas. This rank order of occupational achievement of nonmigrants, circular migrants, and rural migrants is accounted for in terms of a "kinship deterrent" theory in which proximity to, and frequent interaction with, kin exercises an inhibiting effect upon occupational mobility.

The findings in respect to circular migration serve as a basis for criticism of the conventional simplified classification of migration status as it relates to career formation and occupational mobility among rural youth. It is argued that migration among these types of subjects is a more complex process than is implied by the format of previous research.



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Apprenticeship in the craft of Sociology is initially measured in the creativity, and in the quality of the workmanship and writing, of the Ph.D. dissertation. To whatever degree the present thesis embodies those characteristics, it has been due to the continuing confidence, interest, and guidance of a number of key individuals during the last several years of my professional education.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

A. Introduction

A substantial amount of research in American rural sociology has been concerned with the problems of rural youth under conditions of rapid social change in the twentieth century. Improvements in agricultural technology, contraction of the rural labor market, consolidation of land into larger, and fewer, units, and changes in the economics of rural areas are some of the factors which have had major impact on the careers of young people growing up in rural America (Burchinal, 1963a).

Perhaps the most basic consequence of such changes over the period of the last sixty years has been the development of a more or less continual labor surplus in rural areas, and a resultant outflow of many young people into urban regions, where they are absorbed into the urban labor market (Freedman and Freedman, 1956; Beegle, Marshall, and Rice, 1963; Leuthold, 1968).

While many conditions contribute to the decision of a young person to leave his community, the consequence is that moving away from home carries him into a new and possibly strange environment. It might be a community rather similar to his own. It might be a small town. And

then again it might be a middle- or large-sized city quite different from the familiar community whence he came. In any such new environment the young migrant must find his way and re-establish himself. He may seek further education, or employment, or both. Unless he has a relative living in the new community, he must set up independent residence. He must adapt to new conditions and realities (Omari, 1955; Rose and Warshay, 1957).

The new environment presents not only challenges to the migrant; it may also present new opportunities which were not available in the community from which he came. Such new opportunities may well result in a total experience which is significantly different from that which he would have had had he not chosen to leave his home area, or had he chosen a different destination. Hence those original decisions concerning 1) leaving the home community and 2) selecting a particular new community were strategic in their effect upon later outcomes--they shaped the possibilities and the limitations of the individual's development. They were, in a certain sense, fateful events in influencing the character of the individual's later career.

The relevance of geographic mobility in the career outcomes of rural youth is fundamental. Such mobility functions to lift men out of certain familiar, but often unsatisfying circumstances and allocate them among many alternative environments in which new influences and conditions must

be met, with a wide range of consequences for their lives. The level of their occupational achievement, education, and income will be affected, and along with these, their styles of living. In addition, the amount of contact that can be maintained with family and other members of the home community will be limited. Such new exposure may often affect mate choice as well. The profound significance of the impact of decisions to migrate on later experience would appear to be unassailable.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine some aspects of the relationship between geographic mobility and career achievement among rural youth. The objective is to delineate the consequences, in terms of the status of occupations attained, of decisions made by young people 1) to stay and live and work in their home communities, or 2) to leave those communities to make their way in other communities of varying dissimilarity from their home area. Special attention will be given to the effect of leaving, but returning to, the home community in terms of long range career achievement outcomes.

B. Migration and Social Mobility

The process and function of migration can be understood in terms of its significance for both the society at large and the individual. At the level of the whole society, migration serves, among other things, as a means of spatial redistribution of population in response to changes in

economic activity and the labor market. Hence, migration streams can be seen as part of the more or less continual economic readjustment process. Sociologically, migration is a dynamic feature of the occupational structure in which the migrants represent a physical reallocation of a portion of the population to different geographical sub-units of the total structure, and to possibly different positions in terms of status. In this sense migration serves the function, more or less effectively, and in conjunction with the educational apparatus, of maintaining the social system in a continuing re-equilibrium. Migration is thus, at its root, a mechanism of "horizontal" mobility in which people are moved from areas of, say, inadequate economic opportunity, to other areas in which such opportunity is better.

Looked at from the standpoint of the individual, migration may arise out of, and be instrumental in, the effort to achieve financial security, to realize educational or occupational goals, or to change or improve the quality of living, climate, etc. These gains for the individual may be made at some cost in terms of his having thereby to give up whatever value and security derived from his former connection with his place of origin. He may be required to leave supportive kin relationships as well as the familiarity of a local scene. He may risk much uncertainty and economic instability in the process.

Involving as it does a physical removal of the

individual to another place, migration results in exposure to a new environment. It may be that the migrant will assume a status very much similar to that which he left in his former environment, particularly if the new place is similar to his original area. Hence, the act of migration may be one of horizontal mobility only and involve no necessary vertical movement. But a new environment similar to his former one is only one of the possible environments into which the migrant might move, and a job similar to that which he left will be only one of those jobs potentially available in the new area.

Variation in the demand for new entrants in the many occupational roles of the work structure at the place of destination, training obtained by the individual along the way, and his resulting differential capacity to meet various occupational entrance requirements, not to mention factors such as interest and motivation, are some of the conditions impinging on the occupational fate of the individual migrant.

We may assume that among the most significant factors affecting the work experience of the individual, both migrant and nonmigrant, will be the range of occupations actually available in the community in which he finds himself. After all, it is this "opportunity structure" which embodies models of potential career lines for the new entrant into the work force as well as setting limits on the kinds of work which can be obtained. If this is true, then we

may expect to find that as the opportunity structure of the community expands, the variety of career lines actually followed by new workers will increase.

Inasmuch as there is a rough relationship between the size of a community and the breadth of its opportunity structure, we should expect to find that the larger the community, the more diverse the resulting occupational achievement of its residents. And since the larger communities contain a higher proportion of jobs in professional, technical, clerical, and business categories than do smaller ones, we should expect that the average level of occupational achievement should be higher as the size of a place increases.

Migrants to a place may be considered to participate in, and be influenced by, the opportunity structure of that place at least to some degree. However, the experience of an immigrant to a community will be affected not only by its opportunity structure but also by his level of educational preparation, by the facilities and resources to which he has access, and by what might be called his "attitudinal set," meaning his motivation, interests, and level of aspiration. All of these factors are intimately linked to his experience in his community of origin and to his family background. In general, the better the migrant's education and the greater the family resources upon which he may draw, including his parents' own educational and occupational levels, the greater will be his chances of occupational

success in the new community (Sewell, Haller, and Portes, 1969; Sewell and Shah, 1968b; Schwarzweller, 1967). Moreover, the larger the size of the place from which he has come, and therefore, the more substantial and diverse the opportunity structure to which he has been previously exposed, the greater, presumably, will be his sophistication in matters of job choice and career strategy (Lipset, 1955).

Looked at in this perspective, migrants from larger communities to other places, regardless of size, should exhibit superior occupational achievement compared to migrants from smaller communities. And such achievement should be influenced by level of education and by other background factors, such as parents' socioeconomic status and education.

Such evidence as has been gathered to date would appear to be generally consistent with the above generalizations, although it leaves many tantalizing questions unanswered. One such question concerns the role of migration and the resulting experience in new areas in influencing the level of occupational achievement of persons who subsequently decide to return to their communities of origin. Where should we expect to find them located in the total spectrum of occupational achievement? Such "circular migrants," among people from rural areas, have often been assumed to be the occupational "failures" from the original migrant cohorts. Finally, we may wonder what the role of family and kinship ties is in the occupational achievement process. Are the costs of leaving the supportive relationships

of kin in the community of origin compensated by the advantage obtained in the form of freedom from restraints which such relationships may impose?

In the next section we shall discuss some of the research literature which deals with this topic area and which bears on some of the questions which arise in connection with the analysis of career achievement in rural youth.

C. Review of Literature

Data bearing on the relationship of geographic mobility and occupational achievement in rural youth have come from a number of lines of research. Field studies in rural sociology and survey studies utilizing national samples have been carried out yielding information relevant to the experience of rural young people in finding their "niche" in the occupational structure.

Field studies in rural sociology reveal an early concern with 1) the selectivity of rural outmigration by sex, education, and size of family (Beers, 1947; Mauldin, 1940), and by intelligence (Gist, Pihlblad, and Gregory, 1941), 2) the constraining effects of kinship ties on migration plans and behaviors (Williams and Beers, 1943), and 3) problems of rural-reared migrants in the city (Heflin and Beers, 1946; Caldwell, 1938; Leybourne, 1937).

Subsequent to the Second World War a number of field studies were conducted focussing on youth migrations from rural areas. Pihlblad and Gregory (1954) studied a sample

of 5011 former Missouri high school students who had graduated in 116 different communities during 1939-1940. About 73 percent of these were located in 1951-52, of whom approximately 57 percent were then living in different communities. Brown and Buck (1961) studied 974 young adult males from rural areas in Pennsylvania, first when they were sophomores in high school, in 1947, and again ten years later. Half of these subjects had moved to other areas by the end of the ten year period.

Youmans (1963) and Schwarzweller (1963) report, in separate analyses, data from interviews of 307 males located ten years after they had been in the eighth grade in eleven eastern Kentucky counties in 1950. Using 1960 residence outside the Eastern Kentucky area as an index of geographic mobility, they classified forty-nine percent of the young men as migrants. In 1958, Taves and Collier (1964) collected interview data from 739 male former Minnesota high school students who had graduated in even-numbered years since 1948, and analyzed the results in terms of possible relationships between migration and the condition of the economy of local areas of origin. Fifty-six percent of the sample had left their home communities by the time they were interviewed.

Andrews and Sardo (1965) obtained questionnaire data from 156 former residents of Sedgwick County, Colorado, who had left the county prior to 1959 and analyzed the sample in terms of such factors as age, sex, marital status, education level, destination, reasons for leaving, etc.

The studies cited above and other similar studies have attempted to profile the migrants and nonmigrants, and to delineate some of the circumstances typically surrounding the act of migration. In addition to these studies which deal with specific regions, several efforts have been made to draw together a unified picture of geographic mobility and career achievement of rural youth on a national level. Using Survey Research Center data, Lipset and Bendix (1959) found direct relationships between size of community of origin, years of education completed, and social mobility on both an inter- and intra-generational basis. Examining the total occupational structure, they conclude that migrants from rural areas, with few exceptions, tend to fill up the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder in urban regions to which they typically migrate.

In March, 1962, under the aegis of the Current Population Survey (CPS) of the Bureau of the Census, Blau and Duncan (1967) studied a national sample of approximately 20,700 men aged 20 to 64 years. Data were gathered in a supplemental questionnaire to the regular CPS interview and designated as a survey of "Occupational Changes in a Generation (OCG)." Between the CPS and OCG, a rather broad range of data was obtained giving a comprehensive view of social mobility in addition to the usual labor force information. Thus, in what has already become a classic study, Blau and Duncan were able to analyze the relationships among a number of variables generally thought to have significance in the

mobility process, including education and socioeconomic status of parents, size and location of community of origin, nativity, race, education, status of first job, migration, family size, etc. Their analysis of the relationship between geographical and social mobility is perhaps the most detailed yet available, revealing trends for both rural and urban-reared subjects. They find that the region, and, particularly, the size of the place in which an individual grows up has a highly significant influence on his socioeconomic status. Geographic mobility is seen to be a facilitating factor in career achievement for all classes of migrants except for farm laborers.

The field studies and national sample analyses described above are representative of an accumulating body of research dealing with geographic mobility and occupational achievement. These studies, and others, have been rather diverse in terms of the quality and types of samples used, regions represented, study design, and methods of analysis. Some, for example, have actually attempted to follow the careers of a particular cohort over a period of time, in certain cases as long as twenty years, gaining measurements at the beginning and at the end of the period (Bohlen and Wakeley, 1950; Brown and Buck, 1961; Brown, Schwarzweller, and Mangalam, 1963; Smith and Berg, 1962). Some scholars have utilized a historico-reconstructive approach in which the sample is based 1) on a source list, such as a register of past school enrollment (Mauldin, 1940; Pihlblad and Gregor

1954; Schwarzweller, 1963; Taves and Collier, 1964; Youmans, 1963), or 2) on some residence, migration, or family history/structure or other criteria (Bauder and Burchinal, 1965; Burchinal and Jacobson, 1963b; Olson, 1960; Scudder and Anderson, 1954). The attempt is then made to locate, in the former case, as many sample members as possible, or, the latter case, as many as meet sampling criteria, and to collect retrospective data concerning their careers.

Still other studies have combined this reconstructive procedure with cross-sectional analysis (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Lipset and Bendix, 1952, 1959; Taeuber, 1967) in an attempt to provide a stronger basis for inferences about longitudinal trends.

Several studies have focussed on places of origin, utilizing information about migrants' careers and destinations gained either partly or wholly from secondary sources such as school officials or family members (Anderson, 1952; Beers, 1947; Hamilton, 1957; Leuthold, Farmer, and Badenhop, 1967; Pihlblad and Gregory, 1954; Scudder and Anderson, 1954; Williams and Beers, 1943). Others have utilized places of destination of migrants (Andrews and Eshleman, 1963; Bauder and Burchinal, 1965; Beers and Heflin, 1945; Burchinal and Jacobson, 1963c; Byerley, 1970; Howard, 1969; Illsley, Finlayson, and Thompson, 1963a, 1963b; Omari, 1956; Rose, 1958) as sampling sites and have concentrated on collection of data from immigrants. One unusual study, by Andrews and Sardo (1965) involved securing of names and addresses of

former community residents from family members still living in the local area and then obtaining data from these individuals via mail-back questionnaires.

In terms of the methodology employed, all the studies cited suffer, in varying degree, from attrition of cases from the broad groups under analysis. The historico-reconstructive studies had varying success in locating and securing data from subjects in the cohorts studied, from a low of 40.5 percent (Youmans; Schwarzweller) to a high of 75.4 percent (Burchinal and Jacobson) in those studies giving sufficient information to allow computation of this value. In the reconstructive studies not using source lists, representativeness is, of course, affected by not-at-homes, refusals, and the fact that the method results in obtaining data only from the "survivor group" in the area sampled. The result is that these studies are confronted with such non-representativeness that they are forced to generalize only to that portion of migrants successfully located or who have remained in the area sampled. And neither the studies which sample sites of origin nor those which focus on sites of destination are amenable to wholly satisfactory generalizations concerning the actual cohorts of migrants, since attrition cuts so deeply into the data recovery. Among other things, the conclusion suggested in recent censuses--that one out of five families moves every year--would seem to be confirmed by the problems experienced in these researches.

The high rate of geographic mobility of the population is a fact which should not be lost sight of in appreciating the problems of research into migration of rural youth. Yet, despite indications to the contrary, the rural migrant tends to be conceived as being engaged in an essentially singular event--in migration from his rural community of origin to the urban labor market. The pattern of migration has been seen as characteristically one-way; a phenomenon in which the rural youths leave an area of marginal or depressed economic activity for the cities, and are absorbed more or less permanently into the lower skilled or unskilled levels of the urban work force. This conception of the migration/occupational adjustment process has persisted despite evidence of the mobility of the general population and even though several of the studies cited have observed a reverse phenomenon in which some of the migrants, after a few years elsewhere, return, apparently inexplicably, to the same depressed areas from which they came (Leuthold, Farmer, and Badenhop, 1967; Schwarzweller, 1963).

To the extent that these rural youth continue in their geographic movement beyond the first point of rest, research that fails to take account of this falsely simplifies the migration process itself and introduces the possibility of error in estimating its consequences. An individual may depart his rural community shortly after high school for military service, education, or employment and subsequently return to the community while another may never leave the

area during the same period. By no measure can these two be considered to have had truly equivalent experience. The practice of treating both of these individuals as nonmigrants, because they both happened to turn up in the same place at the beginning and end of the time frame of the study would thus miss a highly significant difference between them. Such admonishment would not be so pertinent were it not that this practice is rather frequent in otherwise well executed research studies, owing, partly, to the "one-shot" or other simplified designs of such studies (Andrews and Sardo, 1965; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Brown and Buck, 1961; Pihlblad and Gregory, 1954; Schwarzweller, 1963).

Two important defects to be found in the bulk of the research dealing with the relationship between migration and career achievement, then, appear to be the twin problems of attrition of cases (non-representativeness) and lack of refined definitions/measurements of actual migration behavior of the cohort being studied. Useful reinforcement of the findings of the research cited might be found if research were conducted on a single cohort of rural youth under strictest possible longitudinal conditions with maximal data recovery throughout a significant period after high school. Application of more precise definitions of migration would also help reveal the significance, if any, of patterns of return migration heretofore obscured in the literature.

Before approaching such longitudinal research, it is useful first to summarize the trends suggested in the

current literature and to delineate a particular set of outcomes which we may expect will be exhibited under more exacting test conditions.

1. Frequency of Migration from Rural Areas

One of the more recent inquiries into the relationship between geographical mobility and occupational achievement, and one which is at the same time large in scale and comprehensive in detail and analysis, is that by Blau and Duncan, known as the Occupational Changes in a Generation (OCG) study (Blau and Duncan, 1967). As a great landmark of mobility research, it will serve in this discussion as a central focus for consideration of the current state of research knowledge. It explores many of the factors generally thought significant in the literature on the subject even though it exhibits the methodological problems alluded to earlier.

In 1962 Blau and Duncan gathered, from a national sample of men aged 20 to 64, data on a series of variables which previous research indicated would be of importance in their occupational careers. These included region of birth and orientation, family size, father's educational and occupational status, own education, first job, mate choice, size of the community of current residence, and current occupational status. From this information it was possible to reconstruct the basic outlines of the careers of these men, some of whom were just starting their work

experience, while others were in the middle or at the end of their working careers. The sample included a large number of individuals, approximately 7,093, from rural backgrounds, some of whom were now living in urban areas.

The measure of occupational attainment used in the OCG study was the socioeconomic status of the individual's 1962 occupation coded according to the Duncan Socioeconomic Index for Occupations (Reiss, 1961).¹ Father's education and father's occupation were treated as the two prime background variables, with own education and first job as consequents, leading finally to occupational status as of the time of data collection, in 1962. These variables are set in temporal order and a path analysis model is employed in evaluating the causal relationships presumably involved. Using this procedure, Blau and Duncan are able to account for about 42 percent of the variation in occupational attainment as of 1962. The rest of the analysis deals with the influences of other factors such as marriage and assortative mating, farm origin, nativity, and migration.

¹It may be useful to point out that there is considerable, if not entirely uncontroversial, precedent for the use of socioeconomic status, however well measured, for the assessment of career achievement. Despite their earlier criticism (1952), Lipset and Bendix use it extensively in their later analysis (1959). Form (1949) used SES in a study of occupational histories, Tumin and Feldman (1957) in a study of mobility, Duncan and Hodge (1963) in an analysis of education and occupational mobility, Goodman (1969) in developing an index of status persistency. The complexity of status as a concept has been noted by Westoff, Bressuer, and Sagi (1960) in their discussion of its multiple dimensions.

It is, of course, the significance of migration on the part of rural youth that interests us in this discussion. In analyzing the effect of migration on the occupational attainment process of persons reared in rural communities, Blau and Duncan apply several types of controls and examine outcomes in terms of socioeconomic status as of 1962. As shown in Table 1 they find that about 58 percent of the adult men in the rural sample were living in 1962 outside the community in which they were raised. This proportion is somewhat higher than typically found in the regional field studies cited earlier, in which investigators reported migration rates varying from 49 percent for a Kentucky sample (Schwarzweiller, 1963) and 50 percent for a Pennsylvania sample (Brown and Buck, 1961), to 56 and 57 percent respectively for samples from Minnesota (Taves and Collier, 1964) and Missouri (Pihlblad and Gregory, 1954). However, Bohlen and Wakeley (1950), in a study of a sample of 156 former Iowa high school students, found that 59 percent had left their home communities within one year after graduation.²

²It would appear that both the narrower age range of the samples analyzed in these other studies, as well as the distinctive regional, and, perhaps, local conditions involved, could easily account for the varying proportions of migrants found: Blau and Duncan point out that "older men are less likely than younger ones to live where they were reared. . . ." (1967, pp. 255-56) Special regional or local conditions which undoubtedly influence the rate of migration from a particular area include the relative size of the agricultural and non-agricultural components of the rural population and trends in the economy. For example, in a study of four North Dakota counties experiencing

The preponderance of evidence from these studies, however, does nonetheless support the conclusion reached by Blau and Duncan--that migration is the prevailing pattern in the society.

Table 1. 1962 Residence by Residence at Age 16,* Men of Rural Background Aged 20 to 64, OCG National Sample (Extrapolated from Blau and Duncan, 1967, Appendix H, p. 481)

Residence at age 16	1962 Residence							
	Same community		Other rural community under 2,500		Small city 2,500-50,000		Large city** 50,000 +	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Rural Nonfarm	2959	41.7	1208	17.0	704	9.9	1755	24.8
Rural Farm			467	6.6				
Total	2959	41.7	1675	23.6	704	9.9	1755	24.8

*Residence at age 16 is accepted by Blau and Duncan to denote the community of orientation, not without knowledge that in at least a few cases individuals may have only recently moved there.

**Includes "urbanized areas" of the U.S. Census 1960.

2. Destinations of Migrants

A second basic finding of Blau and Duncan concerns the destinations of rural migrants. As can be seen from

extensive agricultural consolidation, Anderson (1952) found that fully 70 percent of the farm youth eighteen years or older had moved away from the home area. In addition to these factors, of course, is the fact that samples which include varying proportions of females will be correspondingly affected by whatever sex differences in migration rates exist.

