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DATED.....*October 18*.....1973

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CAREER ASPIRATIONS AND THE MIGRATION PROCESS:
A LONGITUDINAL STUDY AMONG YOUNG ADULTS OF NOVA SCOTIA

by
Josephine
Margaret Helen Ralston

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

October, 1973

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis:

"Career Aspirations and the Migration Process: A Longitudinal
Study Among Young Adults of Nova Scotia"

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October 18, 1973

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The study would not have been possible without the co-operation of

the respondents and their families, who received me in a friendly way, and who took considerable pains to answer my questions and to help me locate other respondents. I enjoyed the interviews with them, and I hope that this analysis of some of the factors involved in career decisions and residential choice will contribute to an improved opportunity structure for young people in Nova Scotia.

Lastly, I would like to thank Miss Stephanie Boyd of Halifax for her careful and responsible interviewing of metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth respondents.

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the influence of career aspirations of adolescents on their subsequent migrant status as young adults. It is longitudinal, being based on the re-study of a sample of 391 respondents drawn from the 17 Nova Scotia schools included in the Career Decisions Project conducted in 1965-66 by Raymond Breton and John C. McDonald, in co-operation with the Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration and the Provincial Departments of Education.

Although patterns of internal migration in Canada and their relationship with relative levels of economic and social development have been the subject of considerable study in the past decade, research tended to focus on the macro-level, with emphasis on the relationship between inter-provincial migration and economic growth, the redistribution of labour in response to variations in economic opportunity, and the effect of migration of relatively well-educated persons on regional disparity. There has been little research into the migratory process on the micro-level, where the individual is the principal unit of investigation. Such is the focus of the present research.

The argument of the thesis is that an adolescent is oriented towards certain career goals (aspirations) and that this orientation is largely acquired through the socialization process in family, peer group, school, and community. In the process of career decision-making, however, objective structural factors in the individual's environment and subjective personal factors shape and modify the career aspirations as the individual passes

through different stages of the life cycle, and as reality factors impinge upon the individual's experience. Decisions about residential stability or geographical mobility are made in the context of reality factors and perceptions of reality associated with career aspirations. Insofar as the study takes into account structural aspects of the environment, this research is also concerned with macro-sociological dimensions of the problem of migration of youth.

Data were collected principally in personal interviews with respondents across Canada. Migrants comprised approximately 45 per cent of the sample; returned migrants, approximately 19 per cent; non-migrants, approximately 36 per cent. Statistical analyses were made comparing migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants to draw a selected profile of each of these three categories of respondents. The data supported the findings of other studies that migration is selective of persons with post-secondary education, in high prestige occupations (but also of those in low-prestige service occupations), of relatively high socio-economic status origin, from large families, and from small communities. The data also indicated that migration is predominantly intra-provincial and to a large extent towards metropolitan centres.

Returned migrants appeared to be an "in-between" category, showing important differences from migrants: of medium-level education; middle-level occupational prestige; from middle-size families; from the city (if they were males) or from small urban or rural non-farm communities (if they were females); and of low socio-economic status origin, whether males or females. Returned migrants were therefore retained as a separate category in testing the specific hypotheses relating career variables and structural and personal variables with migrant status.

Career aspirations were better predictors of migrant status among males than among females. Congruence between aspirations and attainment, though weak in general, was greatest among migrants. Career indecision was not associated with migrant status.

Structural variables (size of origin community, socio-economic status of family, family size and migratory background) were all associated with migrant status. The finding that subjective variables were not related to migrant status raised questions about the reliability of attitude measurement and comparison across regions.

Several implications of the study were discussed; the significance of community structure, in terms of opportunities and life-style, in influencing both career patterns and residential patterns was emphasized. Suggestions were made for further research exploring relations among these variables.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

This study will be addressed to the problem of migration; specifically, to an analysis of the migration process in relation to the career aspirations of young adults who were Nova Scotia high school students in 1965-66. It is a longitudinal study of a sample of students who are representative of the total population of high school students in publicly-operated secondary schools of that academic year in Nova Scotia, a province with a relatively high net out-migration of young adults.

The study of migration in any society involves consideration of the movement of people across its national boundary (international migration) and between different parts of the nation (internal migration). As Stone (1969: 64) has pointed out, the openness of Canada to international migration is one of the striking facts of its history. However, important as have been the flows of immigrants and emigrants to and from Canada, internal migration streams flowing within Canada have been much greater in volume than international migration streams.

Internal migration in Canadian society can be studied on two levels. On the macro-level it is related to the national problem of regional disparity. At this level the focus is on the issue of whether or not migration of persons with a relatively high level of education contributes to regional disparity; the problem of net migration is significant at this level. Some of the important questions to be answered are: What are the volume and direction of migration? Which are the regions of net out-migration? of net in-migration? What are some of the economic correlates of provincial differentials in migration? To what

extent is internal migration, the redistribution of population by residence, among various parts of the country, a response to changing opportunities emerging in the course of economic growth? What is the educational level of out-migrants? of in-migrants? To what extent is internal migration contributing to improved spatial allocation of skilled labour? These are some of the issues raised in a study of migration in Canadian society on the macro-level.

On the micro-level the focus is on the individual migrant as the principal unit for investigation: his characteristics, his origin and destination, the causes and consequences of the act of migration; here the problems of gross migration and migration selectivity are significant. The questions to be answered on this level are: Who are the migrants? In what qualities are they distinguished from non-migrants? From where did they migrate? What are their destinations? Why did they migrate? To what extent and in what way is the career decision related to the migration decision? What are the consequences of their migration? Identification, clarification, and explanation of factors involved in the migration of individuals should cast light on the larger problem of net migration rates and regional disparity.

Patterns of internal migration in Canada and their relationship with relative levels of economic and social development have been the subject of considerable research in the past decade (cf. Caves and Holton, 1961; Anderson, 1966; Stone, 1969; George, 1970). Caves and Holton have suggested economic reasons for the persistent retardation of the Atlantic region compared to other regions of Canada (e.g., Ontario and Quebec). This retardation has been attributed by other economists, at least in part, to non-economic forces, and it has been suggested that economic growth,

technological change, and modernization in the Atlantic provinces can be fostered by breaking through sociological and social-psychological barriers to development (George, 1970; Brewis, 1969; Denton, 1966).

The Maritime Union Study has estimated that during the post-war period of 1945 to 1965, net out-migration from the three Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) was 200,000 persons (1970: 21). As Table 1 indicates, net migration in the Maritime Provinces has been negative in every decade since 1851; in other words, the Maritimes have been losing population since before Confederation.

The Atlantic Provinces Economic Council has expressed growing concern at the out-migration of the younger and more highly educated age-groups to better employment opportunities elsewhere. While it recognizes that such persons can still contribute to national productivity in other parts of Canada, it maintains that without an awareness of the need to retain "the young, dynamic, and better educated elements of the population in the Atlantic provinces, at least implicitly, development efforts in the region are likely to meet with only limited success" (A.P.E.C., 1967: 60). The Council argues further that emphasis on educational development is well-nigh worthless without a similar emphasis on job-creating policies and programmes; it cites as a priority in education the need to prepare young people at the secondary level not only for university entrance, but also for occupational, geographical, and social mobility in a rapidly changing world (A.P.E.C., 1969: 11-14, 94-96).