Table 1, a majority of those persons who migrate end up as residents of small or large cities, that is to say, urban places. This reflects the overall trend of migration in the society at large, with most persons who move leaving smaller places for larger ones. It agrees with findings of a large number of other mobility studies focussing on rural people. For example, Schwarzweller (1963) found, in his case study of migration patterns from Eastern Kentucky mountain communities over a period of ten years, that:

Most of the individuals (86.8 percent) who did move out of their home counties during [the ten years] moved into city or suburban situations. This pattern of rural to urban migration is even more striking in the case of those who moved out of Kentucky during 1950-60; about 95 percent of them initially moved into a city. Thus, the movement of young men from eastern Kentucky is truly a classical example of rural to urban migration. (1963, p. 19)

Similarly, Leuthold, Farmer, and Badenhop found for their sample of Tennessee youth that "Detroit, Michigan, and Dayton, Ohio, were the major places of residence for those in other states, while Nashville and Putnam County (Cookeville) were the major areas for migrants residing in Tennessee." (1967, p. 6)

And, similarly, Andrews and Sardo found in their study of migrants from a rural Colorado county that:

Only about 20 percent had moved to open country. Of these 15 percent were on farms and 5 percent were in open country but not on farms. Nearly 69 percent were living in cities--about the same proportion as in the national population--while about 11 percent were living in small rural towns. Thus, the migrants are now predominantly urban residents as contrasted with the fact that all of them came from rural homes.

Of these, 57 percent were from farm or open country residences and 42 percent from the three small rural towns in the county. (1965, p. 12)

Further, in a study of migration from rural North Carolina, Hamilton found that although 82 percent of the population of the two counties (Stokes and Montgomery) lived in the open country [defined as "all the territory lying outside of clustered settlements"], 61.7 percent of the departing youth had moved to non-open country area ["villages, towns, and cities (incorporated and unincorporated) of more than 250 population"] (1957, pp. 9-12). Taves and Collier (1964) found in their study of youth migration from rural Minnesota that 65 percent of those migrants from open country or small town background reported urban or, in a few cases, military, addresses at the conclusion of the study.

A perplexing exception to this pattern of rural-to-urban migration is reported by Brown and Buck in a follow-up study of former high school sophomores from rural Pennsylvania in which it was found that

. . . approximately three-fourths (71%) of the young people remained in rural areas, while one-fourth (29%) migrated to the city. About one-half (45%) of the rural young people were in the same communities in 1947 as in 1957. Of these, nearly 50 percent had not left their parental homes. . . . The conclusion to be drawn from this . . . is that no wholesale movement of young adult males out of rural areas occurred. Much of the movement was within the rural setting and, to some extent, within the community of origin. Local movement was almost as great as migration to urban areas. (1961, p. 10)

Brown and Buck account for this unusual outcome by reasoning that:

It may be that young persons in Pennsylvania would have less to gain by migrating than would those from less urban states. This assumes that, in general, rural young people in Pennsylvania would have less need to migrate in order to take advantage of urban employment opportunity. The lengthening of commuting radius afforded by improved roads may be reducing the amount of migration necessary, at least within local areas. . . . Enough employment may have been immediately available to accommodate the young workers becoming a part of the adult labor force. (1961, p. 33)

This outcome is nonetheless so contrary to what would have been expected from the other studies cited that it calls for some critical evaluation. A quick inspection of the 1940 and 1950 Censuses for the state reveals that during that decade the proportion of rural young persons in the 16-17 age bracket (tenth grade) enrolled in school increased from 68.1% to 75.5%, while the percentage of farm children among rural school attendees decreased from 30.1% (51.0% male) to 27.1% (53.8% male). In 1940, the proportion of males among the total cohort of 16-17 year old rural high school students was 51.7 percent, while by 1950 it had declined very slightly to 51.3 percent. If we assume fairly linear trends over that decade it may be surmised that at the time of Brown and Buck's first sampling, in 1947, the enrollment of 16-17 year olds in rural Pennsylvania schools was roughly seventy-two percent of the total rural age cohort. Of those enrolled, at least 51 percent were male. About 28 percent of the total enrollment lived on farms. The proportion of males among farm students was perhaps 53 percent.

Brown and Buck report an original 1947 sampling of sophomore classes:

. . . consisting of 2,810 students from 74 rural high schools. . . . The schools used in the sample were initially selected from the State's fourth class school district population. This assured a maximum inclusion of farm-reared youth, for no fourth class school was situated in a population center of more than 2,500 persons.

Areas having a heavier concentration of farm population contributed relatively more schools to the sample. This provided the number of cases with farm backgrounds necessary for detailed analysis. . . . (1961, p. 8)

They then describe the data recovery process in 1957:

The 1957 interviewing renewed contact with 2,344 of the original 2,810 cases. This number constituted 83 per cent of the 1947 sample. The remaining 17 per cent were either unlocated, refused to be interviewed, or had died. Those who were not interviewed in 1957 were not found significantly different from those who were interviewed in terms of residence of origin. . . . (1961, p. 8)

They drop all the females from the analysis and proceed with a remaining sample of 974 males for whom information was complete over the ten year period, 258 of whom had resided on farms in 1947, the rest in the open country or in villages of less than 2,500.

In tallying this sampling procedure against Census figures for the period, it can be seen, first of all, that at best the original sample of students was a maximum of only 72 percent of the age cohort, which would thus have been 3,903 rural young persons, aged 16-17. If the sample of 2,810 students were typical of Pennsylvania rural students generally, it would have contained approximately 1433 males (51%). The sample actually used in the research consisted of not more than 974 males, or only 68 percent of the probable

original sample of the male students in 1947. Inasmuch as 258 of the 974, or 26.5%, were from farms, it cannot be said that the farm segment was over-represented. The projected 459 missing cases (1433 minus 974) almost certainly consist mainly of outmigrants, perhaps as many as 90 percent (413 persons).

The implication here is that there would appear to be a high probability of non-representativeness in the sample used by Brown and Buck. Twenty-eight percent of the age cohort was inaccessible through non-attendance in school. Many of these individuals had no doubt already left the area after dropping out of school. If we ignore this, as most research has found it necessary to do, we still have a probable loss of another 32 percent of the males through non-recovery of data. If, say, ninety percent of those left the area, the total proportion of migrants would inflate from 55 to 66 percent. Moreover, even if the ratio of migrants going to urban versus rural places were the same as reported by Brown and Buck (278 out of a reported 533 migrants) we would still project an actual rural-urban migration rate of about 494 persons--more persons than either stayed in their home communities or moved to other rural areas. By these recalculations it would appear that our previous generalizations would still hold: 1) that most youth will migrate rather than stay in the home community; and 2) that of those who leave, most will move to urban areas.

Altogether, under conditions of the predominant

pattern of rural outmigration, and rural-to-urban trends revealed in the literature, it would appear that the speculations offered above are at least possible, if not probable, alternatives to both the results and the analysis offered by Brown and Buck concerning migration of rural youth from Pennsylvania.

3. Migration and Occupational Achievement

Blau and Duncan compared the 1962 occupational attainments of those who had moved away from their communities of orientation with those who indicated that they were living in the same community as at age 16. As was the case for migrants from urban areas, persons who had migrated from rural areas to other places showed occupational achievement superior to that of nonmigrants.

This result is consistent with the general thrust of earlier research. For example, Scudder and Anderson (1954) found in their analysis of migration and vertical social mobility that among youth growing up in a rural Kentucky community:

. . . irrespective of the vocational or general status of the father, migrant sons entered white collar positions more frequently than their non-migrant contemporaries. . . . Among resident [nonmigrant] sons there is an excess of moves into ranks below the father's position, among migrant sons the upward shifts exceed the downward. . . . Of all the sons who did not leave the home community but who did move into a vocational level different from that of the father, two-thirds dropped in status. Among sons who went elsewhere but did not pursue the same sort of job as the father, over half rose vocationally. The chances of going up rather than down, if

mobile at all, were definitely greater for the migrants and fewer of the migrants entered occupations rating at the same level as those of their fathers. (1954, pp. 331-32)

The authors conclude that "sons who migrate out of small or moderate-size communities are more likely to rise above their parents' occupational status than sons who remain in the home town." (1954, p. 334)

Andrews and Sardo (1965) found that after migration, the migrants obtained increased training and further education, higher incomes and better jobs compared to people still living in Sedgwick County, Colorado. In their study of Jackson County, Tennessee, Leuthold, Farmer, and Badenhop analyzed the relationships among:

. . . residential, educational attainment, occupational, and level of living data on 1,076 adult persons reared in [the county]. . . . The data clearly indicated a high association of migration and educational attainment with level of living for both males and females. . . . Those outside the county were higher in level of living for all occupational categories. (1967, p. 6)

Blau and Duncan raise the possibility that the superior occupational achievement of migrants over nonmigrants may be due to superior opportunity structures in places of destination. But by comparing the attainment levels of nonmigrants and migrants to other communities of the same size, they are able to show that migrants still display greater occupational achievement than nonmigrants. This leads to the speculation "that migration is selective of men predisposed to occupational success." (1967, p. 257)

4. Selectivity of Migration

The selectivity hypothesis is an old one (Thomas, 1938) and has received considerable attention in the literature. The theoretical basis for anticipating some selectivity in migration and occupational attainment would appear to be good. However, the accumulated empirical evidence is ambiguous in identifying selective factors operating in the migration process (Hawley, 1950, pp. 340-45). Blau and Duncan hypothesized that father's socioeconomic status, own education, and own first job would be significant selective factors bearing on later attainment outcomes. They show that these variables do indeed seem to have some effect upon the process for urban migrants but conclude that, for rural migrants;

1) in respect to own education:

"In contrast to the differences favoring migrants in urban areas, there is no difference in rural nonfarm areas, and on farms nonmigrants actually have some educational superiority over migrants." (1967, p. 258)

2) in respect to first job:

"The pattern here is the same as that for education, with the superiority of migrants being confined to urban areas." (p. 258)

3) in respect to father's occupational position:

". . . urban migrants come from origins superior to those of nonmigrants whereas there is again no such difference for rural men." (p. 258)

Blau and Duncan find only a small degree of selectivity in the slight reduction of differences in mean 1962 occupational attainment between rural migrants and nonmigrants

when both education and first job are controlled simultaneously.

Among rural nonfarm individuals, there is still a residual difference of occupational attainment in favor of the migrants, who exhibit a mean 1962 socioeconomic status score of 35.9, versus 34.2 for the nonmigrants. Interestingly, among the farm group the difference is in the opposite direction, with the farm nonmigrants exhibiting a 1962 mean score of 28.9 and the farm migrants a score of 27.2. From data presented by Blau and Duncan, it would appear that there is less selectivity in terms of education and first job among rural nonfarm migrants than among all classes of urban migrants or farm migrants.³

Nevertheless, the idea of a selectivity factor running through the migration process from rural areas is a strong one in the literature. Some field studies seeking to assay the selective influence of education in the migration process provide affirmative evidence (Andrews and Sardo, 1965; Beers, 1947; Hamilton, 1957; Leuthold, Farmer, and

³Application of the controls among large city migrants/nonmigrants reduces the mean advantage of migrants by 5 scale points, from a difference of 6.7 to a residual of 1.7 in 1962 socioeconomic status. Among the small city group the advantage to migrants is reduced 6.1 points, from a difference of 9.0 to a residual of 2.9. Among persons from farms the advantage in favor of nonmigrants is reduced 2.1 points, from 3.8 to 1.7. But among the rural nonfarm, application of the controls reduces the difference in favor of migrants in 1962 attainment by only seven tenths of a point, from 2.4 to 1.7.

Badenhop, 1967; Olson, 1960; Sanford, 1940), while others have found no association (Brown and Buck, 1961; Schwarzweller, 1964b). Attempts to assess the effect of family status have also had mixed results. Olson (1960) and Scudder and Anderson (1954) report a positive relationship between family socio-economic status and youth migration while Brown and Buck (1961) and Schwarzweller (1963) found little, if any, relationship and Bohlen and Wakeley (1950) found none. Taves and Collier (1964) obtained a mixed result: a significant association between father's occupation and migration of youth in a sample from a "high agricultural income" area and no relationship in a sample from a "low agricultural income" area of rural Minnesota.

The hypothesis that migration from rural areas is selective of the most intelligent has been investigated with both affirmative (Gist and Clark, 1938; Mauldin, 1940; Pihlblad and Gregory, 1954) and non-significant (Bohlen and Wakeley, 1950; Brown and Buck, 1961) results. The research on the influence of intelligence appears, for the most part, to have been conducted under less than rigorously controlled conditions and with instruments containing considerable cultural bias so that the conclusions drawn must be accepted as rather dubious.

A number of other potentially selective factors have been examined, such as family size (Anderson, 1952; the proportion of migrants seems to increase roughly with family size: Schwarzweller, 1963; "a greater proportion of male

out-migrants [stemmed] from larger families . . ." although the difference was not statistically significant), occupational aspirations (Taves and Collier, 1964; "[There was a] greater tendency for those aspiring to professional than blue collar vocations to migrate . . . aspirants to non-professional white collar positions fell midway between. . ."), and age and sex (Beers, 1947, and Andrews and Sardo, 1965; most migrants are young, and there is a tendency for departing females to leave earlier than males: Anderson, 1952; "Girls left home later in life than boys, except in [one] county. . . .").

Still other factors have been investigated, including personality adjustment (Brown and Buck, 1961, and Martinson, 1955; some differing trends were found in migrants and non-migrants but none which were statistically significant), marital status (Andrews and Sardo, 1965; most of the migrants were single: Tilly and Brown, 1967; most of the migrants were married). Additional factors have been looked into, including such things as sibling age-position (Beers, 1947), military service experience (Taves and Collier, 1964), and color (Hamilton, 1957).

Altogether, as can be seen from the discussion above, the nature of selectivity in migration of youth from rural areas is by no means a settled issue. There do not appear to be any universal or consistent factors operating in sorting migrants from nonmigrants in every situation. Yet, on theoretical grounds, it would seem that in an act as

fundamental and fateful as migration, migrants must differ in some way or ways from persons who do not choose to move, whether or not such difference(s) bear directly on later outcomes in education or occupational attainment. This assumption notwithstanding, there is no case upon the record in which the strength of any particular selectivity factor has been great enough to "explain" either the initial departure or later differences in occupational achievement. Despite this limitation of the available evidence, if there is any general theme which runs through the literature on selectivity, it is that migrants tend to be "superior" to nonmigrants on most indexes--that they are persons better equipped to succeed than those left behind. Hence, it would appear the more promising strategy to hypothesize that in any prior aspect relevant to the achievement process, the migrant should emerge superior to the nonmigrant. Presumably, this superior potential for achievement should exhibit itself in both objective and attitudinal (social psychological) aspects. "Objective superiority" would be exemplified in such things as academic ability, intelligence, etc., while "attitudinal superiority" would be exemplified in such things as levels of educational and occupational aspiration.

5. The Influence of the Opportunity Structure of the Community of Orientation

The slight evidence of selectivity found by Blau and Duncan in their sample of rural men did not completely account for the subsequent difference between migrants and

nonmigrants in 1962 occupational attainment. Given the ambiguousness of much of the research on selectivity and the large differences typically reported in the literature between the occupational achievements of migrants and nonmigrants from rural areas, it would appear that other factors must be involved. The weight of explanation would tend to shift in the direction of the differences in environments of migrants and nonmigrants, particularly in terms of their opportunity structures. Migration clearly offers, for the individual reared in a rural area, at least the possibility of increased opportunities--opportunities for further training and a broader range of jobs, depending on the place of destination.

In general it can be said that as the size of a place increases, so does its opportunity structure. Individuals reared in a rural area or in a small town will have been exposed to a narrower range of possible career lines than will be the case for persons who grow up in small or large cities. This, plus other conditions which may obtain at the local level, such as the limitations of the school system, impinge on the later occupational attainments of rural residents. As Blau and Duncan note:

The community in which a boy is raised affects his career as an adult. . . . The socioeconomic structure of the community where a boy grows up probably serves as an ascriptive determinant of his later behavior in a manner somewhat similar to his family origins. The adolescent is doubtlessly more aware of career lines to which he has been exposed in his home town, more interested in

jobs for which role models exist in his experience, and better prepared for occupations to which the local school system is oriented. Thus we would expect the occupational structure of the community in which a man was raised to influence his future career--and occupational structures vary, of course, with degree of urbanization.

The larger the place where a man was reared, the better are his chances of occupational success. This positive association between degree of urbanization of place of origin and occupational achievement can be observed among both migrants and non-migrants, and it is independent of the size of the community to which a migrant moves and in which he lives and works. The pattern is perfectly consistent. (1967, p. 262)

Hence they find that "the degree of urbanization of the place where a migrant grew up is directly associated with his later occupational achievement elsewhere . . ." and ". . . the occupational status of nonmigrants is directly related to size [of their] present community. . . ." (p. 262) This basic finding applies to the broad range of their data which runs the gamut from the farm-reared to those brought up in large metropolitan areas. To the extent that it is true as a generalization concerning the relationship of size of place (i.e., opportunity structure) to career achievement, we may speculate that it will discriminate also among various elements of the rural population itself. That is to say, to the degree that their environments, and therefore, their exposures, differ, persons growing up in larger, but still rural, communities should do better in their careers than persons who grow up in remoter and smaller rural communities or in the open country. Such a supposition is theoretically consistent with the basic hypothesis as to

the relationship between opportunity structure and occupational achievement. It suggests that we should anticipate direct variation in levels of career achievement among youth, regardless of the frequency of migration, with size of community, even within the narrow range of communities classified as rural.

6. Migration and the Opportunity Structure of the Community of Destination

For nonmigrant individuals from rural areas, the opportunity structure of their environment of orientation is, of course, coterminous with that of their adult occupational careers, within the limits of the historical changes in its size and economy over the total period. This is not the case for outmigrants, who are transported into new environments and may be exposed to substantially different structures, both in the immediate and historical sense. These persons are subject to the influences such new environments afford, and may be expected to exhibit effects in their differential career outcomes. The magnitude of the effects may be assumed to be at least roughly a function of the increase in the scope of the opportunity structure. By this reasoning, the larger the size of the place to which the migrants have moved, the higher their occupational attainments should be.

Blau and Duncan present data relating the size of place of 1962 residence to mean occupational attainment for migrants and nonmigrants from both rural and urban backgrounds.

Table 2. Mean 1962 Occupational Status by Type of Community at Age 16 and in 1962 and Migration Status (in Deviations from the Grand Mean*), Men Aged 20 to 64, OCG National Sample (Adapted from Blau and Duncan, 1967, p. 260)

Residence at age 16	1962 Residence				
	Same community (non- migrants)	Different Community (Migrants)			
		Rural farm	Rural nonfarm	Small City 2,500-50,000	Large City** 50,000+
Rural farm	-15.3	-19.1	-6.6	-1.6	-4.5
Rural nonfarm	- 5.8	-18.6	-3.4	-1.5	-2.1
Small city 2,500-100,000#	- 3.5		4.2	5.5	5.7
Large city 100,000+	2.7			11.7	9.3

*The Grand Mean = 36.3 on the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (Reiss, 1961, Appendix B).

**Includes "urbanized areas" of the U.S. Census 1960.

#For explanation of use of this apparently noncomparable size category see Blau and Duncan (1967), Appendix I.

It can be seen from Table 2 that for nonmigrants, at least, the expected pattern of increasing achievement with increasing size of opportunity structure is consistent. Big city nonmigrants exhibit considerably higher 1962 occupational attainment than nonmigrants in other areas, most notably farm residents. But for migrants, the highest occupational attainment is demonstrated by persons moving to small cities from all other types of environments. The only exception to this generalization is that of persons who grew up in

small cities: such people seem to do about as well, if not a little better, in large cities.

In assessing these interesting findings, Blau and Duncan comment that:

The more urbanized the environment, the higher the mean occupational status of natives. The occupational position of migrants, on the other hand, does not accurately mirror these differences in opportunities. . . . To be sure, migrants as well as natives have more successful careers in urban than in rural areas. However, whereas the non-migrant's position is highest in large cities, the migrant's is best in small cities. This is the case not only for migrants from rural areas, who might be expected to do better in small cities, which contrast less with their rural background, but also for those who themselves come from large cities. (1967, p. 260)

This striking finding concerning the success of migrants to small cities is further reinforced in an analysis of the percentage of individuals upwardly mobile more than twenty-five points (from father's occupation), cross-classified by residence in 1962 and at age 16.

Concerning these results, Blau and Duncan observe that:

Data on upward mobility from social origins confirm the conclusion that the small city provides exceptional opportunities for the migrant. The native's chances of experiencing considerable upward mobility (over 25 points) are greater in large cities (25 per cent), than in small ones (20 per cent), where they are still greater than in rural areas (15 per cent). But migrants find their best chances for upward mobility in small cities, regardless of whether they were raised in large cities, small cities, or rural areas. The superior occupational opportunities in large cities notwithstanding, migrants to small cities are the ones most likely to achieve upward mobility and high occupational status. As a result of the apparent advantages migrants enjoy

in small cities, those of rural as well as those of urban origins are more successful than natives there [see Table 2]. In large cities, on the other hand, only urban migrants are superior to natives, and the achievements of migrants from rural areas are inferior to the natives'. These differences are not entirely due to the superior background qualifications of urban migrants. When the effects of education and first job are controlled,⁴ the same pattern emerges, though the differences are greatly reduced. (1967, p. 261)

Table 3. Per Cent Upwardly Mobile from Father's Occupation More than 25 Points, by Type of Community at Age 16 and in 1962 and Migration Status, Men Aged 20 to 64, OCG National Sample (Adapted from Blau and Duncan, 1967, p. 261)

Residence at age 16	1962 Residence				
	Same Community (Non- migrants)	Different Community (Migrants)			
		Rural Farm	Rural Nonfarm	Small City 2,500-50,000	Large City* 50,000+
Rural farm and nonfarm	15.4	6.1	25.3	37.4	29.7
Small city 2,500-100,000**	20.5		26.0	31.3	27.1
Large city 100,000+	25.4			35.3	29.1

*Includes "urbanized areas" of the U.S. Census 1960.

**For explanation of this apparently noncomparable size category see Blau and Duncan (1967), Appendix I.

What is of primary interest to us in this detailed examination of the Blau-Duncan findings is, of course, the

⁴Results showing effect of the application of these controls (Blau and Duncan, 1967, p. 262) are not reproduced here.

experience of the persons reared in rural areas. These data from a national sample indicate that, in terms of the influence of the environment and its opportunity structure for migrants from rural areas, the small city represents the most advantageous place in which to pursue a career. The reasoning used by Blau and Duncan in accounting for this empirical finding is that the small city provides for the rural migrant the best combination of expanded opportunity structure and similarity to the environment of orientation, and, hence, the optimum environment for achievement.⁵

In attempting to predict the career achievement of rural youth, then, it would appear that not only will persons who migrate from their home communities exhibit higher attainments than those who did not, but also that the level of attainment of the migrants themselves will be strategically affected by their choice of destination. Migrants who end up in small cities presumably achieve superior status, outranking those migrants who move to larger cities, who outrank migrants to other rural areas. The least successful, of course, are those individuals who have never left the home community.

⁵ This leaves moot the question as to why the urban migrant exhibits superior achievement also in the small city. Does he benefit competitively from the somewhat less sophisticated environment of the small city, compared to that which he left? About this Blau and Duncan speculate that ". . . big-city experiences seem to benefit most those men who later move to small cities, where they can become, so to speak, big fish in small ponds." (1967, p. 266)

Whereas we have previously indicated that the size of place of orientation will have an important bearing on occupational attainment, based on the scope and limitations of its opportunity structure, we now add to this the hypothesis that the characteristics of the place in which the worker presently lives also exercise an influence on his level of achievement. The significance of these environmental factors was well recognized by Schwarzweller in his study of the "life chances" of Kentucky youth:

. . . Since the migrant and nonmigrant segments [did] not differ significantly in antecedent sociocultural characteristics (prior to 1950) [when they were in high school] . . . differences in occupational placement and material level of living which do exist between the segments at the time of interviewing (in 1960) are largely due to regional variations in the structure of opportunity and cultural experiences which intervened during the decade. (1964b, p. 164)

This conclusion is reinforced by Schwarzweller's discovery that migrant high school dropouts from eastern Kentucky "exhibit a higher level of living than nonmigrant high school graduates," and that "the level of living of migrant 'drop-outs' is no different from that of migrant high school graduates." (1964b, p. 165)

D. Circular Migration and Social Mobility

At this point in the discussion it is strategic to give consideration to an intriguing phenomenon in the analysis of geographic mobility and career achievement: that of circular migration. Referred to as "return migration" in some research studies, it has been noted by puzzled

investigators in almost every inquiry extensive enough to gather detailed information on actual migration patterns of rural youth. Yet it has received, so far as can be ascertained, no systematic treatment or analysis of any kind beyond occasional tabulations of its frequency and speculation as to its causes.

Moreover, the extent of circular⁶ migration, as will be indicated below, is often great enough that failure to take account of it may seriously distort analysis of the relationship between migration behavior and career achievement.

It has been a common, even customary, procedure in the research on rural youth migration, and in studies of migration generally, to treat residence in the same community or place at Time 1 and Time 2 as indicating nonmigration. Thus, in their study of selective aspects of migration in a Missouri sample of former high school students, Pihlblad and Gregory (1954) distinguish migrants from nonmigrants on the basis of residence ten years after graduation:

. . . The migrants in our group will be those residing in 1951-1952 in a county different from the one in which they attended school in 1939 and 1940.

⁶Use has been made here of the term 'circular' in preference to the concept of return migration for the reason that it does not imply a limit as to the number of circuits made away from and back to an original location. Empirical evidence already available indicates that the process is sufficiently recurrent in some individuals to render the notion of a simple 'return' movement somewhat inaccurate.

Persons living at the same address or in the same county, but at a different address, will be treated as non-migrants.

Similarly, Brown and Buck treat as migrants persons who, ten years after the sophomore year in high school, are found to have "left the parental home and the local community" and moved "to another rural community . . . [or] . . . settled in an urban community." (1961, p. 6) Similarly, Schwarzweller (1963) and Youmans (1963), in separate analyses of a sample of former students from eastern Kentucky, define a "nonmigrant" as:

. . . an individual who was residing within the eastern Kentucky area included in State Economic Areas 8 and 9, as delineated by the U.S. Census. "Migrant," on the other hand, refers to an individual who was residing outside the eastern Kentucky area but within the boundaries of Ohio and Kentucky. (Schwarzweller, 1963, p. 7)

Andrews and Sardo, in their 1965 survey of migration from Sedgwick County, Colorado, used a sample of 156 respondents "who had left the county prior to June 1959," and for whom they were able to obtain current addresses and secure data by mail. Only the current addresses of departees were used as data concerning migration behavior, thus obscuring the possibility of multiple acts of migration among this group and completely omitting those cases in which persons left the county but subsequently came back. In the same fashion, Yoesting and Bohlen (1969) treated as nonmigrants those who happened to be living in the same Iowa community in which they had graduated from high school eight years

before. Incredibly, ". . . respondents who lived in their home communities at the time of the 1956 study were considered to have stayed even though they may have moved out of their home between 1948 and 1956 and returned." (p. 7)

In a study of migration in Tennessee by Leuthold, Farmer, and Badenhop (1967) information was "gathered on 1,076 young adults age 20 and over from household heads with children of this age" and "migration patterns of these young adults [were] analyzed." (1967, p. 4) Present residence was utilized as an index of migration behavior with the resultant inaccurately low estimate of the proportion of the total cohort who may actually have migrated sometime during the ten year time frame of the study, but who had subsequently returned.

This practice of treating residence in the same location at two different times as nonmigration has been used not only in the field studies of rural youth cohorts, but also in national survey analyses, notably by Blau and Duncan in the 1967 Occupation Changes in a Generation study. Thus migration status is derived:

. . . from the answer to the question, 'Where were you living when you were 16 years old?' Men reporting that they had lived in the same community as in 1962 are identified as nonmigrants. The rest, the migrants, were asked whether they had lived in a large city of 100,000 or more inhabitants or in suburbs, a smaller city, or a rural area. The last category was subdivided by father's occupation into rural nonfarm and farm. (1967, p. 254)

This approach is used for the entire sample, which

includes individuals as old as 64 years, with the consequence that for these older persons a time span of as much as 48 years is included. While it is true that the frequency of migration is generally greater among the younger segment, it would appear that this procedure has allowed virtually the maximum possible opportunity for some unknown number of individuals to gravitate back to the communities from which they came--for retirement, perhaps, among some of the older ones, to mention just one possible circumstance--and to be thus classified as nonmigrants. To the extent such a circularity of migration actually takes place among persons who turn up in the "same community as at age 16" at the time of data collection, the analysis is vulnerable to error in assessing the characteristics of "nonmigrants."

Blau and Duncan are not unaware of the possibility of circular migration and comment that

These figures [on the proportion of migrants among the sample] can only under-estimate the true proportion of the population that has experienced migration at one point or another in adult life, as some unknown number of men return to the community in which they were raised after having migrated elsewhere and hence escape our count. (1967, p. 255)

Whether this procedure for distinguishing migrants from nonmigrants is catastrophic or not depends on at least two considerations: 1) what kinds of research objectives we have, and 2) the extent and frequency of such circular migration in the groups of people studied.

On the first count, it would appear that if the objective of the research has anything to do with the assessment

of the differential effects of exposure to a new environment (i.e., opportunity structure) on the basic career trajectory of an individual, the simple 'Time 1, Time 2' approach must be highly risky indeed. To pick a graphic hypothetical example; Person A, who, let us say, has never left his rural home community but simply went out and got a job on the local scene after high school could hardly be considered to have had experience equivalent to that of Person B who left the home community after high school, obtained a college education in the city, served in the armed forces overseas, completed a graduate degree and subsequently returned to his original community to continue his career. The 'Time 1, Time 2' approach obviously risks lumping these two individuals together as nonmigrants, thus completely misconstruing their careers and the manifold differences which almost certainly exist between them in many aspects, from socioeconomic status to ideological perspective.

Inasmuch as most of the research on rural youth cohorts focusses fundamentally on their formative experiences and the various other ingredients in the development of their careers, failure to take account of the full history of their migratory behavior would appear to falsely simplify reality. It must be admitted, of course, that such a complete accounting was beyond the scope and resources of a national survey such as the Blau-Duncan study. And the inability to secure the additional information does not invalidate their basic findings which, altogether, provide many insights and are

of enormous value. The point, rather, is that such data obviously do not tell the whole story in that they do not reveal the actual complexity of migration and its relation to career trajectory.⁷ For this reason careful longitudinal analysis of migration behavior alongside the other strategic and significant events of the careers of rural youth⁸ is an essential complement to large scale cross-sectional study designs such as that of Blau and Duncan.

Notwithstanding the significance, on theoretical grounds, of the phenomenon of circular migration in understanding the occupational attainment process, there is a practical empirical question of the extent and frequency⁹ of its occurrence. For if the occurrence of circular migration is actually rare, then we may largely ignore it empirically while granting its potential theoretical significance.

⁷By the imagery of a "trajectory" we suggest a model in which the individual's career is likened to the path of a bullet. With an initially high motive force, it starts from a relatively low initial point (first job) and rises steadily (mobility) to an apex somewhere beyond the midpoint of flight (highest-level job ever held), and, shortly thereafter, descends rapidly to the ground (retirement).

⁸While our discussion has been focussed on the consequences of the use of the "Time 1, Time 2" method in the study of rural youth, an equivalent criticism can be made about its potential hazards in the study of urban youth.

⁹By extent we refer to the proportion of the total number of persons who ever migrated who subsequently return to the place of origin, while by frequency we shall mean the number of times any particular individual who migrates returns to his place of origin.

The second contingency, then, is: How often is such a phenomenon actually observed?

A hint of its importance can be gained from an examination of several studies in which data on the number and direction of moves made by outmigrants from rural areas were gathered. Leuthold, Farmer, and Badenhop (1967) found that,

Of the 1,076 persons surveyed [who had grown up in the county], 40% presently reside in Jackson County, 32% in other areas of Tennessee, and 28% in other states. . . . Many of those who presently reside in Jackson County migrated on one or more occasions. Forty percent of the males and 42% of the females residing in the county left for at least a 6-month period other than for school or military service. In addition, 20% of both males and females presently residing outside Jackson County remigrated on one or more occasions. (1967, p. 4)

A stunning 40 percent of the in-county residents had left, presumably for employment, but had returned to live in the county! Moreover, others, who were in an "away phase" at the time of the study had been back to live in the county one or more times! On this scale, circular migration could hardly be seen as anything but a highly significant mass phenomenon.

Further evidence on the frequency of circular migration comes from the Kentucky study of Schwarzweller who reports that

. . . over a third (38.9 percent) of the nonmigrant segment (19.9 percent of the total population) had established civilian residence outside the eastern Kentucky area during the decade, but had returned by 1960. (1963, p. 21)

In addition to those who had been away for civilian, presumably educational and employment purposes during the

decade of the study, another 11 percent had left the area and lived for some years elsewhere while serving in the armed forces. On the other hand, Schwarzweller reports that 16 percent of those who at the end of the decade were living outside the original area "had established residence one or more times back in eastern Kentucky after their initial migration." (1963, p. 21)

About the returnees Schwarzweller speculates:

This is an interesting group from many standpoints; for example, one might ask 'Why did they return?--What happened?--Couldn't they make a go of it?--Did they get homesick?--etc.' Over 77 percent of these men had lived in areas of Ohio during that period. In terms of their destination, then, we might infer that their initial departure was motivated by similar reasons as those who moved out and remained--that is, to find employment in the industrial Ohio Valley . . . the evidence suggests that from 20 to about 25 percent of the entire study population might be so designated [as residentially unstable]. If this prediction proves correct, the situation begins to assume enormous proportions as a social problem [if residential stability is at all indicative of social stability and adjustment] when one conservatively generalizes regarding the thousands of young men who reach adulthood each year under similar circumstances in eastern Kentucky and low-income areas elsewhere. (1963, pp. 21, 28)

Whatever the actual reasons for their residential vacillation and any significance it may have for their social stability and adjustment, this "betwixt and between segment," as Schwarzweller labels it, is a substantial portion of the total number of persons studied who ever left the original area during the ten year period of the study. Interestingly, Youmans finds, in his independent analysis of the Kentucky sample, that 55 percent of those who had

moved and were living in urban centers of Kentucky and southern Ohio "would like to move" from where they were situated and that the principal reason given by these men "was to return to [eastern] Kentucky 'because my home is there.'" (Youmans, 1963, p. 26)

In their study of 152 former Hamilton County, Iowa, high school students, Yoesting and Bohlen found that of those living in their home communities after eight years, and whom, incidentally, they treated as "nonmigrants," 16 percent of the females and 41 percent of the males had ". . . migrated some time between 1948 and 1956 but had returned and resided in their home communities by 1956. . . ." (1969, pp. 16-17)

Still another field study which reveals a pattern of circular migration, in this instance in a relatively short time frame, is that by Smith and Berg (1962). In an analysis of migration within the ten month period after graduation from 67 Michigan Upper Peninsula high schools, Smith and Berg found that at least 782 out of 3,508, or 22%, of these former students had left their home communities (and the U.P.) "on a permanent or semi-permanent basis," and that the probable figure, allowing for certain methodological problems, approached 35 percent. Included were persons who had enrolled in colleges or other schools, joined the military, gotten married and moved away, or gone away to look for work (1962, pp. 5-6). But of the 562 persons who had originally left to find work, 23.4 percent of the boys and 17.2 percent of the girls had already returned. A few (4.5%)

had come back within a month, but most had apparently been gone for at least three months and some had been gone more than eight. The principal reasons given for returning by both boys and girls were difficulties in finding work and dissatisfaction with jobs obtained (1962, pp. 46-47, 61).

The net impact of these studies in terms of the issue of circular migration is to confirm its occurrence as a significant feature of rural youth migrations. In the studies cited, from about twenty to forty percent of the persons who ever migrated returned to live in their original community by the end of the time period under study. Hence, on empirical, as well as theoretical, grounds this phenomenon would clearly appear to be of considerable importance.

Depending on the types of training, job experience, and reorientation undergone, we should expect that these circular migrants will be characteristically different from those who never left their home communities for any period. At least theoretically, some such difference should be expected whether that absence from the local scene was for purposes of military service, education, employment, or marriage, and should be especially significant for combinations of these experiences. Both the amount of time spent elsewhere and the size of place in which it is spent should, of course, also contribute to these hypothetical differences between circular migrants and "true" nonmigrants.

1. The Occupational Achievement of Circular Migrants

Having already established the considerable incidence of circular migration and having now indicated the probability of differences between such migrants and nonmigrants who live in rural communities, it remains to be spelled out just what level of occupational achievement we might expect will be exhibited by these people. How will they stand in comparison with the other groups already discussed--the migrants to large and small cities, migrants to other rural areas, and the 'true nonmigrants?' Are they really the rejects, the incompetents, the "failures" they are perhaps thought to be? Are they, as Schwarzweller speculates, the ones who "couldn't make it" outside the local community?

If our understanding of the factors involved in the occupational attainment process is accurate, we should be able to go some way toward predicting the level of occupational achievement of circular migrants relative to the other identifiable groups treated in the literature discussed above. We have described opportunity structure, for example, as an important variable in determining achievement levels, and pointed to the sophisticating effects of migration, since it widens exposure and increases the potential access to training and occupational opportunities. In evaluating the situation of the circular migrant, then, we must keep clearly in mind his relation to the opportunity structure.

Specifically, we would assume that the circular migrant should have an advantage over the true nonmigrant

in that he has been exposed to, and has likely benefitted from experience in, an opportunity structure of some place away from home. His training may have been increased, and certainly his horizons will have been widened in the sense that his knowledge will be greater and his perspective, perhaps, less parochial. He may not have liked living away from his local community, but, presumably, he will have been affected by the experience nevertheless. If the time spent was in a small or large city, and particularly if it involved formal education or training of any sort, the returning migrant is very likely to have a strong competitive advantage over the person who went directly to a job in the local community after leaving high school.

If this reasoning holds, we should anticipate that the circular migrant, contrary to his popular image as a loser, should exhibit occupational attainment superior to that of his nonmigrant counterpart. Even under conditions of the limited resource base of the particular local community, the circular migrant is still in a better overall competitive position occupationally than the person who never left. Thus, we hypothesize that, as a group, the circular migrants will occupy a position above the true nonmigrants in our "hierarchy" of achievement groups.

The circular migrant is, on the other hand, a certain kind of rural-to-rural migrant, having simply gone through an intermediate stage of living in a city or in some other rural community. How shall we predict his

occupational attainment relative to the other group of rural-to-rural migrants--those who left their home community and went to live in some other rural community elsewhere, never having returned? Is there any basis for not expecting these two groups to exhibit similar occupational achievement?

In comparing the circumstance of circular migrants with that of other rural migrants, it can be seen that there is at least one major difference between their situations. The circular migrants have moved back to a place in which they are surrounded by family, whereas the rural migrants very likely are living in places where no family, or, at most, some member of the extended family resides (Olson, 1960, pp. 16-17). There may be differences between the rural communities involved, but over any large number of cases such differences may not be very significant. Certainly the characteristic and predictable difference is that of the presence of family in the home community.

What possible consequences does the physical proximity of immediate family, or lack of it, have for these two classes of migrants? First, it has been shown that migration tends to reduce kinship contacts (Jitodai, 1963; Schwarzweller, 1964a) and that such reduced contacts involve certain "costs" to the migrant, particularly if he has had significant attachments to kin and to the home community. In examining the situation of migrants who had left eastern Kentucky, Schwarzweller notes:

Here, we observe quite clearly two major forces in opposition: (1) economic and material opportunities available outside eastern Kentucky which tend to attract young people newly recruited to the labor force, and (2) family-kinship-neighborhood ties which, almost by definition, mean "home" to the migrant and tend either to discourage young people from migrating or to make the new migrant uncomfortable, homesick, and dissatisfied. The balance between these forces--the manner in which young men from eastern Kentucky coped with the personal strains generated by this duality--is, we would argue, a problem of adjustment that confronts almost any man entering the labor force from eastern Kentucky regardless of whether or not he migrates. (1963, p. 27)

This dilemma afflicts potential migrants even before the time arrives at which a decision must be made as to whether or not to leave the local community. Foreman and Francis, in a study of 1,770 high school students in Minnesota, found that "conditions which would keep the person from moving are associated with community satisfaction, while conditions which would make a person move are associated with mobility ideology." (1963, p. 23) The evidence suggests that to the extent kinship and community ties are strong, they exercise some influence not only in restraining individuals from migrating in the first place, but probably also in pulling the migrants back to the community after they have left (Simwanza, 1969).

The critical issue becomes that of the effects of family proximity on occupational achievement since it is in this circumstance that the circular migrants and rural migrants notably differ.

A strong hint as to the possible impact of close kinship ties and contacts on achievement can be gained from

a recent analysis of interaction with kin and "modernity" by Straus. An index of psychosocial modernity was developed which included measures of: 1) mastery values--an active-future orientation and a rejection of fatalism; 2) role prescription--expression of the amount of education which parents expected their children to complete and their communication of that expectation; and 3) planningfulness--innovativeness and future-orientation of role behavior (1969, pp. 484-85). Straus found "a strong relationship between frequency of interaction with kin and 'non-modern' psychosocial traits. . . ." (p. 486) Replication with controls for residence and socioeconomic status did not erase the relationship, with the result that Straus finds support for the hypothesis that interaction with kin deters modernity. He proposes a "kinship deterrent" theory in which:

- (1) Ruralness and working-class status are associated with greater kinship interaction than urbanness and middle-class status, [and]
- (2) The greater the intensity of interaction with the extended kin, the less the psycho-social modernity. (Straus, 1969, pp. 488-89)

Straus elaborates that:

Specifically, it was found that the greater the kinship interaction, the lower the achievement values, the lower the educational expectations for children, and the less planning and innovativeness in home-making. (p. 489)

[Various] considerations suggest that the more conservative the society, the greater the deterrent effect of the kin group on individual modernity. . . . Conversely, if the values and behavioral patterns of the society are "modern," then the kin group will tend to take on the role of teaching such patterns

or, at the least, will not be under pressure to transmit traditional patterns. . . . However, even if the society is thoroughly "modern," the family might still be a conservative force because rapid social change produces age cohorts with different cultures. These generationally-linked cultural differences, when coupled with the socialization and conformity enforcing functions expected of families in most societies, may make the family an inherently conservative group. (pp. 489-90)

The complex of factors involved in Straus' "modernity" index would seem, on theoretical grounds, to have considerable relevance to our discussion of the possible effects of family proximity on the occupational achievement of circular migrants in rural areas. The obvious implication of the "deterrent" theory is that the circular migrants, who perforce live near and interact with kin, will be impeded in their achievement compared to migrants who live away, even in other rural communities.¹⁰

In predicting the occupational attainment levels of circular migrants, then, we anticipate that the experience, qualification, and sophistication gained from exposure to other environments beyond their home communities will enable them to demonstrate superiority over those who never left their home area. On the other hand, we would expect

¹⁰ Schwarzweller (1964a) explores the notion of familism as a deterrent even under conditions where individuals are living away from the home community and kin. He finds inconsistent evidence for strong familism as a hindrance to occupational achievement for such migrants, but concludes that it does ". . . hold back the migrant from becoming socially integrated into the urban community." (p. 34) Also, migrants who maintain strong family ties tend to suffer greater anomie than those who exhibit fewer ties.

that their level of achievement will not be quite so high as that of migrants to other similar rural communities who did not return. These individuals, while they may not have access to an opportunity structure significantly "better" than that of the home community, nonetheless have the advantage of freedom from certain subtle pressures and obligations involved in close ties with kin.¹¹

Altogether, it would appear that the variables of 1) experience of migration, and 2) choice of terminal destination, being sensitively connected with the process of career achievement among rural youth, should be handled with as high a degree of precision as possible if we are to gain an accurate appreciation of the extent of their effects. The practice, frequently encountered in migration research, of treating individuals who turn up in the same location upon two successive occasions as nonmigrants is likely to be factually inaccurate and theoretically misleading. To be sure, proper longitudinal research methods which avoid this pitfall are more troublesome, more expensive, more complicated, and take longer to carry out. But the truth of the matter is that if we "look inside" this class of "nonmigrants" built of 'Time 1, Time 2' observations, we

¹¹It has been a popular notion, of course, that proximity of kin has a "supportive" effect on the individual, rather than a deterrent one. That is obviously not the tack taken in this analysis, and, it must be said, the accumulated evidence simply does not provide much foundation for this popular notion.

will very probably find a significant number of instances in which such classificatory procedures essentially misrepresent the amount of mobility which has taken place in the interim. Such falsifications cannot but detract from the level of precision with which we apprehend the whole process of career achievement and the many factors which impinge on it. Under these circumstances what is clearly needed is a series of careful and complete longitudinal analyses of rural youth cohorts during the period in which the basic structural outlines of their careers are formed. Data are needed that are continuous over a long enough period of the process and detailed enough to provide a complete history of the significant events. Only thus will we ensure the continuity of outline which is the key to a more adequate understanding of these career profiles.