TABLE 1

INTERCENSAL NET MIGRATION, MARITIME PROVINCES AND THE REST OF CANADA, 1851 - 1961

	1851- 1861	1861- 1871	1871- 1881	1881- 1891	1891- 1901	1901- 1911	1911- 1921	1921- 1931	1931- 1941	1941- 1951	1951- 1961
Maritimes	-23	-13	-25	-101	-89	-75	-76	-107	-5	-93	-82
Rest of Canada	+146	-178	-60	-104	-92	+790	+189	+227	-91	+256	+1175
Net Migration as a Per Cent of the Base Year Population											
Maritimes	-4.3	-2.0	-3.3	-11.6	-10.1	-8.4	-8.1	-10.7	-0.5	-8.2	-6.5
Rest of Canada	+7.7	-6.9	-2.1	-3.0	-2.3	+17.6	+3.0	+2.9	-1.0	+2.5	+9.2

Note. The estimates to 1921 exclude the population under 10 years of age. The estimates after 1921 refer to the total population. 1971 Census data are not available at time of writing.

Source. Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, First Annual Review, 1967, p. 51.

During the post-World War II period, Canada has become a major industrial nation; at the same time it has become increasingly aware that the future prosperity of the nation and its successful passage to post-industrialism will depend in large measure on its success in creating and maintaining an adequate supply of professional, technical, managerial, and other highly skilled manpower. But it is clear that increasing the quality of human resources through producing greater numbers of highly educated and trained persons in the post-secondary institutions of the Atlantic region will not necessarily solve the problems of regional disparity. It can even have the opposite effect, if opportunities for employment are unavailable for these highly qualified persons. With increased educational attainment without commensurate employment possibilities, greater numbers of the younger persons may migrate to areas with better job opportunities. Democratisation of educational opportunity is gain for the individual, and gain for the nation as a whole, but it can be loss for a particular region that is not sufficiently prosperous and inviting to attract similarly qualified in-migrants from other regions of Canada, or from other nations.

In his study of social and economic factors in the career decisions of Canadian youth (the source of respondents and data for the present research), Breton has drawn attention to the influence of level of economic development and labour market conditions on the attitudes of youth toward the future and their career planning. Tables 2a, 2b, and 2c, respectively, rank the provinces in order on selected indices of economic development, attitudes of boys towards job opportunities, and proportion of adolescents without a career goal (controlling for social class origin). Nova Scotia shows some inconsistency in its indices of economic development, ranking in the middle position among the provinces in its employment growth, and in

TABLE 2a

RANK ORDER^{*} OF PROVINCES ON SELECTED INDICES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Province	Per capita personal income 1962-64	Growth in employment 1951-61	Average years of formal schooling 1961	Investment index 1951-64
Nfld.	9	7	10	8
P.E.I.	8	8	8	7
<u>N.S.</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
N.B.	6	7	9	9
Que.	5	4	7	6
Ont.	1	3	3	4
Man.	4	5	4	5
Sask.	3	6	6	3
Alta.	3	1	2	1
B.C.	2	2	1	2

^{*} 1 indicates the highest rank.

Note: All orderings are made from data presented in Towards Sustained and Balanced Economic Growth, Economic Council of Canada, Ottawa, 1965, Ch. 3.

Source: Breton, 1972: 467.

average years of formal schooling; and ranking in a low position on per capita personal income and investment index. The ranking of the provinces on student attitudes towards the future and in the proportion of students without a career goal reflects the ranking on socio-economic development to a certain extent; Nova Scotia shows comparable inconsistencies in student patterns of orientation to the future and in the proportion without a career goal by

TABLE 2b
RANK ORDER* OF PROVINCES ON THE PROPORTION
OF BOYS POSITIVELY ORIENTED TO THE FUTURE

	Showing high sense of control over events	Feeling above average in chances of getting a good job
Nfld.	6	9
P.E.I.	5	8
<u>N.S.</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
N.B.	7	6
Que.	8	1
Ont.	3	3
Man.	2	5
Sask.	3	7
Alta.	1	4
B.C.	1	2
Range of variation in the proportions	23.3	30.4

* 1 indicates the province with the greatest proportion.

Source: Breton, 1972: 67.

TABLE 2c
RANK ORDER OF PROVINCES ON THE PROPORTION* WITHOUT A CAREER
GOAL: TOTAL AND BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER

	Occupational status of father							
	Boys				Girls			
	Total	High	Medium	Low	Total	High	Medium	Low
Nfld.	5	2	1	9	7	7	9	9
P.E.I.	7	7	8	8	6	8	9	8
<u>N.S.</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
N.B.	6	5	7	7	4	6	7	3
Que.	5	4	5	5	5	6	8	7
Ont.	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	2
Man.	4	6	6	4	3	4	5	4
Sask.	6	5	7	6	4	4	4	6
Alta.	4	3	7	2	3	5	6	5
B.C.	2	4	3	2	1	1	1	1

* 1 indicates the province with the smallest proportion without a career goal.

Source: Breton, 1972: 467.

occupational status of the father as evidenced in the economic indicators for the province.

Migration in Nova Scotia

The evidence indicates that erosion of the population of the Atlantic region has been particularly acute in the national boom years between 1961 and 1966 when the Canadian economy climbed at an unprecedented rate (Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, 1970: 29). In Table 3 it is clear that the greatest proportion of net out-migration is in the 20-24 age group. In Nova Scotia during the 1961 to 1966 period, net out-migration was distributed among the age-categories somewhat more than in the other Atlantic provinces, but the ten-year age span of 20-29 years suffered most from net out-migration (Table 4). The significant aspect of this evidence is that young people who leave the province on completing their education and when starting out on their career are not replaced by young in-migrants from other regions.

George has pointed out that between 1956 and 1961 internal migration in Canada was predominantly intra-provincial migration between urban centres, and then intra-provincial migration from rural farm to rural non-farm areas (1970: 187). During the 1961 to 1966 period, in all the Atlantic provinces there was a continued movement of population from rural areas to urban centres. In Nova Scotia there was a lower rate of growth of urban population than in the other Atlantic provinces, largely due to the lower rate of growth of total population. The decline in total rural population in each of the Atlantic provinces was accounted for by a significant drop in rural farm population; in Nova Scotia the drop in rural farm population was almost twice the drop in rural non-farm in absolute terms (Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, 1968: 36). Migration to metropolitan and large urban centres is apparent in the Atlantic provinces between 1961 and 1966. While the

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIGRATING POPULATION (NET), ATLANTIC PROVINCES, 1961-66

Age-group	Newfoundland			Prince Edward Island			Nova Scotia			New Brunswick			Atlantic Provinces		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-14	18.0	25.5	21.6	19.0	18.4	18.7	21.6	25.1	23.1	20.0	17.3	18.7	20.2	22.3	21.2
15-19	23.1	17.6	20.4	23.8	23.9	23.8	13.9	14.7	14.3	19.6	19.8	19.7	18.3	17.5	17.9
20-24	33.1	29.7	31.4	40.9	44.0	42.3	28.5	25.6	27.2	30.9	31.1	31.0	30.9	29.3	30.1
25-29	7.4	10.3	8.8	14.2	9.9	12.2	15.8	12.8	14.4	10.7	12.0	11.3	12.2	11.8	12.0
30-34	5.8	3.9	4.9	2.2	2.2	2.2	5.6	5.5	5.6	4.7	3.5	4.1	5.2	4.3	4.8
35-39	0.5	1.2	0.3	(1.2)	(1.5)	(1.3)	3.2	3.4	3.3	1.8	2.9	2.3	1.7	2.5	2.1
40-44	2.0	4.2	3.1	(1.2)	6.4	2.3	4.1	5.7	4.8	3.7	5.6	4.6	3.2	5.4	4.2
45-49	3.4	1.9	2.7	3.0	1.7	2.4	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.0	4.2	4.1	3.6	3.9
50-54	1.5	1.8	1.6	3.2	0.9	2.1	0.9	2.1	1.5	2.2	3.0	2.5	1.6	2.3	1.9
55-59	2.3	1.7	2.0	0.1	1.8	0.9	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.6
60-64	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.6	(0.1)	(0.5)	(0.3)	0.2	(0.5)	(0.1)	0.2	(0.2)	0.0
65 +	3.4	1.5	2.5	(4.6)	(8.0)	(6.1)	0.3	(0.9)	(0.3)	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.9	(0.2)	0.4

Note: Estimates in brackets indicate net in-migration

Source: Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, Second Annual Review, 1968: 25.