E. Statement of the Research Problem

In the foregoing sections we have discussed the research literature on the subject of geographic mobility and career achievement in rural youth. In the process of this discussion we have attempted to summarize the research in terms of the generalizations which may be drawn from it. At the same time we have pointed to some of the shortcomings of much of the research, particularly the limitations of the cross-sectional and historico-reconstructive studies and the problem of definition of nonmigration.

The need has been expressed, first, for careful

longitudinal analysis of the experience of an actual cohort of rural youth, as a replication, in stricter methodological form, of the widely executed cross-sectional and reconstructive studies. Such research would serve both as a test of the findings already developed from other types of research and as a context within which to examine issues (i.e., circular migration) as yet not systematically developed in the literature.

The value of this longitudinal research, of course, derives only insofar as it 1) minimizes non-representativeness through attrition of cases; and 2) recovers information substantial enough to provide a complete and continuous picture of the activities of individuals during the critical period, perhaps ten years, after their completion of high school.

Longitudinal research of the type indicated might address itself to examination of the several issues contained in the literature, such as the frequency of migration, destinations of migrants, the occupational attainments of migrants and nonmigrants, the selectivity of migration, the significance of the opportunity structure of both the place of origin and the place of destination, and occurrence and implications of circular migration. These matters have not heretofore been addressed in combined format in any longitudinal research presently available.

1. Rationale for the Hypotheses

From the research literature discussed above, we may construct a hypothetical picture of the process of occupational achievement among young persons from rural areas. The structural changes in the economy of rural areas, coupled with the typically large families of rural residents, has produced a continuing labor surplus in rural regions with a resultant outflow to urban areas. We anticipate that migration will thus be the rule for young persons in rural settings--that after leaving high school most of these young persons will strike out for other areas to continue their education, go into the service, or seek employment. It would appear to be reasonable to expect that a fairly substantial majority of young people will be so affected, particularly in areas that are unusually economically depressed.

Given the inability of the rural economy to support a substantial working force, we anticipate that the direction of the bulk of migration will be cityward--that the basic flow will be from these rural communities to urban regions and to the fringe areas surrounding such places. Hence, we would expect most migrants to have established residence in urban areas, although a few will likely have gone to live in other rural areas not unlike the places from which they came. These theoretical expectations about the frequency of migration and about the destinations of migrants derive from the impact of structural conditions in the society at large. There is a general flow of labor to urban

areas and this phenomenon might be expected to be especially acute among new entrants to the labor force who, although the least well qualified, are the most mobile segment.¹²

Of central interest is the nature of the careers of those who choose to migrate as compared with those of persons who stay in their communities of origin. Depending on such factors as differential quality of educational preparation and the relative need for various types of labor in the places of origin and places of destination, the migration of young persons out of their rural communities carries significance for both the home communities themselves and for the areas of destination. For the rural communities it means that manpower will be lost and thus, at least potentially, certain kinds of resources essential to the continued vitality of the community. For the places of destination it may mean new inputs of labor of both high and low quality, thus adding to the manpower resources available to that area and perhaps to its problems as well.

The research literature indicates that migrants from

¹²It is recognized that the rural-urban migration stream is a time-bound phenomenon and is linked to the unique set of economic and technological trends of this historical period, as well as to the broader dynamics of population growth and redistribution. There is a good basis for believing that rural areas will not lose population indefinitely, and may even begin to show net increases with the passage of time and further expansion of nearby metropolitan centers. Apart from such stabilization at a gross level, however, we may reasonably anticipate that the outmigration of rural youth will continue, and that their departure will be simply compensated by a "back flow" of persons in other age brackets.

rural areas typically exhibit higher levels of occupational attainment than the persons left behind. Such higher attainment presumably owes to the possible effects of certain kinds of selectivity operating in the migration process itself and to differences in the opportunities available in the various target regions to which the migrants move. In respect to selectivity of migration, we anticipate that persons who choose to leave their communities of orientation will likely exhibit an initial advantage over nonmigrants along a range of relevant personal and social characteristics and circumstances, and may be therefore somewhat "predestined" to relative success. For example, we might expect migrants to have given evidence of superior ability while in school, to have had higher levels of aspiration, and, perhaps, to have had parents who more often reinforced such aspirations. The nonmigrants, on the other hand, should exhibit lower ability, fewer of the values associated with achievement, greater attachment to the home community, and less interest in, and reinforcement from others for, leaving it.¹³

¹³Existence of positive relationships among a cluster of variables associated with the career socialization process has been well established. Such variables include parents' socioeconomic status, parents' educational and occupational expectations, children's levels of educational and occupational aspiration and ability, size of community of origin, and levels of educational and occupational achievement. See for example: Anderson, Brown, and Bowman, 1952; Bender, Hobbs, and Golden, 1967; Bordua, 1960; Burchinal, 1961; Gist, Pihlblad, and Gregory, 1942; Gregory and Lionberger, 1968; Grigg and Middleton, 1960; Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1967; Campbell and Dilley, 1968; Lindstrom, 1964; Lipset and Bendix, 1959;

It would appear reasonable also to expect that there may be selectivity in migration in terms of such things as the individual's attitude toward the community and his relations with his parents--factors which might not have an obvious or clear connection with later occupational achievement, yet which may serve, if negative in valence, to drive the individual out of the community. Hence, we would anticipate the possibility of migrants expressing less satisfaction with the local scene and the relationships which obtain there. While still in high school they may feel that the community is too provincial, for example, or that nobody minds his own business, or that there is nothing to do with one's free time (Crawford, 1964; Goldsmith and Beegle, 1962; Schulze, Artis, and Beegle, 1963). On the other hand, they may feel that they would like to get away from the family for a while, that their parents are restricting their freedom, "cramping their style," or are unable to see their viewpoint, etc. (Davis, 1940; Schwarzweller, 1964a; Simwanza, 1969).

Altogether, in terms of selectivity of migration, we would anticipate that migrants and nonmigrants will differ in both objective characteristics and in certain dynamic factors. In the case of the former, the migrants may come

Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Porter, 1954; Sewell, Haller, and Straus, 1957; Sewell, 1964; Sewell and Shah, 1967, 1968a, 1968b; and Simpson, 1962. What we are suggesting in this discussion, of course, is that among rural youth a further variable linked to this career socialization process is migration status.

from families with higher status than the nonmigrants and they may exhibit greater ability and potential for achievement. In the case of the latter, the migrants may differ from the nonmigrants in the kinds of reinforcement they get from significant others, in the attitudes they have about home and community, in their aspirations and plans for the future. The selectivity, then, may be both circumstantial and social psychological, and may have reference to both the individual himself and to his dynamic relationship to those around him. Some of these aspects, such as the individual's ability and level of aspiration, should have intimate relevance to both his departure from the community and to subsequent levels of achievement. Other aspects, such as the individual's attitude toward the community, may have immediate relevance only to the decision to stay or leave the area, and dubious, if any, connection with subsequent events.

We anticipate that the migrants and nonmigrants will exhibit differential occupational attainments not only because of selectivity in the migration process itself, but also because their ultimate environments differ. This reasoning is based on the theoretical assumption of the importance of differences between the opportunity structures in these several environments, and, as we shall presently suggest, the proximity or absence of kin.

We anticipate that a major element in the career achievement process of young persons from rural areas will

be the nature of the opportunity structure of the places in which these people come to live and work, and their relative freedom and facility in exploiting that opportunity structure. In general, we assume that the larger the opportunity structure to which an individual has been exposed, the greater will be the likelihood of his demonstrating a high level of occupational attainment. By this reasoning, we anticipate that persons who grow up in larger communities will later exhibit achievement superior to those who grow up in smaller communities (Lipset, 1955), and this principle may apply at least in a general way even to the range of communities classed as "rural." Moreover, we would expect that those individuals who come to live in urban areas will typically do substantially better than persons who remain in rural areas. This would merely reveal the gross differences in the opportunity structures of urban and rural areas, and would underscore the strategic significance for migrants of the choice of destination. Here we are hypothesizing a dual significance of the opportunity structure: first, in setting out for the individual the kinds of possible career lines open to him, and second, in serving as the context in which the individual's career takes on its ultimate form. We expect that the opportunity structure of the place of origin and that of the destination will have influence in determining career outcomes for the migrant while the non-migrant will be affected solely by the place in which he has always resided.

A further refinement in the prediction of achievement may be tentatively advanced in respect to urban migrants. Following the speculation of Blau and Duncan (1967), it is anticipated that those rural-urban migrants who reside in small cities will exhibit higher levels of occupational attainment than will those who migrate to larger cities. Blau and Duncan reason that smaller cities offer the rural immigrant substantially improved opportunity without the presumably greater problems of alienation and readjustment to city life ("culture shock") involved in the experience of transition from the rural source area to the larger metropolitan areas.¹⁴

In addition to the 1) job market and labor flow, and 2) variations in the opportunity structure of various communities as theoretical factors accounting for differential occupational achievement of persons from rural areas is the additional factor previously mentioned, proximity of family. In this we have a social psychological factor which we suppose plays a role in occupational achievement. We have suggested that the function of close interaction with kin is actually to impede occupational achievement, and have proposed a "kinship deterrent" theory, after Straus (1969), to predict the differential outcomes of persons who

¹⁴The problem of alienation and readjustment to city life on the part of rural-urban migrants is recognized and discussed also by Schwarzweller (1964a).

follow their careers in their home communities compared to those who migrate to other rural communities in which kin are absent. We predict that rural-to-rural migrants who live beyond their home communities will show higher occupational attainment than will persons who live in their home communities.

A possible test of this presumption is the case of persons who leave their home community but who subsequently return to live in the same place. These people will have benefitted from the experience of migration in terms of its sophisticating effects and from any further training or education received in the process. However, they have returned to an area where family contacts are probably plentiful and the effects of such interaction with kin are to be fully felt. Hence, we predict their level of occupational achievement will be higher than that of persons who never migrated, but still lower than that of persons who migrated to other rural areas.

In sum, we have conceived the career experience of rural youth in terms of the effects of various conditions growing out of the nature of the environment, such as the structural features of the labor market, geographic mobility and the opportunities available within communities of various sizes, and combined these with social psychological factors, such as differences in the individuals' orientations and backgrounds and differences in intensity of interaction with kinship members. From the interrelationships among

these various factors, we have attempted to predict their differential occupational attainment outcomes.

2. Statements of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis I: (Frequency of Migration)

Of men reared in rural areas, more will subsequently move away from their home communities than will remain within their home communities.

Hypothesis II: (Destination of Migrants)

Of those men reared in rural areas who subsequently move away from their home communities, more will be found to live in urban areas than in rural communities.

Hypothesis III: (Occupational Attainment of Migrants and Nonmigrants)

Of men reared in rural areas, those who subsequently move away from their home communities will exhibit higher occupational attainment than will those who remain in their home communities.

Hypothesis IV: (Selectivity of Migration)

Of men reared in rural areas, those who subsequently move away from their home communities (migrants) will differ in specified ways from those who remain in their home communities (residents) in terms of the following background factors:

A. Factors associated with family background

1. Objective factors

- a. Migrants' fathers will have had higher socio-economic status than will residents' fathers.
- b. Migrants' fathers will have had more education than will residents' fathers.
- c. Migrants' mothers will have had more education than will residents' mothers.
- d. Migrants' fathers will have had higher income than will residents' fathers.

2. Dynamic (social psychological) factors

- a. Migrants' parents will have had higher occupational expectations for their children than residents' parents will have had for theirs.
- b. Migrants' parents will have been more favorably oriented toward their children's possible departure from the home community than will be the case for residents' parents.
- c. Migrants will have been less satisfied with their relationships with their parents than will be the case for residents.

B. Factors associated with the individual

1. Objective factors

- a. Migrants will have had higher intelligence than residents.
- b. Migrants will have had greater academic ability than residents.

2. Dynamic (social psychological) factors

- a. Migrants will have had higher educational aspirations than residents.
- b. Migrants will have had higher occupational aspirations than residents.
- c. Migrants will have been more favorably oriented toward leaving the community after leaving school than residents.
- d. Migrants will have been more motivated toward further education or training as a basis for leaving the home community than residents.
- e. Migrants will have been less satisfied with the community than residents.
- f. Migrants will have had a residential preference for a larger community than residents.

Hypothesis V: (Opportunity Structure of the Community of Orientation)

The larger the community of orientation, the higher will be the level of subsequent occupational attainment, regardless of present residence.

Hypothesis VI: (Opportunity Structure of the Community of Destination)

Of men reared in rural areas, the level of subsequent occupational attainment will be highest among migrants to small cities, next highest among migrants to large cities, third highest among migrants to other rural communities, and lowest among those remaining in their home communities.

Hypothesis VII: (Occupational Achievement of Circular Migrants)

Of men reared in rural areas, those who move away from their home communities but subsequently return will exhibit occupational attainment higher than that of persons who have never moved away from their home communities but lower than that of persons who have moved away to other rural communities and not returned.

CHAPTER II

THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

A. Introduction

In the previous chapter we summarized the research literature dealing with the relationship between geographic mobility and occupational achievement of rural youth. We discussed the need for a careful longitudinal check of generalizations growing out of the literature and for exploration of the phenomenon of circular migration. Finally, we constructed a set of interrelated hypotheses for testing within a longitudinal design. The purpose of this chapter is to outline a study developed to provide a test of those hypotheses.

B. The Ontonagon County Project, 1957-1968

In response to the Report of the Procedures Committee of NC-18, the North Central Regional Project Concerning Field Studies in Migration (1957), Michigan State University sociologists undertook a series of studies of outmigration areas of rural Michigan. Among the places studied was a low income rural area in the Upper Peninsula with an extended history of population loss: Ontonagon County.¹

¹Under the aegis of NC-18, sociologists in the North Central Region undertook parallel field studies of areas

In May, 1957, a study of the "initial phase" of voluntary migration was conducted in this county by MSU sociologists, with support from the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station. In this project extensive data were collected from and about a sample of young people enrolled in high school. This was accomplished through a mimeographed questionnaire² filled out by the students which elicited information about a variety of topics, such as their activities, their attitudes toward the community and toward their parents, their educational and occupational plans and aspirations, and their possible desires, expectations, or plans to leave the local area after high school. Further information was obtained from school records including evidence concerning their academic performance and various test scores. An attempt was made to corroborate certain information, such as the students' fathers' occupations, with knowledgeable school staff members in order to ensure the highest possible validity of information gathered. Analysis of the 1957 data was subsequently presented by Goldsmith and Beegle (1962) in a study of the "initial phase" of voluntary migration.

exhibiting various combinations of the following conditions: 1) net immigration or net outmigration during the previous decade, 2) a high or low level of living, and 3) a high or low proportion of persons employed in manufacturing. Ontonagon County was considered to fall into the category of net outmigration, a low level of living, and a low proportion of persons employed in manufacturing.

²See Appendix A.

In 1967, the second phase of the Ontonagon County project was undertaken. This consisted of a follow-up study of these former high school students. The sample members were relocated and new data were collected concerning the events which had taken place since 1957. For the ten year period since high school, information was obtained concerning all places in which these young people had lived, the various jobs they had held, marriage and family formation, spouses' occupations, family income, attitudes toward their home community and toward their present community, if living elsewhere, their social participation, and their assessment of the meaning of their ten years' experience.

The present study of geographic mobility and occupational achievement of rural youth is based on the extensive data now available for this sample of persons from Ontonagon County, Michigan, over a period of ten years, commencing while they were still enrolled in high school in May, 1957.³

1. The Research Site

The site selected for this study was a rural county in the western part of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Ontonagon County is located approximately 60 miles southwest of Houghton,

³Two other studies have been recently completed using data from this sample, including those by Tregea (1968) and Simwanza (1969). Several others are currently in progress.

Michigan, and about the same distance northeast of Ironwood, Michigan. It is an entirely rural area, with the largest community, the village of Ontonagon, having a population in 1960 of approximately 2360 persons.⁴ There are a number of other smaller hamlets with populations of a few hundred or less scattered about the county, with the rest of the population living in the open country. The total population of the county in 1960 was 10,584, a figure slightly increased over that of the previous decade, but due almost entirely to expansion of the copper mining operation at White Pine in the western part of the county. Previous to the reopening of this mine, in 1954, the county had shown a continual loss of population since the 1920's. Goldsmith reports that

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. Over 17 percent of its active labor force was unemployed as compared with the state average of 5.4 percent. Forty-seven percent of the population earned less than \$2,000 and only 6 percent earned more than \$5,000. The same figures for the state were 19 percent and 20 percent respectively. (1961, p. 78)

These conditions, dismal as they were in 1950, do not appear to have been much changed by the introduction

⁴The photograph on the frontispiece is a scene of the main thoroughfare, River Street, in the village of Ontonagon.

of new industry, principally mining, during the decade 1950-1960. While there has been some shift of labor from agriculture and logging into mining, the overall atmosphere in the county has continued to be one of depression and, particularly, outmigration of the young.⁵ The County exhibits a pattern similar in basic respects to many rural counties in the North Central Region of the United States,⁶ and thus serves as a generally representative area in which to study the career profiles of rural youth. Some impression of the nature of the Ontonagon County area may be gained from the pictures on the accompanying pages. Although these photographs were taken at the time of the 1967-70 re-study, they convey in an authentic manner the basic atmosphere of the area during the contemporary period in which the subjects in this study grew up.

2. The Research Sample

In May of 1957, all the Juniors and Seniors enrolled in the six high school districts in Ontonagon County⁷

⁵Preliminary 1970 Census figures released in June, 1970, indicate that the County has again lost population during the decade ending 1 April 1970.

⁶The North Central Region, as recognized by the U.S. Census, includes the states of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio. In terms of migration patterns, the state of Kentucky can be thought of as also belonging generally to this region.

⁷According to the 1960 Census, 97.3 percent of the 16-17 year olds residing in the county were enrolled in high



Fig. 1. Bergland School. One of the three smaller schools in Ontonagon County. The study sample includes eleven males who graduated from this school in 1957 and 1958.



Fig. 2. Ontonagon High School. Largest school in Ontonagon County. The graduating classes of 1957 and 1958 included 48 males who are subjects in this study. With consolidation of Mass and Rockland schools in 1968, a new high school has been built.



Fig. 3. Main Street, Rockland. One of a number of small communities scattered about Ontonagon County, Rockland was a teeming copper mining town in the late nineteenth century. Since the closing of the mines it has declined to about 400 residents.



Fig. 4. Residential street scene, Bergland. Houses in foreground are not atypical of many houses around the county. The street is unpaved, as are most of the streets in this community.

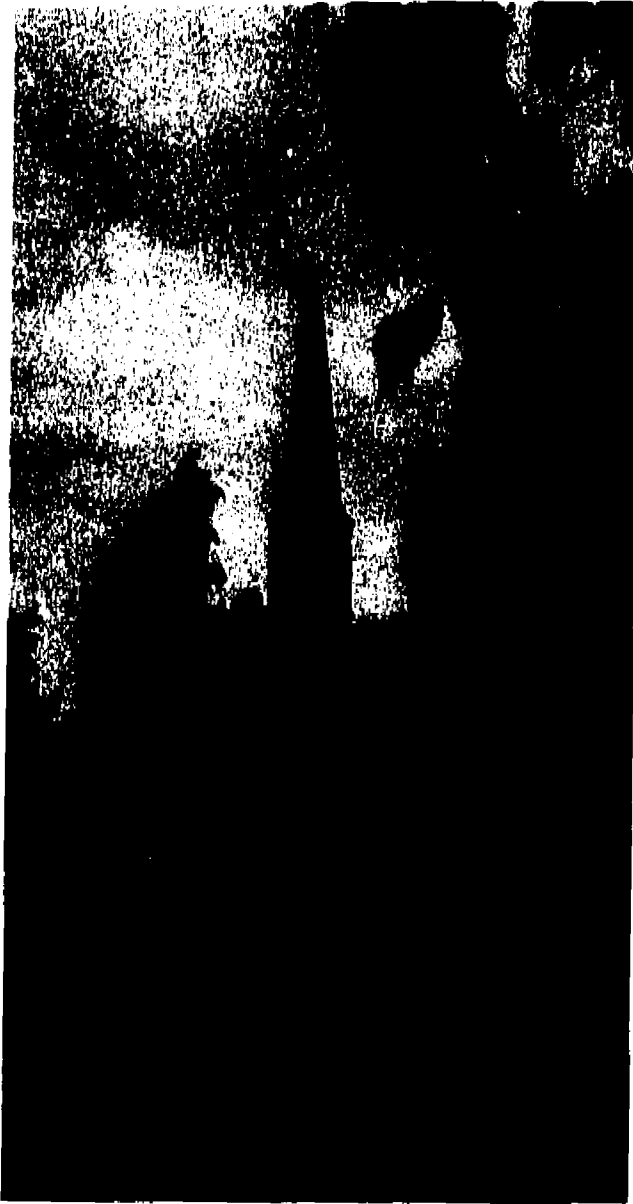


Fig. 5. Church in Rockland. Most churches in the county are wooden structures such as that pictured above.



Fig. 6. Ewen High School. Thirty of the subjects included in this study attended school here.



participated in the MSU study of the initial phase of voluntary migration. This included a total of 269 students, 127 males and 142 females, who were present on the day the data were collected. The school supplying the largest number of students in the original sample was Ontonagon, with 111 persons, while the smallest was Rockland, with just 11.

During the period March, 1968, to December, 1969, all of the students still living were re-located (three had died), and new data covering the ten year period since high school were gathered. This was accomplished through use of photo-offset questionnaires⁸ mailed to the respondents' addresses, completed by them, and returned to the university. Follow-up phone calls were made and interviews were conducted where necessary to insure the highest possible percentage of recovery of data. In three cases where subjects refused to cooperate with the study, in nine others in which the individuals indicated cooperation but failed ultimately to return the questionnaire, and in the three deceased cases, substitute data were collected from secondary sources, including immediate family members, friends, and school officials. An informal check of the probable validity of this

school. On the assumption that the level of attrition three years earlier at least approaches this rate, it would appear that an exceedingly small number in this age group in the county were not enrolled in school at the time of the original data collection.

⁸See Appendix B.

type of data was gained from a number of other cases in which such secondary data were collected, but in which the completed questionnaires were later received from the subjects themselves. The secondary source information was found to be remarkably accurate, and in at least one case, more precise and reliable than the information supplied by the subject himself. Altogether, usable data were recovered from 95.5 percent of the living members of the original sample and secondary source information was obtained to cover the remaining few cases, resulting in complete coverage of the original sample for the ten year period. The zero net data loss was considered essential considering the small size of the initial sample and because of the problems of representativeness alluded to earlier in the discussion of previous research.

For this study of the relation between geographic mobility and career achievement, only the male subsample is used.⁹ Of the original 127 males, two had died by the end of the ten year period after high school, one in what was described as a hunting accident and the other as a result of the sinking of the USS THRESHER (SSN-593) while serving with the Navy.

⁹Females were excluded from the analysis because there is good reason to believe that their careers characteristically differ in important structural ways from those of males. For example, the relationship of females to the occupational structure is not the same as that of males, and their geographic mobility is no doubt complicated and constrained by the career activities of their husbands.

3. Operationalization of the Variables

The variables to be dealt with in this study include a) migration, b) size of place of current residence, c) socioeconomic status, and d) certain background factors, including father's socioeconomic status, parents' education and income, parents' occupational expectations and career preferences, attitudes toward parents, intelligence, academic performance, educational and occupational aspirations, migration expectations, reasons for desiring to migrate, attitudes toward the community, and residential preferences.

Migration. This variable was measured by items in the re-study questionnaire (1968, pp. 4, 6-9) eliciting information about all the places in which the respondents had lived for a month or more since high school. Changes of house within the same community were not considered to be migration.

Size of Place of Current Residence. The format and procedure used by Blau and Duncan (1967) were used in this study to provide a basis for appropriate comparisons and to ensure maximum value of longitudinal replication of their analysis. Rural areas were defined as those communities under 2,500 population. Small cities were defined as incorporated places of 2,500 to 49,999 which were not part of the 213 "urbanized areas" identified in the Census 1960. Large city residence was defined as residence within one of the 213 "urbanized areas" of the Census, which refers to all incorporated places of at least 50,000 population

plus the surrounding unincorporated but developed urban and suburban fringe. Inasmuch as there were only 60 urban places, containing less than 5 percent of the population, which were not located in urbanized areas of at least 100,000 aggregate population, large city residence typically refers to urban areas of substantial size. Residence as of the end of the post high school decade (PHSD)--30 June 1967 for the 1957 seniors and 30 June 1968 for the 1957 Juniors--as listed in the re-study questionnaire (1968, pp. 4, 9), was designated the place of current residence.

Socioeconomic Status. The subjects' occupations as of the end of the PHSD as reported by them in the re-study questionnaire (1968, p. 9) were coded according to the Duncan "Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in the Detailed Classification of the Bureau of the Census: 1950," in Albert Reiss (1961, Appendix B-1). Fathers' occupations were similarly coded from information supplied on the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p. 19) and corroborated by school staff.

Using Census data, the Duncan Socioeconomic Index scales occupations according to objective components of income and education. This is done in such a manner that the rankings produced coincide well with the differential prestige of the various occupations as ascertained previously by the National Opinion Research Center (1947). The numeric scores derived range from a high of 96 to a low of zero. Examples of occupations ranking at various levels are as follows: physician, 92; civil engineer, 84; teacher, 72;

salaried manager, 68; typesetter, 52; clerical worker, 44; gas station operator, 33; welder, 24; smelterman, 18; janitor, 9; construction laborer, 7; and woodsman, 4.

Parents' Education. The level of education of each parent was measured by an item in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p. 20) eliciting number of years of education completed.

Parents' Income. Parents' incomes were measured by an item in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p. 20) eliciting the subjects' estimates of their incomes in terms of a series of categories scaled from less than \$1,000 to \$9,000 or more. The midpoints of these income categories were used in converting the subjects' answers into dollar income estimates.

Parents' Occupational Expectations. Parents' expectations concerning the occupational achievement of the subjects were measured by an item in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p. 14) eliciting the types of work the subjects thought their parents would like to see them follow. Three such possible lines of work were elicited and these were coded according to the Duncan Socioeconomic Status Index (Reiss, 1961, Appendix B-1) and the scores averaged to arrive at the most stable estimate of the subjects' perceptions of parental expectations.

Parents' Career Preferences. The parents' career preferences for the subjects were assessed by a forced-choice item in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p. 9) eliciting

information as to the course of action parents urged upon the subjects for the period after high school, as perceived by the subjects. The advice was divided into two categories in terms of whether it 1) involved staying near home (Answers 1, 2, and 4), or 2) allowed for the possibility of establishing residence away from home (Answers 3 and 5). Responses in the "Other" category were similarly divided where possible: advice to "take over my father's business" was put in category 1, while advice such as "go in the service and get a job of my own thereafter" was put in category 2.

Relations with Parents. The subjects' relations with their parents was the subject of a nine item checklist of evaluative statements about relationships with parents in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, pp. 7-8). The statements allowed for responses in five categories from strong agreement to strong disagreement. Each statement was scored from 1 to 5 with the high score reflecting high solidarity with parents. The individual statement scores were summed to provide a "relations with parents index" with scores ranging from a maximum possible of 45, reflecting high solidarity with parents, to a minimum of 9, indicating alienation from parents. This index score was used as a measure of the subjects' relations with their parents.

Intelligence. The most recent intelligence test scores were obtained from the school records. Only those results from standardized tests, and which were recorded

in classical I.Q. format, were used. It is recognized, of course, that these tests are, at best, highly impure measures of intelligence. Allowance must be made for the fact that results are likely to be influenced by such factors as school achievement, family background experience, self-attitudes, etc. While interpretation of outcomes must be made in the light of these reservations, the test results may still be useful in apprehending the career achievement potential of the students, and in revealing possible differences between migrants and nonmigrants.

Academic Ability. The academic ability of the students was measured by their graduation rank converted into a percentile rank by the formula: $1 - \text{Rank/Number of persons in the graduating class}$. In the several cases in which individuals did not actually graduate, ranks were assigned based on an evaluation of their academic performance while still enrolled.

Educational Aspirations. The level of educational aspirations was measured by a forced-choice item in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p. 15) eliciting information concerning possible intentions to seek further training after high school. Response alternatives allowed for a specification as to what type, if any, training was planned.

Occupational Aspirations. The level of occupational aspirations was obtained from an item in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p. 14) eliciting "first choice job [that the subject was now] considering as a lifetime work," coded

according to the Duncan Socioeconomic Status Index (Reiss, 1961, Appendix B-1).

Migration Expectations. The attitude of the subjects concerning the possibility of leaving the local community after high school was measured by a forced-choice item in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p.10) eliciting expectations regarding staying or leaving. Response alternatives were listed in order of increasingly favorable orientation toward migrating from the community and divided in terms of whether they involved staying (Answers 1 and 2) or leaving (Answers 3 and 4).

Reason for Leaving the Community after High School. The principal reason the students felt might be grounds for leaving the community after high school was measured by an open-ended question in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p. 10) eliciting their "first main reason" for considering leaving. Responses were coded into a series of categories according to the type of reason given.

Attitude toward the Community. The subjects' level of community satisfaction was measured by a selection of 15 items from a checklist of evaluative statements about the community in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, pp. 4-5). The fifteen item checklist was scored in the same fashion as that for relations with parents, and an index derived in which a higher score (maximum possible score = 75) indicated greater satisfaction with the community and a lower score (minimum = 15) indicated lesser satisfaction with the

community. This index score was used as a measure of the subjects' attitudes toward the community.

Residential Preference. The residential preference of the subjects was measured by an item in the initial phase questionnaire (1957, p.12) eliciting the type of community in which they would most prefer to live. Response alternatives were listed in order of increasing size of community. Due to a misprint in the questionnaire, the size category 2,500 to 10,000 was omitted. This reshaped the choice interestingly into one which drew a distinction between the kind of community found in Ontonagon County, all of which are smaller than 2,500, and communities of definitely larger size, such as Ironwood and Marquette in the U.P. and others of similar and larger size in the Lower Peninsula and elsewhere.

4. Operational Statements of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis I:

Of male Ontonagon County 1957 high school juniors and seniors, more will be living outside their home communities than will reside within their home communities at the end of the PHSD.

Hypothesis II:

Of male Ontonagon County 1957 high school juniors and seniors who are living outside their home communities at the end of the PHSD, more will be living in places of

over 2,500 population than will be living in places of under 2,500.

Hypothesis III:

Of male Ontonagon County 1957 high school juniors and seniors, those who are living outside their home communities at the end of the PHSD will exhibit a higher mean SES score than will those residing in their home communities.

Hypothesis IV:

Of male Ontonagon County 1957 high school juniors and seniors, those who are living outside their home communities at the end of the PHSD (migrants) will differ in specified ways from those residing in their home communities (residents) in terms of the following background factors:

A. Factors associated with family background

1. Objective factors

- a. The mean Duncan SES score for migrants' fathers will be higher than that for residents' fathers.
- b. The mean years of education completed for migrants' fathers will be greater than that for residents' fathers.
- c. The mean years of education completed for migrants' mothers will be greater than that for residents' mothers.
- d. The mean dollar income of migrants' parents will be higher than that for residents' parents.

2. Dynamic (social psychological) factors

- a. The mean average Duncan SES score of jobs suggested by parents of migrants will be higher than that for jobs suggested by parents of residents.
- b. The proportion of parents of migrants expressing career preferences which allow for departure from the community after high school will be greater than that for the parents of residents.
- c. The mean relations-with-parents index score for migrants will be lower than that for residents.

B. Factors associated with the individual

1. Objective factors

- a. The mean I.Q. score for migrants will be higher than that for residents.
- b. The mean graduation rank percentile score for migrants will be higher than that for residents.

2. Dynamic (social psychological) factors

- a. The proportion of migrants intending to get further training or education beyond high school will be greater than that for residents.
- b. The mean Duncan SES score of occupations "now being seriously considered" by migrants will

be higher than that of occupations being considered by residents.

- c. The percentage of migrants who expected to leave the community after high school will be greater than that for residents.
- d. The percentage of migrants listing further training or education as the "first main reason" for considering leaving the community after high school will be greater than that for residents.
- e. The mean community satisfaction index score for migrants will be lower than that for residents.
- f. The proportion of migrants preferring to live in communities larger than 10,000 will be greater than that for residents.

Hypothesis V:

Among male Ontonagon County 1957 high school juniors and seniors, there will be a direct rank order relationship between the size of the home community and mean SES scores at the end of the PHSD.

Hypothesis VI:

Among male Ontonagon County 1957 high school juniors and seniors, the highest mean SES score at the end of the PHSD will be exhibited by those living in cities between 2,500 and 50,000, the next highest mean SES score by those

in cities over 50,000, the third highest mean SES score by those living in places of less than 2,500 other than their home communities, and the lowest mean SES score by those living in their home communities.

Hypothesis VII:

Among male Ontonagon County 1957 high school juniors and seniors, those who left their home communities to live elsewhere for at least one month or more, but who returned before the end of the PHSD, will exhibit a mean SES score higher than that of persons who never moved out of their home communities during the PHSD, but lower than that of those living in places of less than 2,500 other than their home communities at the end of the PHSD.

5. Format of Analysis

The results of the study will be presented in tabular form. The research subjects will be grouped in terms of their standing in respect to the variables treated in the study, and sums, percentages, means, ranges, etc., computed where appropriate. Cross-classifications will be made between residence status and other variables in order to allow for needed comparisons between the nonmigrants and the various groups of migrants.

Inasmuch as the subjects used in the study constitute, for all practical purposes, a population in terms of both the county from which they come and the specific historical time period, statistical tests of significance would

be inapplicable to inferences concerning this local area. On the other hand, the subjects might be thought of as a sample from some larger universe, say, all rural young men from the North Central Region of the United States. Construed thus, the question arises as to the possible relevance of statistical tests in assessing the probability of sampling error. Sociologists are accustomed to seeing the tests applied in these circumstances, and their non-use in the present study calls for appropriate explanation.

The routine use of tests of statistical significance has come under increasing criticism in recent years. It has been observed by Morrison and Henkel (1969) that these tests have been often misapplied in that the fundamental assumptions on which they are based are frequently violated. They point out that

. . . [t]he notions of sampling distribution and sampling error have no meaning in statistical inference apart from the assumption of randomness in the sample selection procedure--randomness being a central feature incorporated in all probability sampling designs. (1969, p. 133)

And, again, that

. . . [a] common misuse of significance tests occurs when they are employed on a set of cases termed a "population" rather than a "sample." Were it literally true that the cases constitute a population, significance tests would be both inapplicable and unnecessary, since the probability relation of a sample and a population is by definition unity when they are the same. What seems more likely is that the researcher actually considers that his cases do not constitute his conceptual population, regardless of the fact that they exhaust some population that he has specified for study. Significance tests in such an instance are applicable only if the cases

at hand have been selected by probability methods-- a very unlikely possibility, given that the researcher terms his cases a "population." (1969, p. 134)

Such is the case in the present research. The subjects used in this study were not selected by any kind of random sampling procedure. The county itself was selected nonrandomly--on the basis that it happened to exhibit certain characteristics (e.g., a history of outmigration, a low level of living, etc.) relevant to the objectives of the research. But its selection was made without the assumption that it was statistically representative of a universe of such counties. Hence, the subjects used in this research constitute a purposive sample which by no means meets the criteria essential to the application of tests of significance. For this reason we have refrained from the use of the tests, with the intent of avoiding giving the mis-impression that the data can be safely considered as statistically representative of rural areas in the North Central Region.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

A. Introduction

In the previous chapter we described a research study designed to provide a longitudinal test of a series of hypotheses concerning the relationship between geographic mobility and occupational attainment of rural youth. The task of this chapter is to report the results of the research and the tests of the hypotheses outlined earlier. In addition, we shall attempt to assess the significance of the outcomes in terms of the total process of career achievement among young people growing up in rural areas.

B. Geographic Mobility and Occupational Achievement

In Hypothesis I we predicted that by the end of the post high school decade most of the former students would have left their home communities for residence elsewhere. The actual outcomes are shown in Table 4. It can be seen from the table that the results clearly support the hypothesis, with almost two-thirds of the young men having established residence outside their home communities after ten years. Even if those who currently live in another community within the county were considered to be nonmigrants, as they have been treated in some studies, there is still

a majority of 55 percent which has moved outside the area. The evidence from this test is consistent with the general interpretation in the literature--that migration is the order of the day for youth from this type of rural area.

Table 4. Residence at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD) in Numbers and Percents; Male Ontonagon County 1957 Juniors and Seniors

Residence at end of P H S D				
Total	Home community	Locations outside home community		
		Total	Other Ontonagon community	Outside Ontonagon County
Number:				
125*	46	79	10	69
Percent:				
100.0	36.8	63.2	8.0	55.2

*Excludes two deceased cases.

In Hypothesis II we indicated that the direction of migration would be toward places of larger size. The results are shown in Table 5.

From Table 5 it can be seen that the data strongly support Hypothesis II, in that about three-quarters of those young men who had established residence outside their home communities after ten years lived in places classified as urban, with most residing in large cities. Actually, less than a fourth had simply moved to another location similar to the one they had left in Ontonagon County. The preponderance of movement, then, is cityward, and it is a strong

trend indeed in this group of rural young men.¹

Table 5. Size of Community of Residence at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD) in Numbers and Percents; Male Ontonagon County 1957 Juniors and Seniors Living Outside Their Home Communities at End of PHSD Only

Size of community of residence at end of P H S D				
Total	Rural community under 2,500	Urban residence		
		Total	Small city 2,500-50,000	Large city 50,000+
Number:				
79	18	61	22	39
Percent:				
100.0	22.8	77.2	27.8	49.4

We now come to the matter of the differential occupational achievement of persons who have migrated from their home area and those who are still local residents after ten years. In Hypothesis III it was predicted that those living outside their home community at the end of the PHSD would exhibit higher occupational attainment than those who were at that time residing within their home community. Table 6

¹Inasmuch as 69.9 percent of the U.S. population, as of the 1960 Census, were living in areas classified as urban, one might expect that if the redistribution of these migrants were predicted solely on simple probability grounds, excluding all other factors, something like seventy percent of them should have ended up in urban areas. If we adopt this rather high hypothetical percentage, as a stricter test of our notions of the importance and significance of this migration stream, it can be seen that the actual outcome exceeds even this requirement, since seventy-seven percent of this group of rural migrants is now living in urban areas.

presents the actual socioeconomic status outcomes of the two groups.

Table 6. Mean Socioeconomic Status at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD) for Persons Living In, and Persons Living Outside, Their Home Community at End of PHSD; Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Total	Residence at end of P H S D	
	Home community	Outside home community
Number:		
125*	46	79
Mean SES:		
40.3	28.2	47.3

*Excludes two deceased cases.

Here the outcomes are dramatically clear. The occupational achievement advantage is greatly in favor of the migrants who, in the space of the ten years, have achieved a mean status substantially higher than those living in their original community in Ontonagon County. The difference--nearly twenty scale points in the mean attainment scores--is so great that it invites the speculation that an important selectivity factor is operating among the migrants.

In Hypothesis IV we anticipated this issue of possible selectivity and delineated a series of both objective and dynamic background factors in which differences between

migrants and residents,² if any, might be exposed. The results bearing on this hypothesis are reported in Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10.

Table 7 presents comparative information on the family backgrounds of migrants and residents. Examination of the table reveals that, contrary to the hypothesis, the mean socioeconomic status of the fathers of the residents (29.6) clearly exceeds that of the fathers of the migrants (22.9).

Table 7. Selected Objective Family Background Characteristics of Persons Living In, and Persons Living Outside, their Home Communities at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD); Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Family background characteristic	Total (N=125)*		Home community (N=46)		Outside home community (N=79)	
	No. of responses	Mean	No. of responses	Mean	No. of responses	Mean
a. Fathers' mean SES score	125	25.8	46	29.6	79	22.9
b. Fathers' mean years of educa- tion completed	115	9.2	43	9.1	72	9.3
c. Mothers' mean years of educa- tion completed	112	10.1	44	10.0	68	10.3
d. Subjects' esti- mate of parents' annual income; mean in dollars	102	\$4279	37	\$4216	65	\$4315

*Excludes two deceased cases.

²To simplify discussion of these results the term resident is used to designate, in accordance with Hypothesis IV, those persons living in their home communities at the end of the Post High School Decade.

Yet while the migrants' parents exhibit lower status, they would appear to attain slightly higher incomes³ and to have more education. These income and educational differences, while in the hypothesized direction, are, admittedly, small and represent merely estimates on the part of the subjects themselves. Hence, they are perceptions and not actual verifiable data on these particular aspects of the parents' situations. Moreover, it will be noted that there is a high level of non-response, particularly in reference to annual income, with obvious implications for bias in the results. Considering the inconsistency of these results and the relative size of the differences in each direction, it is not at all clear that the migrants typically come from homes which are "superior" to those of the residents. At least, on balance, these data do not appear to provide much support for the notion of selectivity of migration in terms of parents' status as an explanatory factor in the vastly superior occupational achievement of migrants.

The evidence for selectivity is equivocal not only for the status of parents, but also, apparently, for certain dynamic aspects of the relationship between parents and children. Table 8 presents comparisons of several social psychological aspects of the home situation for migrants and residents. While the difference in the subjects'

³Interestingly, only three of the 125 subjects reported that their fathers' incomes were \$9000 or more, and all three were residents.

Table 8. Selected Dynamic Family Background Characteristics of Persons Living In, and Persons Living Outside, their Home Communities at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD); Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Dynamic background characteristic	Total (N=125)*		Home community (N=46)		Outside home community (N=79)	
	No. of responses	Mean or %	No. of responses	Mean or %	No. of responses	Mean or %
a. Mean average SES score of jobs subjects' parents have encouraged them to take	82	50.4	24	49.5	58	50.
b. Parents' career preferences for the period subsequent to high school:	123	100%	44	100%	79	100%
1. Advice urging children to establish themselves at or near home	30	25%	14	32%	16	20%
2. Advice allowing children option to establish themselves away from home	84	68%	28	64%	56	71%
3. Other advice	9	7%	2	4%	7	9%
c. Relations-with-parents index mean score	125	19.9	46	20.0	79	19.1

*Excludes two deceased cases.

perceptions of their parents' occupational expectations is in the direction hypothesized, that difference would appear to be virtually insignificant. The parents of both migrants and residents seem to have held rather high expectations

for their children's occupational achievement, as these young people perceived them. Yet, when the children's perceptions of their parents' preferences concerning their course of action after high school are compared, certain interesting differences emerge. Nearly a third (32%) of the residents' parents, half again as many as in the case of the migrants' parents, apparently urged their children to establish themselves as near home as possible after high school. Despite this difference in the attitudes of some of the parents, however, it must be recognized that most of the parents of both migrants and residents appear to have given their children advice which allowed for the possibility of departing the local area. Thus we find that almost two-thirds (64%) of those individuals living in this depressed area ten years after high school had received the impression from their parents that their best course of action, whatever else it might involve, would be to "get the best job possible even if you have to move to another community."