TABLE 4

NET MIGRATION, 1961 TO 1966, AS PROPORTION OF BASE-YEAR (1961) POPULATION,
BY AGE GROUPS (ATLANTIC PROVINCES)

Age-group	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	ATLANTIC PROVINCES
15-19	11.4%	13.0%	9.3%	12.9%	11.2%
20-24	25.4	32.2	23.0	29.1	25.9
25-29	8.1	10.4	13.7	11.8	11.6
30-34	4.6	2.0	5.3	4.3	4.7
35-39	0.3	*	3.1	2.3	2.0

* Net in-migration

Source: Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, Second Annual Review, 1968: 23.

population of the city of Halifax proper declined by 6.2% between 1961 and 1966, the movement of population from the older city centre to the twin-city of Dartmouth and the suburban fringes that form the metropolitan complex led to a rise in the population of Metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth. Annexations of portions of Halifax county in 1967 to be incorporated in the metropolitan complex make comparability with the 1971 population of 222,637, to assess population increase in the 1966 to 1971 period, difficult. In the 1961 to 1966 period, Metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth remained one of the slowest growing metropolitan areas in Canada. The Atlantic region as a whole in 1966 was largely rural and small town, with non-farm population in 1966 accounting for 40% of the total population in the Atlantic region, and 36% of the total population in Nova Scotia, as compared with 17% in Canada as a whole (Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, 1968b: 10). The 1971 Census data indicate that the trend towards high proportion of rural non-farm population

and low proportion of urban population in Nova Scotia has persisted. In Nova Scotia, the rural non-farm population is 40%, as compared with 17% for Canada as a whole; the proportion of population in urban centres over 100,000 is 24.1% in Nova Scotia, as compared with 48% for Canada (Statistics Canada, 1972: Cat. #92-755: 3-4).

Focus of the present research

Research over the past decade has, for the most part, concentrated on the problem of internal migration in Canada on the macro-level (Economic Council of Canada, 1965 and 1966; Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, 1968 and 1970; George, 1970). This research has focused on the relationship between inter-provincial migration and economic growth, the relative growth and distribution of the Canadian population, the natural increase and net migration of the total urban population and rural population in each province, the redistribution of labour among regions in response to variations in economic opportunity. This approach has been valuable in providing evidence and explanations of migration trends in Canada, of the principal economic and socio-cultural concomitants of migration.

Some studies have dealt with specific factors which affect geographical mobility (Anderson, 1966), and the extent to which differential rates of migration of separate age, education, and occupation classes are related to variations in the responses of these classes to the economic gains obtainable through migration (George, 1971). Stone has emphasized the socio-economic aspects of migration in Canada. He has noted that distance impedes mobility in general, but constitutes less of a deterrent for the better educated (1969: 17). He further claims that migrants form a distinctive segment of the Canadian population in regard to their social and economic characteristics; the data suggest marked differences between movers and

non-movers, between intra-provincial and inter-provincial migrants (1969: 100).

There has been little research into the migratory process as such on the micro-level, where the individual migrant is the principal unit of investigation. Research to date has indicated that migration is a non-random phenomenon, and hence subject to scientific explanation. It is important not only to characterize the migrants as a category distinct from the non-migrants but also to explain the factors contributing to migration selectivity. Whyte (1967: 22) has raised some of these unanswered questions. What are the psycho-social determinants of the propensity to migrate? What circumstances catalyse the latent pre-dispositions to migrate into actual movement? What factors weigh most heavily in the decision to migrate? What considerations weigh most heavily in choosing a destination? How important are relatives or friends who have previously migrated in influencing if and where one will migrate? In the case of youths, what assurance, if any, do they have that migration will enhance occupational or educational opportunities? To what extent have these expectations been realized by migration? These are but a few of the many questions relating to the migratory process that warrant consideration.

The focus of this study will be on a precise aspect of the problem of individual migration. The specific question for research is: To what extent and in what way do career aspirations of youth contribute to an explanation of migration among young adults? The study is a longitudinal analysis of Nova Scotia youth, their career aspirations and attainments and their geographical mobility or stability in relation to these. The individual youth is the principal unit of analysis; hence the focus is on a micro-sociological level with emphasis on subjective personal factors and objective

structural factors involved in migration selectivity. But an important aspect of the problem is the linking of the individual unit to the environment; hence structural aspects of the community of residence must be taken into account, as well as fundamental background characteristics that affect the role and status of the individual in the social structure. Thus the study also takes into account macro-sociological dimensions of the problem of migration of youth.

Briefly, it will be argued that the individual is oriented in career decision-making towards certain career goals (aspirations). The orientation is largely acquired through the socialization process in family, school, peer group, and community. Personal factors and structural factors in the social situation shape and modify the career decision as the individual passes through different stages of the life cycle, as he or she becomes aware of available alternatives, and as reality factors impinge upon the individual's experience. Decisions about residential stability or mobility are viewed in the context of the reality factors and the perceptions of reality associated with the career decisions.

Contribution of the thesis

The thesis provides additional knowledge and understanding of internal migration among young age-groups in Canadian society. The research sample is representative of the population of secondary school students in Nova Scotia in 1965 and thus provides a basis for gathering precise information about migration selectivity among a population that is young and relatively well-educated and at the same time the focus of concern of policy makers. Moreover, a particular value of the thesis is that the evidence has been gathered from the same people over a period of time. The respondents were questioned about their career aspirations at the time they were high school

students; seven years later they have been interviewed to ascertain their career patterns and residential choice in relation to these earlier career aspirations. Hence, direct evidence of time relationships among variables is available.

The thesis also contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between career aspirations of adolescents and their eventual career attainments as young adults. There has been relatively little research in this area (cf. Kuvelsky and Bealer, 1967; Kohout and Rothney, 1964; Bohlen and Yoesting, 1968), and none has been published in Canada. This longitudinal study should cast light on some of the factors intervening to modify and influence career aspirations of young people in the development and attainment of their position in the occupational structure of Canadian society.

Finally, the thesis offers a contribution to an explanation of migration in general from a sociological perspective; in particular, to an analysis of the interplay between structural and personal variables and career variables in explaining mobility or stability as alternative courses of activity. The thesis will not be concerned with the consequences of migration for the individual or for the sending or receiving communities, except by implication. The study is also limited in its contribution to analysis of the propensity to migrate and to differentiation between the mobile and the stable individual in that the data do not provide a complete migration history; they do, however, provide evidence that suggests tentative hypotheses and directions for further research.

Outline

This chapter has presented the specific sociological problem for research. Chapter II will review previous research related to migration

selectivity, explanations of migration, and predictions about longitudinal mobility rates of different groups in the population at risk. The review of the literature will provide the background for the conceptual framework of the thesis, together with specific hypotheses to be tested, which will be presented in Chapter III. Chapter IV will deal with the research procedure: identifying the source of the data and the test sample; operationalizing the major variables of the study; presenting the methods of data collection and data analysis. In Chapter V the general characteristics of the sample will be discussed; a selected profile will be drawn of three categories of respondents, migrants, non-migrants, and returned migrants. The longitudinal analysis of the data relating high school aspirations with migrant status as young adults will be made in Chapter VI. The conclusions and implications of the thesis and suggestions for further research will be discussed in the final chapter.

II. REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH

Basic Concepts and Terms

Definition of migration

The term migration as used in the social sciences in its most general sense refers to geographical movements of individuals or groups (Richmond, 1967: 428). At another level of generality, the two basic criteria for defining migration have been the dimensions of space and time: the study of geographical mobility is concerned with the movement of individuals or groups over space in time. As long ago as the 1880's, Ravenstein, in postulating the Laws of Migration, classified migrants in terms of distance spanned as local migrants, short-journey migrants, the migrant-by-stages, and long-journey migrants; he distinguished also between permanent and temporary migrants (1885: 181-184). In contemporary writing, migration ordinarily is defined in terms of a relatively permanent movement over a significant distance (Petersen, 1968: 286), but problems arise in further refinement and definition of the terms "relatively permanent" and "significant distance." Clearly, a migrant is a person who travels. But migrants are distinguished from the larger category of travellers that includes transient visitors, itinerant workers, and persons who have no fixed place of residence. Migration involves a certain permanence or duration of residence. The duration of stay that distinguishes a migrant from a visitor is often arbitrarily defined. The important point is that migration proper is concerned with relatively permanent movement and not with the temporary movements of individuals or groups, such as commuting between place of residence and place of work, the seasonal migration of labour, vacationing, and nomadism (those movements classified by Hawley as "recurrent movements" in contradistinction to the "non-recurrent movements" of migration proper (1950: 326-

327). For census purposes, Statistics Canada has defined a migrant as a person who had a certain place of residence on June 1, 1966, and crossed a certain defined boundary to reside elsewhere on June 1, 1971. Further ambiguity in defining migration lies in specifying what constitutes a significant distance. Usually local movement, involving a short-distance change of residence from one house to another in the same neighbourhood, from one section of a city to another section of the same city, or from a city to one of its suburbs, is distinguished from movement that involves crossing a clearly defined geographical boundary, the latter type of movement being classified as migration. Such a boundary definition of migration makes possible the classification of different types of migration. Bogue (1959: 489-490) and George (1970: 5-6) make the following distinctions among the different types of migration:

international migration or external migration, referring to change of residence from one nation to another;

internal migration, referring to change of residence from one community to another while remaining within the same national boundaries;

inter-regional migration, inter-provincial migration, intra-provincial migration, inter-urban migration, and rural-urban migration, referring to more narrowly defined types of internal migration.

For census purposes, Statistics Canada uses municipal boundaries as the defining characteristic for distinguishing between migrants and the larger category of movers. Migration refers to those changes of residence that involve crossing municipal boundaries (Stone, 1969: 6).

Sociologically, the term migration involves not only a change of residence but also a complete change and readjustment of the community affiliations of the individual (Bogue, 1959: 489), change in his conditions of life (Stone, 1969: 7). Wakeley and Nasrat support this view by defining

migration as a change of residence which also involves a change of social systems (1961: 15). Mangalam and Schwarzweller also emphasise that a conceptual definition of migration must take into account any change in the interactional system of the migrants that accompanies change of residence (1970: 11-12). In other words, the study of geographical mobility is concerned with movement not only in physical space but also in social space.

Other basic migration concepts

In the study of international and internal migration, other migration concepts and terms have come to have a precise definition. Among these,

in-migrant refers to a migrant who crosses a migration defining boundary in the process of changing residence and entering a given community from some part of the same nation; the term immigrant refers to incoming international migrants;

out-migrant refers to a migrant who crosses a migration defining boundary while departing from a residence to reside in another area within the same nation; the term emigrant is the counterpart of this term in the study of international migration;

area of origin refers to the community from which a migrant departs;

area of destination refers to the community to which a migrant travels;

migration stream refers to a group of migrants with similar origin and destination characteristics within a migration interval.

This terminology is adopted by Bogue (1959: 490) and George (1970: 6-7) and it will be used in this research unless otherwise specified.

Conceptual distinctions between different types of migrants have been made in terms of relevant basic criteria. Klineberg distinguished between persons who are the originators of migration, the initiating actors, and children who go along passively with their parents (1938: 221). Using this criterion, the usual dichotomous classification is in terms of active migrants and passive migrants, respectively; Shryock, however, distinguishes between primary migrants, defined as "those persons who made the basic

decisions for themselves alone or for their families as well," and secondary migrants, defined as "those whose migration was merely derivative from a decision made by the head of the family" (1964: 404). Petersen has distinguished between innovating migrants, who move in order to achieve the new, and conservative migrants, who move in response to a change in their circumstances, hoping by migration to retain their way of life in another geographical area (1958: 258).

A concept that has generated a great deal of migration research is that of differential migration. Differential migration, or migration selectivity, refers to the tendency for some parts of the population to be more migratory than other parts. The focus of attention is upon qualitative characteristics of migrants and the problem is to state in what respects migrants differ from the general population and, more specifically, how they differ from residents of the community from which they depart and residents of the community at which they arrive (Bogue, 1959: 504). The important aspect of this concept is that migration selectivity (differential migration) is concerned not with the volume, size or quantity involved in migratory movements, but rather with qualitative characteristics of migratory segments of the population as distinct from non-migratory segments of the same population. In the past, differential migration research has been, for the most part, static in its approach, dealing with cross-sectional differences between the migratory and non-migratory segments of the same population at a particular point in time. Recently, there has been a growing body of research with a dynamic approach that looks at individuals or groups with differential propensities to migrate over time.

Theories of Migration

The problem to which the present research is directed is to explain the relationship between the career aspirations of young people and the actual migration process. Although there is an enormous amount of empirical data available in the field of migration, only a relatively slight attempt has been made to formulate theoretical propositions and models to explain migration from a sociological perspective. Research that has focused on migration selectivity has for the most part produced empirical generalizations about the qualitative characteristics of migrants differentiated from non-migrants on specific attributes. Explanations of the migration process have tended to account for selectivity in terms of economic structure, phase of the business cycle, population composition, phases in the life cycle, and social-psychological factors. There has been little coherent and systematic explanation of the dynamic interplay between such economic, demographic, social, psychological, and other relevant factors in the migration process. Nor, as noted above, has there been much research directed towards migration prediction.

Migration selectivity

Age. Notwithstanding the voluminous research in the area of migration selectivity, Thomas, after examining allegedly differentiating characteristics (such as age, sex, family status, physical health, mental health, intelligence, occupation), concluded in 1938 that we know little with certainty about selective migration. Bogue (1959: 504-505) and Petersen (1969: 262) came to a similar conclusion. The only empirical generalization about migration differentials that seems to have stood the test of research in various countries and at various times is that persons in young adult ages (20 to 34 years) are more prone to migrate than persons in other age groups (Thomas, 1938: 11; 1958: 313-325; Daniel, 1939: 281-308; Frijda, 1961: 57; Pourcher,

1964: 192; Bogue, 1959: 504). Blau and Duncan estimated that about three-fifths of all men in the United States leave their home community after age 16, and that the large majority of these do so in late adolescence and early adulthood (1967: 255). Evidence on migration in Canada indicates that the peak rate of migration occurs within the age 20 to 24 for females and at a somewhat later age, 25 to 29 years, for males (Stone, 1969: 74). Studies of migratory trends in the Atlantic Provinces confirm that migration has been more pronounced among young adults than among other age groups (Levitt, 1960; McDonald, 1968); Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, 1968 and 1970). In Nova Scotia, in the 1961 to 1966 period, the young adult population aged 20 to 29 years accounted for 42 per cent of the total net migration from Nova Scotia--about 38 per cent of the total for females and 44 per cent of the total for males (Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, 1968: 25). The important questions raised by these findings are: Why are young adults more prone to migrate than other age groups? And what explains migration among some adults while others do not migrate? The focus of the present study will be on young adults in order to explain the migratory process among this age group.