We hypothesized that the migrants would have exhibited a lower level of solidarity with their parents, and the results are consistent in direction with our expectation. However, the degree of difference between the mean scores of residents and migrants on the relations-with-parents index is insignificant; a mere two-tenths of a point. Hence, it would appear that this factor does not serve to predict departure from the area in the period after high school, let alone subsequent differential career achievement.

In terms of those social psychological aspects of the home situation which we have here examined, the migrants differ from the residents as hypothesized, but the difference appears to be, for the most part, trivial, with the only exception being the proportion of residents whose parents wished them to stay near home after high school.

In summing up the evidence for selectivity of migration in terms of factors connected with family background, it would seem that there is no clear basis for concluding that such selectivity is very strong, nor that it operates uniquely in favor of the migrants. Certainly, no single factor appears to be so dramatically connected with migration and career formation that it goes very far in accounting for the wide divergence in subsequent occupational attainments of migrants and residents.

Results bearing on intelligence and academic ability as selective variables are presented in Table 9. Here the data conform to our expectations in a more meaningful way. The mean intelligence score for the migrants is somewhat higher than that for residents. This is a small, but probably significant edge which the migrants have over the residents, an edge reflected contemporaneously in their superior performance in school as indicated by their mean percentile graduation rank. While the usual I.Q. tests are heavily contaminated measures of ability, and typically only weakly related to grade point average, the fact is that they can be, nonetheless, predictors of later achievement. In this

group of former high school students, both mean I.Q. and graduation rank do appear to be related to their subsequent migration status and occupational attainments. All the same, it must be observed that the migrants as a group do not present an especially imposing picture; they are merely average in ability and have, as a group, exhibited lower overall academic achievement than their female counterparts. Nonetheless, when compared to other males who still reside in the home community ten years after high school, these migrants emerge as objectively superior, particularly, perhaps, in terms of their performance in school.

Table 9. Selected Objective Individual Background Characteristics of Persons Living In, and Persons Living Outside, their Home Communities at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD); Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Objective individual characteristic	Total (N=125)*		Home community (N=46)		Outside home community (N=79)	
	No. of responses	Mean	No. of responses	Mean	No. of responses	Mean
a. Mean I.Q. score	107	100.2	41	97.6	66	101.8
b. Graduation rank; mean percentile score	125	39.4	46	33.1	79	43.1

*Excludes two deceased cases.

A series of six social psychological aspects of the students' own situations were examined, and the results are

presented in Table 10. It was hypothesized that migrants would more often be planning to obtain further training beyond high school and this appears to have been the case. Sixty-two percent of the migrants, as compared with fifty-four percent of the residents, looked forward to more training, and a slightly higher proportion of the migrants who were planning for such training specified college training than is the case for the residents. In general, it appears that the migrants were more oriented toward further education, particularly college education, than was the case for the residents at the time they were all still in high school. That this expectation on the part of the migrants would augur for a high proportion expecting also to migrate from the home community after high school is obvious. But it does not necessarily mean that those who didn't happen to be planning on college were not entertaining valid thoughts of leaving home, particularly in light of the poor economy of the area and the advice which we have shown was typically offered by their parents. As we shall presently see, the majority of both groups actually expected to leave the area.

It is known that the level of occupational aspirations is directly related to achievement in school, and this pattern appears to hold for the present sample of rural youth, divided as it is somewhat along school achievement lines. The migrants exhibit aspirations (48.7) notably higher than those of the home community residents (40.9), although, interestingly, neither group holds aspirations for itself

Table 10. Selected Dynamic Individual Background Characteristics of Persons Living In, and Persons Living Outside, their Home Communities at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD); Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Dynamic individual characteristic	Total (N=125)*		Home community (N=46)		Outside home community (N=79)	
	No. of responses	Mean or %	No. of responses	Mean or %	No. of responses	Mean or %
a. Percentage of persons planning to get further training; total	74	59%	25	54%	49	62%
1. College	46	37%	15	33%	31	39%
2. Trade school or apprenticeship	15	12%	7	15%	8	10%
3. Other	13	10%	3	6%	10	13%
b. Mean SES score of "first choice job [being considered] as a lifetime work"	110	45.8	41	40.9	69	48.7
c. Orientation toward leaving the community after high school:	123	100%	46	100%	77	100%
1. Eager to stay	15	12%	8	17%	7	9%
2. Probably stay, but not eager to stay	19	16%	5	11%	14	18%
3. Probably leave, but not eager to leave	69	56%	27	59%	42	55%
4. Eager to leave	20	16%	6	13%	14	18%
d. Percentage of persons listing further education or training as "first main reason" for considering leaving the home community after high school**	26	25.5%	8	23.5%	18	26.5%
e. Community satisfaction index mean score	125	43.4	46	42.4	79	44.0
f. Type of community in which subjects would most prefer to live:	125	100%	46	100%	79	100%
1. In the open country or in a village under 2,500	65	52%	26	56%	39	49%
2. In a city of 10,000 or larger, including a suburb of a large city	60	48%	20	44%	40	51%

*Excludes two deceased cases.

**Percentages computed using as a base the total number of residents (34) and migrants (68) who indicated by their response to the question that they were in fact considering leaving the home community after high school.

quite as high as those held for it by parents. This higher level of occupational aspirations on the part of the migrants is consistent with their expectations concerning further training after high school, examined earlier. Thus, the migrants, who have been observed to exhibit greater ability and superior school achievement, and to be more often planning to get further education or training, are seen also to hold fittingly high occupational aspirations.

The students were asked about their possible expectations to leave the community after high school. The results are consistent with our hypothesis in that a higher percentage of the migrants (73%) than residents (72%) expected to leave the area, but the magnitude of that difference is exceedingly small. Further insight into the students' feeling about leaving can be gained, however, by examination of their attitudes concerning the prospect. Of the 56 migrants who had expected to leave while still in high school, one quarter of them indicated that they were actually "eager to leave," while only about 18 percent of the residents who had expected to leave were enthusiastic about the prospect. On the other hand, among the students who had anticipated staying in the community, only a third of those who later migrated expressed enthusiasm for staying in the area, while eight out of thirteen residents expressed eagerness for remaining in the community. The implication of these results is that while the proportions of the migrants and residents who had expected to leave the area are not very different, although somewhat

predictable, their attitudes about the prospect reveal a notably greater reluctance on the part of the residents to move away from the home community. On balance, we infer support for the hypothesis concerning orientations of migrants and residents toward leaving the community after high school.

Given that the migrants exhibited higher ability, academic aptitudes, aspirations, and more often planned for further education, it is not surprising that a greater percentage of them also listed further education as a "first main reason" for leaving the community after high school. While the difference is not great (26.5 per cent of the migrants versus 23.5 percent of the residents), it is in the predicted direction and is consistent with the diverging patterns we have observed in their careers.

It was predicted that the migrants would exhibit a lower level of satisfaction with the local community as compared with the residents. However, this does not appear to have been the case. The migrants attained a mean score (44.0) on the community satisfaction index slightly higher than that for the residents (42.4). While this difference is not great, it is distinctly opposite that anticipated and is simply counter to expectations built on previous research.

The students were asked what type of community they would most prefer to live in and the results for the two groups differ in the hypothesized direction. A majority (51%) of the migrants indicated that they would prefer to

live in a community of 10,000 or larger, which is to say, a community unlike any found in Ontonagon County. This is in contrast to the residents, a majority (56%) of whom preferred to live in a community of less than 2,500 people. These preferences directly anticipate the actual outcomes, of course, since most of the migrants now live in urban areas and all of the residents live in rural communities smaller than twenty-five hundred people.

In summarizing the evidence as it bears on the issue of selectivity of migration, it would generally appear that such selectivity as exists in this sample of former rural high school students has less to do with family background and family resources than it does with the situation of the individual himself. The migrants do not clearly emerge superior to the residents in terms of the status of their parents or their parents' capacity to support liberal career aspirations. But the migrants do differ from the residents in certain aspects connected with the school experience and the process of preparing for a career. The migrants demonstrate greater measured ability and higher grades and higher educational and occupational aspirations. They apparently receive more reinforcement from their parents for independent educational and occupational achievement and migration, and undoubtedly also receive similar encouragement from their teachers and counselors. They are more favorably oriented toward leaving the community after high school and their impending departure is functionally related to their plans

for further training and advancement. In contrast, those persons who are residents of the home community after ten years seem to have exhibited less overall ability, to have done less well in school, and to have been less often planning for further education or training. They were more likely to have been encouraged to stay near home and seem to prefer living in an area like Ontonagon County.

Having observed these differences, it must be admitted that, except in a few particulars, they are not large, and none are dramatic. The pattern of observed differences suggests that those who migrate tend to be more "ready" for the experience--more favorably oriented toward the proposition and more attuned, perhaps, to exploit the opportunities that it affords. But apart from this, the migrants do not appear to be uniquely equipped for success--their credentials as of the end of high school are not so much better than those of the residents as to alone account for the substantial differences in occupational attainment after ten years. In short, while we do come up with some evidence for selectivity of migration, to some degree in favor of the comparative success of migrants, it is by no means sufficient to explain the diverging achievements of migrants and residents. We are left, then, with the conclusion that selectivity of migration is a factor in the career attainment of rural youth, but it does not tell the whole story. For the rest, we must look to variations in the opportunity structure of the environments of migrants and residents.

Hypothesis V dealt with the significance of the size of the community of orientation for later career achievement. Specifically, it was anticipated that the larger the size of the community in which the subjects grew up, the higher the subsequent occupational achievement. Results bearing on this hypothesis are presented in Tables 11 and 12.

Inspection of Table 11 reveals that there is by no means a perfectly consistent pattern in which the subjects from the larger communities do better occupationally than those from the smaller communities. For example, the men from Rockland exhibit a higher mean occupational attainment after ten years than do those from Bergland, which is a larger community. Nor is the achievement pattern consistently related to the size of the school itself, since the Trout Creek students who come from a smaller school, do better than those from Bergland.

Only when the subjects from the three larger communities and those from the three smaller communities are grouped together, as in Table 12, does anything like a convincing difference emerge, with those from the larger places doing clearly better than those from the smaller ones. But it must be admitted that the sample sizes are so small that these results leave much room for equivocation as to whether it is the size of the school or the size of the community which is primarily responsible in affecting later outcomes. To be sure, in this type of area, school size and community size are correlated, and probably play a joint role in

Table 11. Mean Socioeconomic Status at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD) by Community (School); Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Total	Community (School)		
	Bergland (Pop=600)	Ewen- Br. Crossing (Pop=630)	Mass- Greenland (Pop=860)
Number:			
125*	11	30	22
Mean SES:			
40.3	18.1	42.3	37.6
Total	Ontonagon (Pop=2358)	Rockland (Pop=500)	Trout Creek (Pop=350)
Number:			
125*	48	7	7
Mean SES:			
40.3	46.3	34.9	39.3

*Excludes two deceased cases.

Table 12. Mean Socioeconomic Status at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD), Three Largest Communities (Schools) vs. Three Smallest Communities (Schools); Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Total	Community (School) size category**	
	Three largest	Three smallest
Number:		
125*	100	25
Mean SES:		
40.3	43.2	28.7

*Excludes two deceased cases.

**The three largest communities are Ontonagon, Ewen, and Mass; the three smallest, Bergland, Trout Creek, and Rockland.

influencing subsequent achievement. However, considering the limited facilities and programs available in any of the schools in Ontonagon County in 1957, it is difficult to imagine that very much of the difference in career outcomes could be accounted for in terms of the differential quality of the schools themselves. This issue notwithstanding, it would appear that even in rural areas, the variation in the size of a place, and any consequences it may have in terms of exposure and training, does have a predictable influence in the careers of the youth who grow up there.

In Hypothesis VI, attention was shifted from the influence of the place of orientation to that of the place of destination. We suggested that those individuals who chose small cities as places to carry on their careers would be generally the most "successful," with those living in large cities ranking second. Still others, who by the end of the ten year period had left their home communities and established residence in other rural areas, would rank behind big city migrants in occupational achievement, while those who remained in their home communities would exhibit the least "success." The results are shown in Table 13.

In these outcomes ten years after school, the hypothesis would appear to be clearly supported. The rank order of the various groups in socioeconomic status is perfectly consistent with that indicated in the hypothesis, despite the relatively small sample sizes involved, and the differences are sufficiently great to call for some degree of confidence.

Table 13. Mean Socioeconomic Status by Residence at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD) for Persons Living in Home Communities, Other Rural Areas, Small Cities, and Large Cities; Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Total	Residence at end of P H S D			
	Home community	Other rural com. under 2,500	Small city 2,500-50,000	Large city 50,000+
Number:				
125*	46	18	22	39
Mean SES:				
40.3	28.2	42.2	53.3	46.2

*Excludes two deceased cases.

This evidence confirms under strict longitudinal conditions and for a particular cohort of rural young people the most basic projections made in the Blau-Duncan analysis concerning the relationship between geographic mobility and occupational attainment. Those who reside in small cities do very well indeed, and are followed in their achievement by migrants to large cities. The rural migrants, while they do more poorly than the urban migrants, nevertheless do better than the nonmigrants.

Those in this study who migrated to other rural communities exhibit unusually high attainment levels, considering the presumably poor opportunity structure of such places. Close inspection of the particular cases in this group reveals that in five cases, the small community chosen was located within a short distance of a substantial urban area,

but beyond its immediate fringe. In each of the five cases, the subjects held relatively high level jobs (three were graduate engineers) located in, or at least clearly connected with, the industry and commerce of the nearby urban area. Several others in the group of eighteen rural-to-rural migrants were school teachers. This substantial representation of professional people accounts for the unexpectedly high mean achievement among persons nominally classified as residing in rural areas outside the home community.

Among the subjects who still reside in their home communities ten years after high school, we observe the hypothesized pattern of low occupational attainment. By no means all of these individuals were limited in socioeconomic status at the end of the PHSD, as we shall see when we consider the matter of circular migration. But the trend is clearly below that for the other groups who live elsewhere.

In our consideration of previous research, we raised the question of whether persons found to live in the same place at two successive points in time could be safely considered to be nonmigrants. We found broad hints in the literature that such an assumption would probably be false in a significant proportion of cases. We anticipated that some persons would have left their home communities for military service, further education, or employment and later returned. These people would have thus undergone different experiences from those who never left their home communities, and yet not entirely the same experience as those who left permanently.

Hypothesis VII attempts to predict the occupational attainment outcomes of these circular migrants. But before considering the results in connection with the hypothesis, it is in order first to detail the residence history of the 46 persons found to be living in their home communities at the end of the decade. How many of them are, in actuality, circular migrants, rather than nonmigrants?

From Table 14 it can be seen that the great majority of those residing in their home communities at the end of the PHSD had actually lived elsewhere sometime during the ten years. Among those who ever left the area for some period, a significant number had migrated more than once.

Table 14. Extent and Frequency* of Circular Migration among Persons Living in Their Home Communities at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD) in Numbers and Percents; Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Residence in home community at end of PHSD: Total	Extent and frequency of circular migration							
	Nonmigrants: Never left home community	Migrants: Left home community at least once						
		Frequency of departures						
		Total	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more
Number:								
46	6	40	28	9	2	0	0	1
Percent:								
100.0	13.0	87.0	-	-	-	-	-	-

*Extent = proportion of persons who ever migrated and returned; Frequency = number of times any particular individual migrated and returned.

Twelve of twenty-eight, or about forty-three percent, had left the area several times--one as many as six times--over the ten year period. Altogether, migration would clearly seem to be the order of the day, even among persons from relatively insular areas such as Ontonagon County who might on more superficial inspection appear to be residentially nonmobile.

Having established the significant extent of circular migration, it is now appropriate to consider the career achievement of these migrants as a group in comparison with the other "rural-to-rural" migrants and the "true nonmigrants." It will be recalled that we predicted, in Hypothesis VII, that the mean occupational attainment of circular migrants would fall between that of persons who never left their home communities and those who left permanently to reside in other rural communities away from home. Dividing the 46 home community residents into subcategories of true nonmigrants and circular migrants and representing their attainments alongside those of the other groups in our sample results in the configuration shown in Table 15.

These results nicely support the hypothesis. The small number of true nonmigrant cases notwithstanding, there appears to be a definite distinction between their characteristic level of achievement and that of circular migrants, who are still distinctly separated from the migrants to other rural areas. Yet it can be seen, also, as indicated earlier, that the range of occupational attainment is fairly wide

for those who live in the home community. Even the nonmigrant group includes at least one person who achieved a moderately high rank, in this case through on-the-job training as a laboratory technician at the White Pine mine. Still, the restrictions on career achievement which permanent residence in the home community imposes are obvious, and in no other case among the nonmigrants had an individual managed to gain employment above the semi-skilled level.

Table 15. Mean Socioeconomic Status at End of Post High School Decade (PHSD) for Nonmigrants, Circular Migrants, Rural Migrants, Small City Migrants, and Large City Migrants; Male Ontonagon County 1957 High School Juniors and Seniors

Total	Migration/nonmigration category				
	Nonmigrants	Circular Migrants	Rural Migrants	Migrants to small cities	Migrants to large cities
Number:					
125*	6	40	18	22	39
Mean SES:					
40.3	21.5	29.2	42.2	53.3	46.2
Range	6-53	4-84	6-84	9-93	9-92

*Excludes two deceased cases.

The circular migrant group, on the other hand, includes a number of professional and sub-professional as well as skilled and nonskilled types. Some persons were out of their home communities only briefly for employment or military service while others stayed away considerably longer

in pursuit of education or other training and employment and only recently returned to live in their home communities. The group of circular migrants included five college graduates, three of whom came back to teach in the local schools. The remaining two, one of whom is an engineer, are employed by mining companies. One of the three returning as teachers has recently gone into the resort business. Apart from these five individuals the circular migrant group includes an assortment of business, clerical, skilled, and semi-skilled persons, as well as a number of laborers. In general, their occupations are spread through the opportunity structure of Ontonagon County and they present, as a group, a distinctly more impressive picture than do the true nonmigrants.

C. Summary

In this chapter we have examined data designed to provide tests of our hypotheses concerning the relationship of geographic mobility and occupational achievement. We have assayed the frequency of migration of a sample of young people from a rural area, and found that a majority of such persons did leave their communities of orientation and establish residence elsewhere in the period after high school. We then identified the types of destinations chosen by those who left their home communities and found that a high percentage of them opted for urban residence, mostly in large cities.

Next, we compared the occupational attainments of

those who had migrated with those who still resided in their home communities at the end of the decade and found that the migrants attained higher socioeconomic status. Having found higher occupational achievement among the migrants, we then asked the question as to how much of a role selectivity of migration might have played in accounting for such a difference. We examined a series of background factors, measured at the time these young persons were still in high school, which might be supposed to be relevant to the process of career formation and migration. The migrants did not appear to have any great advantage over the residents in terms of either the objective or social psychological factors associated with their family backgrounds. Such differences as did emerge between migrants and residents had to do with their ability and their experience in school, and with their aspirations and plans for the future. We found that, in general, the migrants had somewhat greater ability and had been more favorably oriented toward leaving the area after high school, and that this orientation fit well with plans which they had for further training or education. These differences between migrants and residents did not appear to be particularly significant, however, and certainly not sufficient to account for the emerging differences observed in their later occupational attainments.

Inasmuch as the selectivity factor was not seen as strong enough to explain the resulting achievement differences we then focussed attention on the opportunity structure

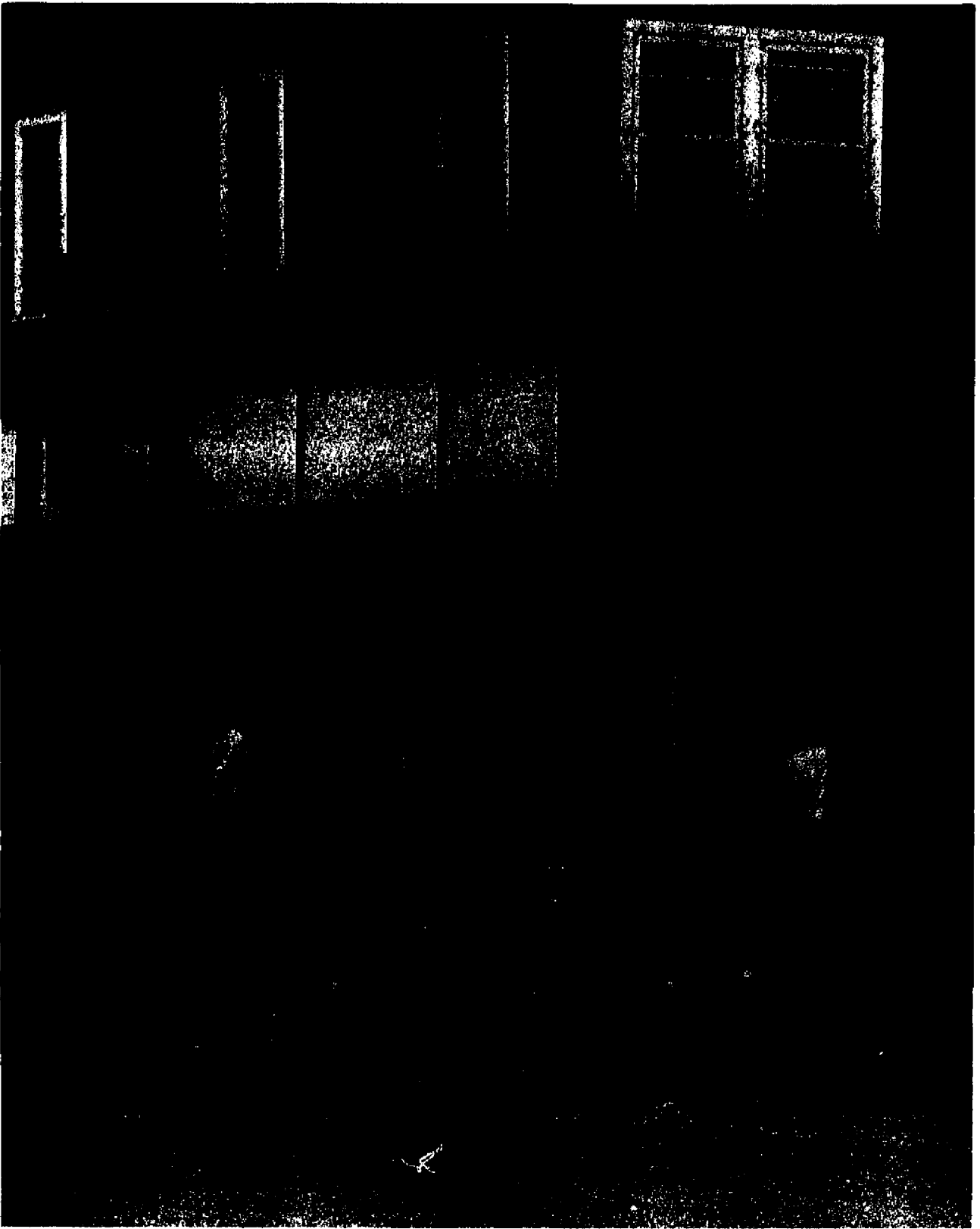


Fig. 8. Ontonagon youth today. Young people with time on their hands. Many of them will be leaving tomorrow for the city.

of the home community and those of the communities to which the migrants moved. First, we found a pattern of occupational attainment among the former students which was consistent with the hypothesis that the size of the community in which an individual is reared is directly related to his subsequent achievement, regardless of present residence. Apart from the influence of the opportunity structure of the community of orientation there is the question of the effects of the opportunity structure in the community in which the individual lives as an adult, and in which his career is played out. To examine this issue, we looked at the varying occupational attainment levels of persons who had migrated to different types of communities. It was found that those who had migrated to small cities exhibited the highest occupational attainment after ten years, while migrants to large cities ranked second. Migrants to other rural communities ranked third and those who remained in their home communities showed the least achievement.