Several reasons for the high rate of migration among young adults have been suggested. It is argued not only that the young adapt more easily, but also that adolescents and young adults, since they are at the beginning of their working life, can more readily take advantage of new opportunities (Petersen, 1968: 288). Bogue suggests graduation from high school or college; marriage; offers of good employment or better employment, or employment under conditions that satisfy some strong personal wish; job transfer by an employer; military service; restlessness and wanderlust urges as some of the possible migration-stimulating situations for young persons (1959: 499). Lee also hypothesises that entry into the labour force and getting married are important factors in the migration selectivity of the young adult (1966: 57). In Canada,

in analysis of 1961 Census data, Stone (1969: 74) attributed the high migration in the young adulthood stage in the life cycle to the key factors of entering the labour force, going on to college, and getting married; McInnis notes job changes as an additional significant factor influencing high migration rates in young adulthood (1971: 195).

All these generalizations about significant events occurring in young adulthood that influence migration selectivity of this age group tend to imply that life-cycle changes, the expansion that occurs in the transition from adolescence to young adulthood, are explanatory factors of migration among this age group. However, Leslie and Richardson have suggested that residential mobility is more directly associated with career pattern variables than with life cycle variables (1961: 899). In other words, upward social mobility seems to be a fruitful concept to explore in conjunction with life cycle expansion in any attempt to explain migration among young adults. The implication, not explicitly stated by Leslie and Richardson, is that residential mobility is motivated by the desire to achieve the goal of upward social mobility.

In the case of young adults about to embark on a career, most of the North American studies, particularly rural-urban studies, have stressed the over-riding importance of economic and social mobility motives in the migration process: the desire to find a satisfactory job, to have an adequate income, and to enjoy a desired style of life.

Doeflinger has presented an analytical framework that explains migration in the young adult phase of the life cycle in terms of an action directed towards establishing independence. He argues that the achievement of adulthood is accomplished by the pursuit of three distinct alternative means, namely, job or career, further education, and marriage. According

to Doeflinger, these means in turn are directed towards three independent, analytically derived ends of financial, emotional, and locational independence (1962: 87-88). The availability of these alternative paths or common means of achieving these independence ends within the parental home, the occupational system, and the housing system is seen by Doeflinger as an important factor in determining the probability of migration in following one or another of the alternative means (1962: 83-84). Doeflinger's study has the advantage of placing the empirical data on migration among young adults within a general analytical framework with a broader perspective. Moreover, by placing the act of migration within the context of independence pursuits, he has given priority to decisions regarding alternative means to be followed for the attainment of these independence ends or goals. The availability of these means determines the act of migration. As Doeflinger observes, such a framework makes possible an analytical separation of movement motivated by a desire to establish locational independence (an end) and movement which is necessitated by the pursuit of independence means (1962: 150). The weakness in Doeflinger's theoretical framework is that he does not allow for any significant life problem other than establishing independence which the individual faces in the young adult phase of the life cycle. Other life goals may operate in a similar manner to influence migration.

Sex. Doeflinger's study is helpful also in analysing differential sex roles in following the alternative means of job or career, marriage, and further education to attain the independence ends, differentially perceived and desired by males and females. Sex selectivity in migration has been the focus of research ever since Ravenstein postulated his law that "females are more migratory than males" (1885: 199), and that this is true primarily for short-journey migrants (1889: 288). Thomas also found that the rural

exodus was sex-selective of females (1938: 68), but more recent research has indicated diversity in sex-selectivity according to time and place and seems to give little support to a law of differentiated sex migration (Jansen, 1970: 17). Canadian data from the 1961 Census indicate that among young adults, females tend to migrate at a younger age than males. Among females the most mobile age group is the 20-24 years age category, whereas among males the 25-29 years age group tends to be the most mobile. Evidence also indicates that sex-selectivity in migration varies according to the area of origin and the area of destination. Whyte cites studies demonstrating that rural females are likely to migrate to the non-farm and urban regions whereas rural males more frequently migrate within the rural milieu (1967: 5). George has observed that Canadian data for the period since 1901 show a tendency for the sex differentials among migrants to have narrowed over time. During the 1956-61 period most of the female migration was inter-urban; males were predominant in all the migration streams to rural farm areas (George, 1970: 187-8). Stone notes that for the same period, among the provinces of Canada, the migration ratio differences between the two sexes are rather small and unsystematic (1969: 79). These data suggest that structural and personal factors operate to differentiate between the sexes in the migration process. Doeblinger's study provides evidence that there can be a marked differential by sex of the same age group in the means followed to attain independence ends; for example, job means were found to be more closely associated with migration for girls than for boys; marriage was contracted by more girls in this age group than boys and marriage overwhelmingly resulted in out-migration from the parental home for girls; girls showed a greater preference for migration from the parental community than did boys (1962: 151-152).

Shryock's conceptual distinction between primary migrants and

secondary migrants proved helpful in analysing sex differentials in migration, and the relation of these sex differentials to life cycle and career variables. He observed that among adult males, 90 per cent were primary migrants, whereas among females, the proportion of primary migrants was lower and fluctuated: 36 per cent in the younger age group of 14 to 24 years, falling to 23 per cent in the age group 25 to 44 years, and rising to 43 per cent in the older age groups. Shryock interpreted this profile of female primary migration as reflecting their transition through different stages of family (marital) status (1964: 405). Among primary migrants, job-connected reasons accounted for a larger proportion of migration among males than among females (1964: 406).

Marital status. Doeflinger and other researchers (Thomas, 1938: 70-92, 164; Shryock, 1964: 400; Jansen, 1969: 71-72) suggest that marital status may differentiate migrants from non-migrants. In his analysis of Canadian internal migration rates for the 1956-61 period, George found that among migrants proportions of married were higher and proportions of single and widowed were lower than among non-migrants for both sexes. However, he observed substantial variations in the marital status distributions of migrants and non-migrants living in urban, rural non-farm, and rural farm areas (1970: 188). Doeflinger argues that marriage, especially for girls, is an important means for achieving emotional independence from the family of procreation. As noted already, Lee has hypothesized that getting married is a significant factor in migration selectivity. Lee sees migration as part of the rites de passage. Events such as getting married and entering the labour force tend to happen in a narrow range of ages; hence they are important in determining age selectivity of migration, and marital status selectivity thus becomes a reflection of leaving the parental home in the transition to young adulthood (1966: 57). The emphasis here is on life cycle variables influencing migration. But

career decision variables may well be more significant in influencing both marital status and the act of migration; moreover, career decision variables are likely to operate differentially between the sexes in relation to both marriage decisions and migratory decisions.

Intelligence. It is often claimed that differential migration operates to draw off the more intelligent from rural areas to urban areas (Gist and Clark, 1938; Sewell, 1964; Lijfering, 1959). However, more than forty years ago, Sorokin and Zimmerman, while postulating that the city tended to attract the extremes of intelligence from rural areas, rejected the proposition that intelligence is a major dimension accounting for migration (1929: 582). Today it is widely recognized that the valid measurement of intelligence involves difficulties, particularly with respect to control of relevant socio-economic and demographic variables. Thomas noted some of these difficulties and concluded that when such factors were controlled "migration may under given circumstances select the more intelligent; under other circumstances, the less intelligent; and under still other circumstances be quite unselective with regard to intelligence" (1938: 125). Klineberg in fact found no relationship between intelligence and migration (1938: 224), and Petersen maintains that one can argue a priori that either the less or the more intelligent are more likely to migrate: on the one hand, success among the more intelligent at home may stimulate the less intelligent to seek their fortune elsewhere; on the other hand, prompt response of the more intelligent to any stimulus to migrate will tend to leave the duller persons behind (1968: 289). One explanation that can be offered to account for the apparent contradiction is that selection by intelligence is in fact selection by actual or potential educational and/or occupational attainment or selection by other social background factors, and the interaction between these other more

significant variables. As Whyte has pointed out, social and cultural factors rather than biological and physical factors are frequently the most significant determinants of differences in performance on intelligence tests, particularly between rural and urban youth; it is these social and cultural factors which limit the development of the intellectual potential and at the same time influence the migratory decision-making process (1967: 7).