Finally, the frequency of circular migration was investigated, and it was discovered that a majority of those still living in their home communities at the end of the first decade after high school had actually moved out and lived elsewhere sometime during the period, only to have returned. This group contained a broad range of occupational types, from college-educated professionals to laborers. The occupational attainment of the circular migrants as a group was compared to that of the true nonmigrants and to

those migrants who had established residence in other rural communities away from home. It was found that the circular migrants' occupational achievement ranked above the non-migrants' but below that of the other rural-to-rural migrants.

Altogether, the findings support each of the major hypotheses developed for the most part from cross-sectional research reported in the literature. This replication in stricter longitudinal form of the findings from other research does tend to confirm previous generalizations, as far as they go, concerning the migration and career achievement of rural youth. Our analysis of the frequency of circular migration and of the differential experience and achievement of circular migrants, however, raises some interesting questions about the validity of our conventional conceptions of the career pattern of rural youth. A real question emerges here as to whether it is sufficiently accurate to conceive of the migration and career experience of these young people as consisting of a simple process in which migration, if it occurs at all, is a single event. From even our brief analysis of the difference between circular migrants and other types of migrants and nonmigrants, it would seem that there is much more to this process than superficially meets the eye. This issue will be further explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

A. Introduction

In Chapter I the literature dealing with the relationship between geographic mobility and occupational attainment was discussed. A series of hypotheses was constructed to be tested under longitudinal conditions in an attempt to provide further confirmation of generalizations growing out of previous research. In Chapter II a study was outlined which would provide a means of testing the hypotheses. In Chapter III, we reported the results of the study and found that the evidence from longitudinal data provided empirical support for each of the hypotheses. The task of the present chapter is to discuss the general significance of the results of the study and, specifically, to explore the implications of our findings in respect to the role of migration in the career patterns of rural youth.

B. Migration and the Careers of Rural Youth

From our results in this study, considered alongside previous research on the subject of migration and the career trajectory of young persons from rural areas, there would appear to be grounds for certain basic generalizations. First, the outflow and redistribution of young people from

rural areas is clearly a substantial, significant, and continuing phenomenon. Whether or not the populations of rural areas stabilize over time, the migration of young people is likely to continue. This geographic mobility is a consequence of the need of these young people for the training and education necessary for them to find employment within a broad and expanding technology.

Many of the young people from rural areas, particularly the males, may depart their communities initially for military service. However they gain their first experience away from their home communities, it carries great potential weight in shaping their later careers. For it lifts them out of the familiar local scene and into new and sometimes quite strange environments. Very often these youths will assimilate new skills or obtain advanced education along the way. They will have access to new and different opportunities. Altogether, this experience will have a facilitating effect upon their careers, enabling them to advance farther up the occupational ladder than would likely have been the case had they merely remained in their local rural communities. Even those who do subsequently return to their home areas will have benefitted from their experience away from home. They will exhibit its effects typically in enhanced occupational attainment even in their home community.

In general, those young persons from rural areas who move to cities seem to do better occupationally than those who merely move to some other rural community, and

the explanation for this may be primarily in the expanded opportunity structure of the city. Those who migrate to small cities seem to do the best of all, perhaps because such environments represent some kind of optimum combination of expanded opportunity structure and relative similarity to the environment they left.

Those who leave their home communities and subsequently return do not seem to do as well occupationally as those who live in similar communities away from home, although they do better than those who never left. We have attempted to account for this phenomenon in terms of a "kinship deterrent" theory. By this notion, the latent effect of close proximity to, and high frequency of interaction with, kin is to inhibit occupational mobility. Apart from their typical lack of access to the various benefits of the migration experience, those who have always lived in the home community are subject to the most severe effects of kinship deterrence, while those who have left and returned are subject to at least moderate effects. In contrast, those who have left the community for other rural communities, while they may not have had access to a dramatically expanded opportunity structure, have nonetheless been freed of this subtle form of constraint upon their occupational advancement.

From the available evidence it does not appear that the differential occupational attainments of these various groups of migrants and of the nonmigrants can be attributed

entirely, or even primarily, to selectivity in the original migration process. While there do appear to be some differences between persons who migrate and those who elect to stay near the home area, these differences are not always in favor of the migrants, and are by no means large enough to explain the wide divergence in later occupational achievement.

C. Significance of the Findings

It will be recalled that in developing this analysis of the relationship of geographic mobility and occupational achievement, we took our initial departure from the work of Blau and Duncan, enunciating a series of hypotheses growing out of their work and that of others. We examined in sequence, and in conventional format, such factors as the frequency of migration, destinations of migrants, differential achievement of migrants and nonmigrants, selectivity, and the influence of the opportunity structure of the community of orientation and the various communities of destination.

None of the previous research on which these hypotheses were based contain longitudinal data for a single cohort of rural youth, over a continuous period of their career formation, which are comprehensive and detailed enough to afford a proper appreciation of the complex chain of events of which such careers are composed. In most studies in which a longitudinal design was attempted, including that of Blau

and Duncan, the results were based on simple Time 1, Time 2 observations. Furthermore, most studies were afflicted with considerable data loss through attrition of cases over the time period of the study. The net result has been an incomplete picture of the careers of these young people, and, ultimately, a potential lack of appreciation of the rich complexity of the structure of their experience.

This is not to suggest that the hypotheses made in the research literature and confirmed in this strict longitudinal replication are not valid as far as they go. As has been stated, there is good reason to believe that migration is a continuing phenomenon of rural life, as of urban life, and that most of those who leave their rural communities of orientation move in the direction of larger places. But it is not necessarily true that these migrants stay in the place to which they first move, or in which they may happen to be found some specified number of years after high school. There is no reason to believe that they are prone to any less geographic mobility than other segments of the population. They may well move to other places of smaller, or even larger, size. Or, as has been demonstrated clearly in this study, they may elect to return to the communities from which they have come. All this makes for an added degree of complexity in the role and significance of migration in the structure of their careers--a fact which cannot safely be overlooked if we are to apprehend the basis for these people's ultimate differential occupational attainments.

The above illustration serves the point; by analyzing the relationship of migration and occupational achievement essentially according to the conventions observed in the literature, we get the expected outcomes. The generalizations seem to be correct. But there is a good basis for not accepting the conventions, for the conception is too simple and the categories are exceedingly impure. What probably exists is a fine series of gradations of experience between those who have lived all their lives in a single rural community and those who have lived in different places during the course of their careers. Included in this will be the influence of other variables, such as family background, differential ability, exposure to various educational experiences, travel, etc., all of which contribute to a career structure which is actually a highly complex mosaic. The danger may not be so much in misapprehending of the influence of any one of the variables as such, as in oversimplifying the conception of the chain of events, and, thus, falsifying the complex profile of the careers of these subjects.

Thus the findings of this study would appear to be significant, not merely in that they provide, under conditions of optimum data recovery, a small scale longitudinal test of generalizations growing out of the literature of past research on the subject. Their value is also in that, through the analysis of circular migrants, they invite further attention to the complexity of migration as it figures

in the careers of people from rural areas. How many of those people who have left Ontonagon County on what would appear to be a permanent basis will in fact some day come back? On the other hand, how many of those now living there will one day leave for some place else? What will be the impact of such eventualities upon the course of their careers?

D. The Value of Longitudinal Micro-Studies

The research reported in this dissertation has two important attributes: it utilizes a comprehensive longitudinal design and it benefits from recovery of data for 100% of the cases. Studies such as this require persistence and a long-term continuity of effort not usually possible in a field in which practical considerations tend to force the casting of research into shorter time frames and into more expeditiously completed packages. Not only does this type of longitudinal micro-study take time and effort, but, also, there must be sufficient resources to support the considerable travel, contact, and follow-up needed to secure the highest possible number of returns. Moreover, the type of field work involved requires a combination of aggressive detective work, salesmanship, and social survey skill on the part of field staff. Thus, it is relatively expensive research in terms of time, money, and effort, and it demands a high order of ingenuity and persistence.

Recovery of the re-study data in the Ontonagon County project extended over the better part of two years and

involved locating individuals who had moved to locations throughout the United States and beyond, some of whom, we found, were not particularly desirous of being located. The cases in which it took a long time and a lot of effort to recover data were distinctly different from those in which the data were obtained quickly and easily. While no systematic analysis of this has been made, our strong clinical impression is that to have stopped short of accounting for the entire original sample would have been to miss many of the more unusual cases and to have thus failed to accurately assay the experience of these young people as a group.

If 100% data recovery is logistically difficult in a micro-level study, it is virtually impossible in a large scale survey. Therein lies, perhaps, part of the unique value of the well-executed longitudinal micro-study: it can be used as a check of large scale survey results, and, as we have shown here, it can provide a means for elucidating some of the processual aspects glossed over or ignored in macro-level studies. Thus in the present research we have found that migration is actually a complex phenomenon in terms of its significance in the career structure of young men from a rural area. And it would seem that at this point we have really only scratched the surface. The availability of continuous data offers the opportunity for exploring such aspects as the relationship between family formation and geographic mobility, between mate choice, family formation, and career achievement, between a host of background factors

and later educational and occupational achievement apart from their mediation through migration. While the resulting analyses may not have the "power" of large numbers, they nevertheless should serve simultaneously as a test of findings from other types of research and as a means for filling in the picture of the various processes we can only suppose to exist from information gained in macro-level studies. Beyond this, the micro approach, utilizing detailed longitudinal data, can serve as a rich source of hypotheses to be evaluated through subsequent research. Such hypotheses emerge out of the completeness and comprehensiveness of the data on a particular cohort, which results in a more coherent picture of their experience. The data "come alive," so to speak. Each aspect begins to make sense in terms of the integrated whole. Thus the researcher is in a better position to infer causal links among sequential elements of the experiences and behavior of the subjects, and is better able to see connections between various concurrent aspects of their situations.

Looked at in this way, and thus utilized, longitudinal micro-studies have a considerable contribution to make to the ongoing progress of research inquiry. They offer a way of checking and elucidating various processes we have inferred from other research while, at the same time, providing a context within which new insights may be gained and new ideas generated.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

**May 1957 Initial Phase of
Voluntary Migration 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.

XXXXXXX

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? _____

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unde- cided	Dis- agree	Strongly Disagree
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.

XXXXXXX

**AFTER GRADUATION YOUR
COMMUNITY WILL BE:**

**Strongly
Agree Agree Unde-
cided Dis-
agree 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 | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

- | | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Unde-
cided | Dis-
agree | Strongly
Disagree |
|--|---|-------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 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.)

XXXXXXX

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. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unde- cided	Dis- agree	Strongly Disagree
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.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. When do you think your parents are most likely to consider you an adult? (Write your answer here)	_____				
<hr/>					
3. What right did your parents (or guardian, the people you live with) have to make decisions for you <u>when you were in the 9th grade</u> (beginning high school)?					
a. _____ They had a <u>definite right</u> to help make my decisions.					
b. _____ They had <u>some right</u> to help make my decisions.					
c. _____ They had <u>no right</u> , but they could give me their opinions.					
d. _____ They had <u>no right</u> to even give their opinions.					
4. What right do your parents have to make decisions for you <u>after you graduate</u> from high school?					
a. _____ They have a <u>definite right</u> to help make my decisions.					
b. _____ They have <u>some right</u> to help make my decisions.					
c. _____ They have <u>no right</u> , but they may give me their opinions.					
d. _____ They have <u>no right</u> 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 ___
7. Will your parents be able to help you in getting a start or continuing your education after graduation from high school?
- ___ They will be financially able to help you a great deal.
 - ___ They will be financially able to give you some help.
 - ___ 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?
- ___ Willing to help you a great deal.
 - ___ Willing to give you some help.
 - ___ 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.

XXXXXXX

- Have you ever seriously considered moving away from your community?
Yes ___ No ___
- 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	_____	_____	_____

	Yes	No	Undecided
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.	_____	_____	_____

	Very Important	Of Some Importance	Of Little or No Importance
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.	_____	_____	_____
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) _____			
<hr/>			
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.

XXXXXXX

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	g. ____ Interest developed out of experience
b. ____ Advised by friends	h. ____ Most profitable work I could get
c. ____ Suggested by school study	i. ____ Suggested by counseling and testing
d. ____ Suggested by motion pictures	j. ____ Admired someone in this job
e. ____ Suggested by TV or radio	k. ____ Other (indicate) _____
f. ____ Suggested by magazines and books	
- 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. <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom of behavior | g. <input type="checkbox"/> Money |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> Chance for advancement | h. <input type="checkbox"/> Security |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> Friendship with fellow employees | i. <input type="checkbox"/> Public recognition |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> Power and authority | j. <input type="checkbox"/> Benefit to humanity |
| e. <input type="checkbox"/> Intellectual challenge | k. <input type="checkbox"/> Time to enjoy myself |
| f. <input type="checkbox"/> Prestige or respect | l. <input type="checkbox"/> 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 _____.

Do your parents expect you to take that job? Yes _____ No _____
Don't Know _____ They Don't 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.

XXXXXXXX

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 to 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. <input type="checkbox"/> Under \$1,000 | e. <input type="checkbox"/> 4,000 to 4,999 |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> 1,000 to 1,999 | f. <input type="checkbox"/> 5,000 to 5,999 |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> 2,000 to 2,999 | g. <input type="checkbox"/> 6,000 to 6,999 |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> 3,000 to 3,999 | h. <input type="checkbox"/> 7,000 to 8,999 |
| i. <input type="checkbox"/> 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.

XXXXXXX

- Your parents home is: a. ☐ owned b. ☐ rented c. ☐ being bought
If renting, how much is your rent? _____.
- 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.)
- The construction of your house is:
 - ☐ brick
 - ☐ Unpainted frame
 - ☐ Painted frame
 - ☐ Other (specify) _____.
- The lighting in your house is:
 - ☐ Oil lamps
 - ☐ Electric
 - ☐ Gas, mantle, or pressure lamps
 - ☐ 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 ☐

Appendix B

**1968 First Decennial
Re-Study Questionnaire**


FIRST DECENNIAL RE-STUDY

ONTONAGON COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

WHAT THIS STUDY IS ABOUT

In May 1957 you and your classmates participated in the first phase of a study of the problems faced by young people in preparing for the world of work and in selecting an area where they would like to live. This second phase of the study inquires into events since high school. We would like to learn of the experiences you have had, the problems you have faced, your successes and frustrations, and your thoughts concerning the past ten years and the future. This information will be of great value in developing better counseling programs for high school students from rural areas. Obviously, only you can help us, by being as frank as possible in completing this questionnaire. Your answers will be kept in strict confidence and your name will not be linked to the findings.

PLEASE FOLLOW THE DIRECTIONS

1. Read each item carefully. Then answer it to the best of your knowledge. This is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers.
2. Be sure to answer each question completely. The outcome of the study will be successful only if you are careful to provide accurate and complete information. Special "guides," indicated by the symbol , are included to help you interpret some questions.
3. If you are in doubt, or do not understand an item, make a note of it in the margin, and complete the rest of the questions. Upon return of the questionnaire, a member of the project staff will then contact you and complete it by phone conversation or personal interview, at your convenience.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

I.1. We would like to know a little bit about yourself:

- a. What is your name? ☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss _____ (First) (Initial) (Maiden) (Last)
- b. What is your current mailing address? ➡ _____
- c. Your birth date? _____ (Month) (Day) (Year) _____ Zip: _____
- d. Your present age? _____ ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Widowed ☐ Separated or Divorced Local phone: _____
- e. Your present marital status? ☐ Separated or Divorced
- f. Your high school and graduation class? _____ (School) _____
- g. Have you served on active duty in any branch of the armed forces? ☐ Yes ☐ No
1. If "Yes": What branch of service? _____ 2. Period on active duty: From: _____ (Month) _____ To: _____ (Month) _____
3. Highest rank and pay grade held while on active duty: _____ (Rank) _____ (Pay grade) _____
- h. How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____

1. Please indicate age, sex, and occupation of all brothers and sisters 18 years old and over:

Age	Sex	Job (What does he/she do?)	Age	Sex	Job (What does he/she do?)

I.2. If you are now married, we would like to know something of your marriage and family:

- a. What is your ☐ wife's ☐ husband's name? _____ (First) (Initial) (Last)
- b. What was her/his hometown and state? _____ (Town) _____ (State)
- c. Where did you first get to know her/him? _____ (Town) _____ (State)
- d. What was the highest grade she/he completed in school? _____ e. On what date did you get married? _____ (Month) (Day)
- f. Have you had children? ☐ Yes ☐ No
1. If "Yes": List the date of birth for each child (month and year): _____

I.3. We would like to learn about any further educational experience you have had since high school:

a. Have you obtained further qualification by APPRENTICESHIP OR ON-THE-JOB TRAINING? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If "Yes," please give details:

Organization or Firm		Type of Job or Apprenticeship (Specific skills in which you were trained)	Inclusive Dates of the Training		Certification earned, if any
City	State		From	To	

b. Have you attended a TRADE, VOCATIONAL, OR TECHNICAL SCHOOL? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If "Yes," please give details:

Name of School		Specific Program of Training (Course of training in which you were enrolled)	Inclusive Dates of the Training		Diploma earned, if any
City	State		From	To	

c. Have you obtained further ACADEMIC EDUCATION since leaving high school? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If "Yes," please give details:

Institution		Academic Major	Inclusive Dates of Attendance		Degree earned, if any
City	State		From	To	

II. RESIDENCE HISTORY 1957 - 1968

II.1. We would like to learn about your experiences since leaving high school:

a. Starting with your residence at the time you were completing high school, list each of the places you have lived since that time.

* List addresses as nearly as you can remember them for each place lived at for a month or more. Do NOT include changes of house within the same town or community.

b. What month and year did you move to this place?

c. Why did you move?

* We are interested not only in why you to leave, but also why you chose to go you did.

1.

(Residence at time of high school)

2.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

3.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

4.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

5.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

6.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

7.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

8.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

9.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

10.

(P.O.) (City) (State) (Mo.) (Yr.)

Did you have friends or relatives living in or near this place (or who were thinking of moving here) at the time you were considering moving here?

e. If you had friends or relatives living in or near this place (or who were thinking of moving here) how much do you think that fact affected your decision to move to this place?

Would you say it had:

		111111
--	--	--------

f. Looking back over your social participation while living in this place:

1. On the whole, how much would you say you became involved in affairs and activities in the local community?	2. Did you participate in any local organizations?	3. Did you have any friendships with other residents who you considered important?
---	--	--

to a considerable degree	to a moderate degree	to only a slight degree	not at all
--------------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------------	------------------

Yes	No
-----	----

46	Yes	
----	-----	--

[illegible]

III. EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME 1957-1967

III.1. This question deals with your work experience and income over the period since May 1957:

- Look over the question carefully to be sure you understand what to do, and then fill in each section, working across the page.

a. YOUR RESIDENCE:

Mark in your residences, and draw vertical lines between them indicating the approximate date you moved from one to another. (You may, of course, copy this information from the previous page).

- When filled in, this section shows where you lived 1957-1967, and should help to pinpoint your jobs during that time.

b. YOUR WORK EXPERIENCE:

1. FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT. In this section mark in the full-time jobs you have had (tell what you did at your job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates you began and quit each full-time job.

- When filled in, this section shows your full-time employment 1957-1967.

2. PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT. In this section mark in the part-time jobs you have had (tell what you did at your job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates you began and quit each part-time job.

- When filled in, this section shows all part-time work 1957-1967.

c. YOUR WIFE'S/HUSBAND'S WORK EXPERIENCE:

Mark in the full-time jobs your wife/husband has had (tell what she/he did at the job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates she/he began and quit each job.

- When filled in, this section shows your wife's/husband's work experience 1957-1967.

d. YOUR ESTIMATED TOTAL FAMILY INCOME (BEFORE TAXES): (or your own personal income if not married)

Mark the box which represents the closest estimate of your family/personal income for the years indicated. (Do not include support from parents or other relatives). Looking over the jobs held during each year may help you in estimating your income.

- When filled in, this section shows your estimated income 1957-1967.