Education. A number of studies have indicated that migration is selective of the better educated (for example, Gee and Corson, 1929; Young, 1930a; Gist, Pihlbad, and Gregory, 1941; Richmond, 1969). On the other hand, Lee has hypothesized that, taking all migrants together, selection tends to be bi-modal with respect to education: highly educated persons respond to plus factors in the area of destination; uneducated persons respond to minus factors in the area of origin (Lee, 1966: 56). In her study of internal migration in Canada in relation to 1961 census data, Anderson has noted that migration out of a relatively lagging region of economic development will tend to be concentrated in the younger and better-educated groups of the population (1966: 44). McInnis's analysis of the 1961 census also indicates that rates of interprovincial migration rise sharply with the level of schooling and that a standardization for age shows this pattern to be only to a slight degree a consequence of the generally higher educational attainment of persons in the younger age groups (1971: 196).

Noting the marked association between educational attainment and migration in the 1961 Census statistics, Stone has made some pertinent observations and hypotheses to account for this association. He observes that the difference between movers and non-movers in educational distribution is particularly sharp in the urban areas, where a higher than average proportion of the in-migrants were probably persons who moved in order to facilitate the

attainment of higher education. Thus, he argues, "a portion of this mover/non-mover differential in educational distribution may be the result of a search for higher education (facilities for which are concentrated in urban areas), rather than a manifestation of differences in mobility rates for groups which have completed their education" (1969: 84). In other words, the goal sought is further education, attainable only by actual migration. Stone goes on to observe, however, that the 1961 Census data also appear to reflect some genuine mobility differentials by educational level of attainment independently of the role played by migration as a path towards higher education. He accounts for this in terms of the greater ability of those with higher education than those with low education to afford the costs of residence change; the greater need for job mobility as one goes from the lower to the higher education groups; the desire to attain higher social status with improvement in educational level (1969: 84-85). He also observes that as the educational status of the group increased, the proportion of generally long-distance movers within the group also increased. Inter-provincial migrants had markedly higher level of education than intra-provincial migrants (1969: 87). Distance and costs (whether material, social or psychic) seem to present less of an obstacle to potential migrants with higher education than to those with low education. In other words, the data seem to indicate that higher education does increase the probability of migration in general and of migration over greater distances.

Occupation. Education influences occupation, and differential migration by occupation tends to be closely associated with differential migration by education. Several studies indicate that migrants are predominantly of professional and technical occupations requiring skills acquired through higher education (Goldstein, 1955; Pihlbad and Gregory, 1957a; Tarver, 1964;

Ladinsky, 1967b). On the other hand, there is also a high migratory rate among unskilled workers at the other end of the occupational scale, and evidence indicates that in the United States unemployed persons are more migratory than employed persons (Bogue, 1959: 504; Shryock, 1965: 592). Using the 1961 Canadian Census data, McInnis has found that while the rate of migration for professional workers is high, that for men in the service group of occupations is markedly above that for other groups (1971: 196). Stone notes, however, that in the 1950's there was a marked relative growth of labour demand in the service and recreation group of occupations at the national level, and the high rate of geographical mobility may be in part a reflection of occupational mobility, that is, strong net in-movement to that group of occupations from other occupations (1969: 100). Professional people also tend to move longer distances than persons in lower status occupations (Rose, 1958: 420; Stone, 1969: 89; Tarver, 1964: 241).

In the period which Stone is discussing it is also true that economic expansion due to technological changes created a differential demand for the highly qualified and those with little or no qualifications. One of the recent facts of "economic expansion-economic development-technological change" is that jobs have been created for highly qualified manpower and not for the poorly qualified. This has resulted in a peculiar situation in Canada as elsewhere, namely, a shortage of highly qualified manpower (as reflected in the many vacant posts) and a surplus of the semi- and un-skilled manpower. Thus there are shortages and unemployment at one and the same time.

There are many difficulties and unexplained factors in the empirical generalizations about the relationship between geographical mobility and occupational differentials. For the most part there is a failure to account for the reasons for migration selectivity by occupation. If migration

reflects changes in the social and economic structure, then one can expect changes in the characteristics of migrants according to time and place. A period of full employment, of recession or unemployment in the national economy will have differing effects upon the volume, direction and distance of migration, and on the qualities of migrants as distinct from non-migrants. Regions or areas which are growing or declining will become positive or negative stimuli affecting not only the destination of potential or actual migrants but also the strength of motivation to move. Another problem in accounting for migration selectivity by occupation is that of disaggregation. Seemingly contradictory findings about migration among persons in specific occupational categories might be reconciled if structural variables within the occupational group are taken into account. Ladinsky attempted a more refined analysis of structural conditions of work and career that might explain variations in geographical mobility rates among professional and kindred workers--conditions such as the existence of an occupational 'community' with its formal and informal occupational and communication networks; the number of work establishments in an occupation open to a worker and the extent to which they are geographically decentralized; the extent to which work content and conditions, income, and licensing are standardized throughout the industry and occupation; the relative availability of occupational career patterns within occupations and organizations; the relative demand for workers and the marketability of occupational skills (1967a: 262).

A further confounding factor is that some of the moves "for occupational reasons" may well be made by "reluctant migrants," that is, persons whose national (or multi-national) corporation transfers them to the office across the country (or the home office below the border) in order to "get experience." This is a common career pattern of the reasonably intelligent

and well-educated junior and middle-level executive (McFarlane, 1971: 59-63).

The significance of occupational selectivity in migration lies not so much in observing the extent to which migrants are selected from specific occupational groups but rather in analysing the structural factors that contribute to occupational selectivity and the extent to which migrants and non-migrants within specific occupational groups can be differentiated from each other in terms of other significant variables.

Educational and occupational aspirations. Some research has attempted to relate selectivity in migration to differential educational and occupational aspirations. A study by Payne of urban, rural, and small town high school students focused directly on the process by which young people develop vocational expectations, and how this process is related to the development of migration and educational expectations. His conclusion is that "the decision concerning migration is almost wholly dependent upon the occupational decision . . . (and) that the occupational decision is dependent upon and follows in sequence the decision concerning projected school attainment" (1956: 124-125). Payne fails, however, to make adequate conceptual distinctions between expectations, aspirations, and choice. The research purports to be a study of expectations and although he suggests that expectations must be "realistic" (without explicating this further), he then confuses these with aspirations, which in turn tend to be identified with choice (1956: 120-121). Moreover, there are no supporting explanatory propositions for the assumed sequential relationship between educational expectations, occupational expectations, and migrational expectations.

Several empirical studies indicate that rural youth have lower educational and occupational aspirations than urban youth (Mulligan, 1951; Lipset, 1955; Burchinal, 1961; Breton and McDonald, 1968; Pike, 1970).

The evidence suggests that structural characteristics of the rural environment limit the aspirations of rural youth. Limited educational programmes, more limited information on the range of occupational choices, fewer role models, all serve to limit the educational and occupational choices available to the rural population (Schwarzweiler, 1959; Hall and McFarlane, 1962; Sewell and Orenstein, 1965; Breton and McDonald, 1968; Pike, 1970). Whyte has documented findings on educational and occupational aspirations of migrant and non-migrant rural and urban youth and has contended that "there is considerable support for the hypothesis . . . that the potential or actual migrant from a rural region will place greater emphasis on education and aspire to a higher prestige occupation than his opposite who chooses to remain in the country" (1967: 11). In other words, for the potential or actual migrant, migration is the path for attaining valued goals: further education and a high prestige occupation.

Explanations of Migration

For the most part research that has focused on migration selectivity has consisted of empirical generalization with little attempt to present a series of propositions making statements of relationships among the variables and offering explanations for their relationships, for their relative importance, for their influence on migration or non-migration as alternative courses of action.

In a study addressed to the problem of international migration (the processes of immigration and absorption among Jewish immigrants in Palestine and Israel), Eisenstadt has isolated three stages in the migration process: (1) the motivation to migrate--the needs or dispositions which urge people to move from one place to another and which Eisenstadt assumed to involve a feeling of insecurity and inadequacy in some sphere of social life in the

area of origin; (2) the social structure of the actual migratory process, of the physical transition from the original society (community) to a new one, involving a process of desocialization and resocialization in the migrant; (3) the absorption of the migrant within the social and cultural framework of the new society (community), involving institutionalization of the migrant's role expectations, transformation of primary group values, and extension of social participation beyond the primary group (1954: 1-26). Although Eisenstadt is concerned with international migration of a specific group of people, the Jewish people, with a long historical and religious background interacting to effect a positive identification with the country of destination, his analytical scheme is helpful for studying the dimensions of migration in general. His conception of an initial stage in the migration process involves an actor with certain predispositions that render him capable of moving. Blau and Duncan have used the term motility to refer to this capacity to move, and they have observed that this predisposition renders a person free to leave his place of birth for better opportunities elsewhere; whereas psychological attachments (and economic limitations) restrict motility (1967: 250). Saunders has used a similar concept (which he calls mobility) to refer to this capacity for free movement; he also notes that the concept involves both a psychological component, degree of attachment to one's habitat, and a physical component, which he defines in terms of the level of development in the technology of transportation (1956: 221). The potential migrant in the initial stage of the migration process is, therefore, an actor with predispositions that make him or her psychologically ready for movement, with certain needs that the actor seeks to satisfy, and, in Saunder's analysis, with the technological facilities available not only to make migration possible but also to expand social horizons. When the ability to move is associated with

the readiness to move then actual migration occurs. That is, the actor may then pass through the second stage of the migration process. An adequate explanation of migration must account for the reasons why some actors exposed to similar sets of conditions actually migrate while other actors do not. In other words, what are "the motives that migrants carry in their heads" that urge them to migrate? What are the social and psychological factors that explain non-migration among other actors in the same situation? As Davis succinctly remarks, however, "in understanding migration it is not sufficient to deal with motives or with conditions alone; it is necessary to deal with both" (1949: 586). Both objective factors and subjective factors have to be taken into account.

The initial stage in the migration process, identified by Eisenstadt as the motivation to migrate, is essentially a process of migratory decision-making. Taylor has directly attacked the problem of migratory decision-making in an attempt to understand and explain this process. He suggests a model that combines two alternative approaches to the study of the decision-making process. The two possible approaches are: (1) to do a survey and accept the migrants' own statements of motives for migration; (2) to infer motives for migration from a study of objective structural determinants in the areas of origin and destination and then to impute motives to the migrants. Taylor outlines problems involved in each of these approaches: Where one accepts the migrant's own account of motives, one encounters the difficulty of distinguishing between "real" and "stated" motives and the further problem of the migrant's rationalization of the decision when cognitive dissonance has resulted from a choice between two alternatives (Festinger, 1957: 100). Moreover, it has been observed that very often migrants themselves can only state vague general motives for migration (Jansen, 1969: 65). On the other

hand, when one imputes motives for migration on the basis of inference from structural factors, Taylor claims that there is an over-emphasis on the rational element in the decision to migrate, to the neglect of differential perception and evaluation of objective factors (1969: 99). To overcome the difficulties inherent in these two approaches, Taylor proposes his compromise or "combination" approach whereby he can study both objective structural factors and subjective motivational factors involved in the complex decision to migrate. Taylor's model is of value in that he has drawn attention to the need for the consideration of both objective structural conditions in the social context of the individual (the potential migrant) and the subjective aspects of the individual's point of view. Some weaknesses in his model become apparent in its application.

Taylor has used his "combination approach" to analyse the migration of mineworkers from five villages in West Durham, England. The objective factors considered are the characteristics of the places of origin and destination and the circumstances of the transfer. On the normative level, Taylor studied the way in which the community perceived and evaluated migration as an alternative mode of acting in the social situation. On the motivational level he analysed the psycho-social determinants of the propensity to migrate. In particular, Taylor presents in his model a methodological distinction between the selectivity of migration, whereby migrants are grossly characterized as a category distinguishable from the category of non-migrants, and the motivation structures (a concept borrowed from Wentholt, 1961: 219) which more precisely characterize migrants in terms of the content and quality of their motives and which make possible, according to Taylor, the identification of four migration types. With regard to selectivity, migrants as a category are characterized by a sense of "dislocation" from their primary and secondary

groups, as compared with a sense of "belonging" among the non-migrants; migrants are characterized by "economic and social aspiration," as compared with "satisfaction" among non-migrants (1969: 116). Studies of motivational structures revealed for Taylor four types of migrants (in descending order of frequency), classified on the basis of the predominant motive for moving:

- (1) the resultant migrant who leaves as a result of socio-economic conditions or immediate situational factors, yet still makes a voluntary decision, who sees migration as a means of realizing specific and limited objectives, and who, unlike aspiring and dislocated migrants, has strongly developed ties with people and with place and feels no sense of frustration or inadequacy in either;
- (2) the aspiring migrant who is characterized by an overall dissatisfaction with various aspects of life in the area of origin and sees migration as an opportunity for betterment and realization of aspirations;
- (3) the dislocated migrant who sees migration as a solution to limitations in the area of origin; and
- (4) the epiphenomenal migrant who is motivated by a variety of unique personal factors (1969: 120-124).

Taylor claims that his analysis revealed two clusters of families ranking high in aspiration and in dislocation, and a large number of families ranking low in both characteristics (the resultant migrants); in addition, he found a small number of families whose migration situations were complicated by personal factors (the epiphenomenal migrants). In other words, he argues that the four categories are mutually exclusive. His argument seems tenuous, however; for example, one could conceive that the aspiring migrant as a result of socio-economic conditions among other things, becomes dissatisfied and becomes dislocated as a solution to perceived and real limitations in his area of origin. Taylor's main contribution is his emphasis that for different migrant types migration has a different meaning and significance. An

adequate explanation of the migratory decision-making process must take into account the actor's definition of the situation. His criteria of distinction among the different migrant types also seem somewhat tenuous. Perhaps his most significant contribution to the problem of explaining migration is his specification of the constituent elements of a conceptual framework for the determination of motives for migration. He has identified these as: (1) a degree of structural conduciveness or strain; (2) the individual actor's perception and evaluation of this strain; (3) the presence of long-term or short-term aspirations; (4) the presence of a degree of dislocation; (5) the generalized belief that conditions are better elsewhere; (6) the objective feasibility of migration as a project; and (7) the presence of precipitating factors or a 'trigger' (1969: 132).

The study of post-war emigration from the Netherlands dealt with both objective conditions and subjective motives in an attempt to understand not only the large volume of emigrants, but also the characteristics of overseas migrants as compared with non-migrants. The analysis suggested a pervading condition in Dutch society, the existence of an emigration climate in which emigration was perceived and evaluated as a normative mode of behaviour. Actual migration was explained in terms of lack of attachment to local cultural patterns, a sense of general dissatisfaction with life in Dutch society, an orientation of enterprisingness, and the search for opportunity overseas. In addition, a key factor involved in migration was found to be the existence of other migrants (relatives or acquaintances) as informants (Beijer, 1961: 309-311). In arriving at the decision to migrate an actor can conceivably have no knowledge of alternative areas of residence; it seems reasonable to assume, however, that an actor has more or less limited knowledge of alternative destinations. As Lee has pointed out,

knowledge of an area of destination is seldom exact (1966: 50); other migrants are sources of information about an area for the potential migrant.