1957												1958											
May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec				

- 195
- ☐ Under 2,500
 - ☐ 2,500-4,000
 - ☐ 4,000-5,000
 - ☐ 5,000-6,000
 - ☐ 6,000-7,000
 - ☐ 7,000-8,000
 - ☐ Over \$

ILLUSTRATION: THIS SHEET SHOWS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW TO FILL IN PAGES 6 THRU 9 AND MAY BE DISCARDED AFTER USE.

II. EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME 1957 - 1967

III.1. This question deals with your work experience and income over the period since May 1957:

Look over the question carefully to be sure you understand what to do, and then fill in each section, working across the page.

CONTINUED

a. YOUR RESIDENCE:

Mark in your residences, and draw vertical lines between them indicating the approximate date you moved from one to another. (You may, of course, copy this information from the previous page).

When filled in, this section shows where you lived 1957-1967, and should help to pinpoint your jobs during that time.

b. YOUR WORK EXPERIENCE:

1. FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT. In this section mark in the full-time jobs you have had (tell what you did at your job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates you began and quit each full-time job.

When filled in, this section shows your full-time employment 1957-1967.

2. PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT. In this section mark in the part-time jobs you have had (tell what you did at your job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates you began and quit each part-time job.

When filled in, this section shows all part-time work 1957-1967.

c. YOUR WIFE'S/HUSBAND'S WORK EXPERIENCE:

Mark in the full-time jobs your wife/husband has had (tell what she/he did at the job), and draw vertical lines indicating the approximate dates she/he began and quit each job.

When filled in, this section shows your wife's/husband's work experience 1957-1967.

d. YOUR ESTIMATED TOTAL FAMILY INCOME (BEFORE TAXES): (or your own personal income if not married)

Mark the box which represents the closest estimate of your family/personal income for the years indicated. (Do not include support from parents or other relatives). Looking over the jobs held during each year may help you in estimating your income.

When filled in, this section shows your estimated income 1957-1967.

1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
122 HART ST. FLINT, MICHIGAN	14432 GRAND RIVER DETROIT, MICH.	1346 PARK LN. PONTIAC, MICH.		
UNEMPL.	WELDER AT GEN. MOTORS	GARAGE MECHANIC WILSON MOTORS	SERVICE STATION OPER. ADR - LARRY'S GOLF SERVICE	
NONE	CLERK AT EDSON'S SPORT SHOP	NONE	NONE	
MARRIED	NONE	NURSE FORD HOSPITAL	NONE	

1958

☐ Under \$2,500
☒ 2,500 - 3,999
☐ 4,000 - 4,999
☐ 5,000 - 5,999
☐ 6,000 - 6,999
☐ 7,000 - 7,999
☐ 8,000 - 10,000
☐ Over \$10,000

1959

☐ Under \$2,500
☒ 2,500 - 3,999
☐ 4,000 - 4,999
☐ 5,000 - 5,999
☐ 6,000 - 6,999
☐ 7,000 - 7,999
☐ 8,000 - 10,000
☐ Over \$10,000

1960

☐ Under \$2,500
☐ 2,500 - 3,999
☒ 4,000 - 4,999
☐ 5,000 - 5,999
☐ 6,000 - 6,999
☐ 7,000 - 7,999
☐ 8,000 - 10,000
☐ Over \$10,000

1961

☐ Under \$2,500
☐ 2,500 - 3,999
☒ 4,000 - 4,999
☐ 5,000 - 5,999
☐ 6,000 - 6,999
☐ 7,000 - 7,999
☐ 8,000 - 10,000
☐ Over \$10,000

CONTINUE

1958

1960

1961

<p>sure to include not only where you worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB YOU DID.)</p>	<p>sure to include not only where you worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB YOU DID.)</p>	<p>sure to include not only where she/he worked but WHAT SPECIFIC JOB SHE/HE DID.)</p>
--	--	--

1959

1960

1961

- ☐ Under \$2,500
- ☐ 2,500 - 3,999
- ☐ 4,000 - 4,999
- ☐ 5,000 - 5,999
- ☐ 6,000 - 6,999
- ☐ 7,000 - 7,999
- ☐ 8,000 - 10,000
- ☐ Over \$10,000

- ☐ Under \$2,500
- ☐ 2,500 - 3,999
- ☐ 4,000 - 4,999
- ☐ 5,000 - 5,999
- ☐ 6,000 - 6,999
- ☐ 7,000 - 7,999
- ☐ 8,000 - 10,000
- ☐ Over \$10,000

- ☐ Under \$2,500
- ☐ 2,500 - 3,999
- ☐ 4,000 - 4,999
- ☐ 5,000 - 5,999
- ☐ 6,000 - 6,999
- ☐ 7,000 - 7,999
- ☐ 8,000 - 10,000
- ☐ Over \$10,000

III.1 EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME 1957-1967 (Continued)

CONTINUED

	1962												1963												1964			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2		
a. <u>YOUR RESIDENCE:</u> (Continued)																												
b. <u>YOUR WORK EXPERIENCE:</u> (Continued)																												
1. <u>FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT:</u>																												
2. <u>PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT:</u>																												
c. <u>YOUR WIFE'S/HUSBAND'S WORK EXPERIENCE:</u> (Continued)																												

1962

1963

d. YOUR ESTIMATED TOTAL FAMILY/PERSONAL INCOME:

(Continued)

- ☐ Under \$2,500
- ☐ 2,500 - 3,999
- ☐ 4,000 - 4,999
- ☐ 5,000 - 5,999
- ☐ 6,000 - 6,999
- ☐ 7,000 - 7,999
- ☐ 8,000 - 10,000
- ☐ Over \$10,000

- ☐ Under \$2,500
- ☐ 2,500 - 3,999
- ☐ 4,000 - 4,999
- ☐ 5,000 - 5,999
- ☐ 6,000 - 6,999
- ☐ 7,000 - 7,999
- ☐ 8,000 - 10,000
- ☐ Over \$10,000

III.2. We would like to learn of your experience and opinions concerning education, work, and income.

a. In the period since high school, what have been the greatest handicaps to getting ahead?

b. Looking back over the period since high school, what would you do differently if you had it to over again?

c. Based on your experience since high school, what changes in content or in emphasis would you recommend for rural high schools (such as the one you attended) to better prepare young people for the future?

d. In general, have things turned out as you expected them to while you were still in high school

- ☐ Things have turned out less well than I expected
☐ Things have turned out about as I expected
☐ Things have turned out better than I expected
☐ Don't know

e. In general, how much education do you think a young person should have nowadays?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some high school | <input type="checkbox"/> Some college |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Complete high school | <input type="checkbox"/> Complete college |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Business, vocational, or trade school | <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate or professional training |

f. How many hours did YOU work last week outside the home?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some, but less than 15 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> 40 - 50 hours |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 15 - 30 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> More than 50 hours |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 30 - 40 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> None |

1. Is your work seasonal? ☐ Yes ☐ No

g. Some people would like to work more hours per week if they could get paid for it. Others would prefer to work fewer hours a week even if they earned less. What would you do if you could?

- ☐ Work more hours ☐ Work less hours ☐ Don't know

1. Why do you say this? _____

h. What was your approximate family income (personal income, if unmarried) last month? \$ _____

1. Was last month a typical month? ☐ Yes ☐ No

2. How would you compare your income to what it was a year ago?

- ☐ It is higher now
☐ It is lower now
☐ It is about the same now

* Answer Questions i, j, k, and l, if you are usually employed part- or full-time.

i. How do you usually go about looking for a job? (Check as many as apply)

- A ☐ Check the newspaper
 B ☐ Get leads from friends and relatives
 C ☐ Go to the union
 D ☐ Go to the public employment office
 E ☐ Go to a private employment office
 F ☐ Go to employers directly
 G ☐ Other (specify) _____

1. Write the letter of the most useful: _____

j. How sure are you that you have identified the kind of job you want to make your life's work?

☐ Very sure ☐ Fairly sure ☐ Unsure

k. What features do you think are important in a job? (Check as many as apply)

- | | |
|---|--|
| A <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom of behavior | G <input type="checkbox"/> Money |
| B <input type="checkbox"/> Chance for advancement | H <input type="checkbox"/> Security |
| C <input type="checkbox"/> Friendship with fellow employees | I <input type="checkbox"/> Public recognition |
| D <input type="checkbox"/> Power and authority | J <input type="checkbox"/> Benefit to humanity |
| E <input type="checkbox"/> Intellectual challenge | K <input type="checkbox"/> Enjoyment of the work |
| F <input type="checkbox"/> Prestige and respect | L <input type="checkbox"/> Time to enjoy myself |
| | M <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ |

1. Write the letter of the most important: _____

l. Ten years from now what job do you expect you will have? _____

IV. YOUR COMMUNITY AND PARTICIPATION

IV.1. We would like to learn about your participation, if any, in organizations and in political affairs:

a. What kinds of clubs, associations, unions, church groups, or other organizations, if any, do you participate in?

Name of Organization	Do you attend meetings?		Are you a member of a committee?		Are you, or have you ever been, an officer in this organization?		Do your FRIENDS belong?		Do your RELATIVES belong?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										

- b. Other than organizations (as mentioned on the previous page), what other kinds of activities, if any, do you engage in during your free time?

(Please print or type name of activity, organization, etc., in space below)

- c. Are you a registered voter? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- d. Did you vote in the last presidential election (1964)? ☒ Yes ☐ No
- e. Have you voted in:
1. State elections? ☐ Regularly ☐ Sometimes ☐ Never
 2. City or local elections and referendums? ☐ Regularly ☐ Sometimes ☐ Never
- f. Have you ever actively participated in a political party? ☒ Yes ☐ No
- g. Have you ever held, or are you now holding, a political or civic office? ☐ Yes ☐ No
1. If "Yes," please name the positions or offices: _____
- h. Has the amount of your community participation varied greatly? That is, was there ever a time in the last 10 years that you participated a great deal more or a great deal less than you do at the present time? ☐ Yes ☐ No
1. If "Yes," why do you feel you participated differently then? _____
2. Were you living then in the same community that you are living in now? ☐ Yes ☐ No

IV.2. We would like to learn of the facilities and services in your community:

- a. Below is a list of facilities and services often found in communities. Please check how often you and/or your family use each:

Facility or service	Not available here	Frequency of use				
		never	seldom	sometimes	often	very often
A. Neighborhood Centers						
B. Restaurants						
C. Gymsnasiums						
D. Adult education programs						
E. Pre-school programs						
F. Employment services						
G. Bars						
H. Day-care services						
I. Health clinics						
J. Welfare Department						
K. Pool hall (billiards)						
L. Family counseling/Guidance						
M. Church						
N. Job training programs						
O. Movie theatres						
P. Parks and playgrounds						
Q. Legal advice services						

1. Write the letters of those you consider most important: First: _____ Second: _____ Third: _____

b. Have you had contact with one or more community agencies in the past two years? ☐ Yes ☐ No

1. If "Yes": With what agency have you had the most contact? _____

2. Did you receive aid or assistance from this agency? ☐ Yes ☐ No

a. If "Yes": What exactly did this agency do for you? _____

b. Did you feel that the service of this agency was difficult to get? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Explain: _____

IV.3. We would like to know your opinions concerning your present community:

a. Below is a series of statements that express various opinions about any given community. Read each statement carefully and quickly check the column to the right which most nearly represents your own personal belief about the community in or near which you live:

Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. Anything of a progressive nature is generally approved.					
2. With few exceptions the leaders are capable and ambitious.					
3. It is difficult for the people to get together on anything.					
4. The people, as a whole, mind their own business.					
5. The future of the community looks bright.					
6. No one seems to care how the community looks.					
7. It will never seem like home to me.					
8. Not much can be said for a place this size.					
9. The community is not located in a very desirable place.					
10. Few if any of the neighboring towns are able to surpass it.					
11. People have to do without adequate shopping facilities.					
12. Persons with real ability are usually given recognition.					

b. What do you think people in your community need most? _____

1. How do you think they should go about getting this? _____

IV.4. We would like to know something of your relations with your neighbors:

a. About how many people who live in your present community do you think you would recognize if you saw them in a large crowd?

☐ Almost all ☐ Many ☐ Some ☐ Very few ☐ None

b. About how often would you say you chat or visit with your neighbors?

☐ Very often ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom ☐ Never

c. Do you or your neighbors ever take care of each other's family when you or they are sick or busy?

☐ Yes ☐ No

1. If "Yes," about how often does this occur?

☐ Very often ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom

d. Do you and your neighbors ever talk over problems with each other?

☐ Yes ☐ No

1. If "Yes," about how often does this occur?

☐ Very often ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom

e. Do you have relatives who are living in this community, but who are not living with you?

☐ Yes ☐ No

1. If "Yes," about how often do you visit with them?

☐ Very often ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Seldom

IV.5. We are interested in your thoughts about the possibility of moving away from your present

a. Would you like to move to some other place?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know

1. If "Yes," where would you like to move?

(Neighborhood, city, state, etc.)

2. What would be better there?

3. Why would you like to move away from here (present community)?

b. Is there anybody you would miss so much that you would prefer not to move away from your present community?

☐ Yes ☐ No

1. If "Yes," would you leave anyway if you had a good job opportunity?

☐ Yes ☐ No

c. Which of the following best indicates the kind of community you would most prefer to live in?

- ☐ On a farm in the open country
- ☐ In the open country but not on a farm
- ☐ In a village under 2,500 people
- ☐ In a town or city of 2,500 to 10,000
- ☐ In a city of 10,000 to 100,000
- ☐ In a city over 100,000
- ☐ In a suburb outside a large city

* Depending on where you presently live, answer the questions in the appropriate column below:

PERSONS NOW LIVING WITHIN ONTONAGON COUNTY



d. How would you estimate the chance that you will move out of Ontonagon County?

- ☐ Better than 75%
- ☐ 50 to 75%
- ☐ About 50-50
- ☐ 25 to 50%
- ☐ Less than 25%

e. During the past twelve months, how often did you visit relatives outside Ontonagon County?

- ☐ More than once
- ☐ Once
- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ No relatives living outside the county

f. During the past twelve months, how often did you visit friends outside Ontonagon County?

- ☐ More than once
- ☐ Once
- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ No friends living outside the county

g. Do you subscribe to the ONTONAGON HERALD?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

h. Overall, how would you describe your ties to the Ontonagon County area?

- ☐ Very strong
- ☐ Moderately strong
- ☐ Average
- ☐ Moderately weak
- ☐ Little or no ties at all

PERSONS NOW LIVING OUTSIDE ONTONAGON COUNTY



d. How would you estimate the chance that you will move back to Ontonagon County?

- ☐ Better than 75%
- ☐ 50 to 75%
- ☐ About 50-50
- ☐ 25 to 50%
- ☐ Less than 25%

e. During the past twelve months, how often did you visit relatives in Ontonagon County?

- ☐ More than once
- ☐ Once
- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ No relatives living there

f. During the past twelve months, how often did you visit friends in Ontonagon County?

- ☐ More than once
- ☐ Once
- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ No friends living there

g. Do you subscribe to the ONTONAGON HERALD?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

h. Overall, how would you describe your ties to the Ontonagon County area?

- ☐ Very strong
- ☐ Moderately strong
- ☐ Average
- ☐ Moderately weak
- ☐ Little or no ties at all

* IF YOU ARE PRESENTLY AN ONTONAGON COUNTY RESIDENT, BUT LIVED AWAY FROM ONTONAGON COUNTY FOR A MONTH OR MORE ANY TIME SINCE 1957, ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ON PAGES 16 - 19. ALL OTHERS SHOULD PROCEED TO PAGE 20.

* Answer the questions on pages 16, 17, 18, and 19 only if you are now living in Ontonagon County and lived away from the area for a period of one month or more sometime since May 1957. ALL OTHERS SHOULD PROCEED TO PAGE 20.

V. RETURNING TO ONTONAGON COUNTY

V.1. RETURNING TO ONTONAGON COUNTY: Some of your classmates moved away after high school, either to other rural areas or to cities, and have since returned to live in Ontonagon County. There are many reasons why people leave and then return to their original community. We are interested in why you returned.

a. Below is a series of statements which express various reasons given by people for moving away and then returning. Read each statement carefully and quickly check the column to the right which nearly represents its importance as a reason for your returning to Ontonagon County.

Statements	Importance as a reason for my returning			
	Great importance	Some importance	A little importance	No importance or doesn't apply
1. I like the climate here.				
2. I felt I could make a better living here.				
3. I like the outdoor recreational opportunities such as hunting and fishing.				
4. I couldn't find the specific type of work I like elsewhere.				
5. I enjoy being near my relatives and wanted to remain close to them.				
6. I had no special reason for returning, it was just happenstance.				
7. I felt this is a good place to enjoy being a member of adult organizations like Veterans, PTA, church or women's clubs.				
8. I felt I wanted to return and enter another line of work.				
9. It seemed others were prejudiced against me, I just didn't fit in.				
10. I found I just didn't like the city (or other areas).				
11. I felt the children could get a good education here.				
12. Finding a job in the other place(s) was difficult.				
13. I didn't have enough education to get anywhere in the city.				
14. I just wanted a change of scenery and the chance to travel, or to work in different places before settling down.				

CONTINUED ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE 1

RETURNING TO ONTONAGON COUNTY (Continued)

		Importance as a reason for my returning			
		Great importance	Some importance	A little importance	No importance or doesn't apply
15.	I felt the people in the other places were less friendly.				
16.	While my present location in Ontonagon has a lot of disadvantages, other places I had lived seemed even worse.				
17.	I wanted to raise my family here.				
18.	While the people in other areas seemed friendly enough, I just didn't feel comfortable with them.				
19.	I found I didn't have enough vocational training for the job I would have liked.				
20.	I felt my parents would like to have me near them.				
21.	I think, all in all, the cost of living is lower here.				
22.	I feel I have more say in my own and/or community life.				
23.	This is a good place to have fun with people your own age.				
24.	There was a specific job here that I wanted to look into.				
25.	My career plans changed.				
26.	I felt it was a good place to find someone I would like to marry.				
27.	I went away to attend (college, work training or military duty).				
28.	I feel that here I can show more initiative in things I do.				
29.	Life just wasn't very interesting to me in the other area(s).				
30.	After a while I became rather lonely for the people I had known here.				
31.	There are more opportunities here for such things as visiting, going to movies, sports or other social activities.				
32.	This is a good place for me to engage in the kind of work I want to do.				
33.	I felt I had to return to help support parents or relatives.				
34.	Life seemed more interesting to me here than anywhere else I had been.				

CONTINUED ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE ➡

RETURNING TO ONTONAGON COUNTY (Continued)

Importance as a reason for my return

		Great importance	Some importance	A little importance
35.	I feel like I am a person of more importance in this community.			
36.	I prefer the kind of residential housing in a small community.			
37.	I just assumed I would always come back and after a while I did.			
38.	My (husband) (wife) had been urging that we return here.			
39.	A (man)(woman) is more (his)(her) own boss here.			
40.	I like to live in a smaller size community where there is plenty of space and scenery.			
41.	I felt a lack of security in other area(s).			
42.	I don't like city traffic and commuting.			
43.	I had always wanted to be away from my parents and community for a while after high school.			
44.	I decided to sacrifice some potential income in order to live here.			
45.	This has always seemed like home to me.			

b. In general, which of the reasons you have indicated above do you consider the most important returning to Ontonagon County?

Write the numbers of the three most important reasons: First: _____ Second: _____ Third: _____

Those statements listed above are, of course, only some of the possible reasons for returning.

1. What other reasons, if any, did you have for returning? (Please discuss)

e. Which of the following combinations best describes your situation at the time you first left Ontonagon County subsequent to May 1957?

(Check one)

- ☐ I left for a specific purpose or purposes
☐ I left for unspecific or rather general reasons

} and {

(Check one)

- ☐ thought I would return one day
☐ did not think it was likely I would return.
☐ didn't really know whether to return or not.

- d. Many people who have left an area and then returned have had similar experiences. We would like to learn of the experiences you have had. Check the column which best represents the amount of your agreement or disagreement with each statement as it applies to your experience:

Statements	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Undecided	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
1. I liked it, generally, in the other place(s).	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. I found I really preferred the kind of living here.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. The other place(s) had little to do with my returning.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. I was rather unsure how successful I would be in the other place(s).	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. I really had little preference one way or the other for the other place(s).	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. I felt I had to return for certain obligatory reasons.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. I didn't particularly like the other place(s).	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. It is just chance circumstance that I happen to be here.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

- e. We would like to know something of your own, your family's, and your community's expectations at the time you first left Ontonagon County to live elsewhere:

(Complete the sentence)

- I ☐ expected that I would settle down in this community.
☐ expected that I would settle down somewhere else.
☐ really didn't know whether I would settle here or elsewhere.
- My family ☐ expected that I would settle down in this community.
☐ expected that I would settle down somewhere else.
☐ wasn't much concerned where I settled.
- My family and I ☐ discussed where I would settle and we were in agreement.
☐ discussed where I would settle and we were in disagreement.
☐ discussed where I would settle but we never reached any particular conclusion.
☐ did not discuss the matter of where I would settle.
- Others in the community . . . ☐ expected that I would settle down in this community.
☐ expected that I would settle down somewhere else.
☐ weren't much concerned where I settled.
☐ don't know

PROCEED TO THE LAST PAGE ➡

*** ALL PERSONS SHOULD ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ON THIS PAGE.**

VI. DISCUSSION

VI.1 We would like to have your thoughts about the Ontonagon County area as a place to live:

a. How would you feel if your children were to eventually settle in Ontonagon County?

- ☐ Very pleased
☐ Somewhat pleased
☐ Indifferent
☐ Somewhat displeased
☐ Very displeased

1. Why would you feel that way?

b. If you were advising a high school student now enrolled in school in Ontonagon County, what advice would you give him regarding staying or moving away subsequent to his completing high school?

VI.2 What we have tried to do in this questionnaire is to get as accurate and complete a picture as of your present situation and your experiences since high school.

As you look back over these pages, reflecting on your experience in the past ten years, please make some judgment as to how adequate a picture is given by this questionnaire. The space below is provided for you to discuss those aspects you feel we should be more fully aware of to understand experience and what it has meant. Please feel free to discuss any aspect you wish.

*** THANK YOU VERY MUCH ***