Informants tend to make more specific the generalized belief that conditions are better elsewhere. In the Dutch study, Hofstede found that the relations factor influenced above all the choice of destination. He described the influence of relations as "catalytic" in the actual emigration process; "the propensity for migration may be caused by other factors but it remains dormant until it is activated by the relations factor" (1961: 14-16). In the study of the migration from French provinces to the city of Paris, Girard and Pourcher found that Paris exercised an economic, psychological, and human attraction over the whole of France through the network of relationships of family, friends, and acquaintances that migration had created (1964: 250). In a study of differentials of recent internal migration in the United States, Marckwardt (1968) attempted to increase substantive knowledge of the interaction and relative importance of various differentials by using data from national samples and the multi-variate technique of path analysis. Of a number of variables considered (race or colour, sex, age, marital and family status, employment status, occupation, education, income, housing status, and location of relatives), path analysis indicated that location of relatives was the one which most directly affected migration. But Marckwardt's most significant finding was that the presence of most or all of one's relatives in the same community exerted a restraint on migration. In other words, the relatives factor can not only facilitate migration but also restrain movement from the community of origin.

Family and kinship structure are important variables in the concept of motility (as defined by Blau and Duncan) - the capacity to move that implies a certain psychological pre-disposition for migration. This subjective

pre-disposition is closely related to Taylor's notion that the non-migrant has a sense of belonging to his primary and secondary groups in the community of origin, whereas the migrant is characterized by a sense of dislocation. Heberle observed that "the 'subjective inclination' toward emigration will be greater the less intimately the individual feels himself bound up with his immediate family, kin, and neighbours" (1938: 945). Doeflinger has argued that American family structure has evolved from a more inclusive kin group which may have inhibited migration to the present form of nuclear family which may facilitate migration (1962: 27). On the other hand, Litwak has postulated the existence of a cohesive modified extended family that "does not require geographical propinquity, occupational nepotism or integration . . . (and in which) family relations differ from those of the isolated nuclear family in that significant aid is provided to nuclear families, although this aid has to do with standard of living (housing, illness, leisure pursuits) rather than occupational appointments or promotions" (1960b: 385). It is Litwak's contention that institutional pressures force the extended family to legitimize geographical mobility because technological improvements in communication systems have minimized the socially disruptive forces of geographical distance (1960b: 385).

In an exploratory Canadian study to test Litwak's formulation of the concept of the modified extended family and its relationship with geographical mobility, Osterreich found evidence to support the existence of such a modified extended family that provides social, psychological, and economic support to its members, despite geographical mobility. The respondents in her study, whether geographically mobile or non-mobile, appeared to interrelate and to experience a sense of belonging in a modified extended family kinship structure (1965: 143). In another Canadian study, Tilly and Brown

have developed the concept of auspices of migration to describe "the social structures which establish relationships between the migrant and the receiving community before he moves." They distinguish between migration under the auspices of kinship when the migrant's principal connections with the destination community are through kinsmen, even if he comes desperately seeking a job; and migration under the auspices of work when the labour market or a particular firm provide the main organized relationship to the new community, even if he also has kinsfolk there. They note, moreover, that the migrant may move under several auspices at once, or under none at all (1967: 142).

Many years ago Thomas observed in her Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials that "migration may be viewed as a sort of goal-seeking in which economic motives are involved" but in which non-economic motives also play an important part (1938: 141). She suggested that research should focus on the grievances which migrants have against the environment of origin and which are not shared by non-migrants in the same environment; the goals which the movers hope to reach through migration; how realistic are these goals in terms of conditions actually existing in the chosen destination; and how successful are the migrants in terms of goal-attainment in the chosen destination (1938: 167). In other words, research should focus on migration as an action directed towards the pursuit of goals perceived as unattainable in the community of origin but attainable elsewhere. Such is the focus of the present research. With respect to career aspirations, to what extent is the area of origin perceived as one of relative deprivation? To what extent are alternative areas of destination perceived as relatively attractive in comparison? To what extent are career goals influencing actual migration? How realistic are these career goals in terms of area of destination as compared

with area of origin? How successful are the migrants in attaining their career goals?

Thomas developed in a later study (1941) the push-pull hypothesis to analyse migration in terms of certain factors "pushing" persons away from the area of origin and other factors "pulling" them to the area of destination, and posited socio-economic imbalance between regions as the explanatory factor. Variations of the push-pull hypothesis have been used in many subsequent attempts to understand and explain migration. When the focus is on inter-community imbalance, some studies tend to stress the push out from an area of deprivation; other studies stress the pull towards communities with objectively better socio-economic conditions; still others emphasize the interaction effects between pushes and pulls. Saunders has observed that migration may take place in the absence of known more favourable situations than those existing in the area of origin where life has become the struggle for survival (1956: 222); and Ravenstein postulates redundancy of population in one area as the stimulus for shifting or displacement of population to growing centres of industry and commerce that call for labour (1885: 198).

In both these hypotheses the emphasis is on the push out from a relatively deprived or unfavourable area as the key factor effecting migration. More frequently greater emphasis is given to the pull or attraction to areas of greater opportunity. In a study of the causes of rural-urban migration, Rudolph Heberle explicitly rejected push factors as being the most important causes of migration. While noting the significance of technological changes as stimuli to migration from rural areas, he contended that "the varying intensity of migration from the country (over long periods of time) is scarcely dependent on the variation in strength of these push factors; it is rather decisively influenced by the industrial and commercial

demand for labour power in the cities and industrial districts" (1938: 933). Stouffer's concept of opportunities as an explanation of migration lays emphasis on the pull towards areas of greater opportunity. In his original theory he defined opportunities as the number of vacant houses (in a given rental and racial group) in a designated census tract of destination, and he hypothesized that "the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities," defining intervening opportunities as vacant houses between the census tract of origin and the census tract of destination (1940: 846). In a later paper, Stouffer introduced the concept of competing migrants to take into account the fact that if a person wished to go from a particular origin to alternative destinations A or B, his choice will depend in part upon the numbers of potential migrants who are closer than he is to destination A or B, respectively (1960: 69). Isbell studied census data on inter-community migration of males to test Stouffer's theory of intervening opportunities and found that the opportunities in the capital city and large cities had a distinctive character, attracting migrants regardless of the number of intervening opportunities (1944: 627-639). Anderson compared the hypotheses of Zipf, who postulated that migration varies inversely with distance (1946), and Stouffer. While noting that the number of intervening opportunities does not appear to be a more accurate measure of distance than highway mileage, Anderson observed that population size should be corrected for the extent of unemployment in area of origin and area of destination (1955: 291). Stewart also found that changes in spatial distribution of population are partly determined by the existing distribution of population and by the deterrent effect of distance, but he concluded that the determinants of migration also include differences in economic levels between areas, as

indicated by relative levels of employment, wage levels, and living standards (1960: 347-348). In all of these studies the emphasis is on the attractive power of a more favourable socio-economic structure in alternative destination communities (as compared with a community of origin) exerting a pull on a potentially mobile population. It is assumed that the migrants are rational goal-oriented actors with specific knowledge of the objective structure (opportunities) in both area of origin and possible areas of destination. But, as Lee has cogently remarked, it is not so much the actual factors at origin and destination as the perception of these factors which results in migration (1966: 51).

An adequate explanation of migration must take into account not only the objective reality situations in the areas of origin and destination but also the orientations of the potential migrants to the objective situations. Goldsmith in a study of the meaning of migration for high school students categorizes variations of push-pull hypotheses that take into account the orientations of potential migrants to objective situations as motivational push-pull hypotheses (1961: 36). In such analyses a push is a condition in the community of origin which the actor perceives is a reason for migration; a pull is a condition at a possible community of destination which an actor perceives as motivating him to carry out the act of migration. The decision to migrate and actual migration must involve perception and evaluation of relative advantages and disadvantages in both origin and alternative destinations. Lee's proposed theory of migration takes into account both objective structural factors and subjective personal factors. He summarizes the factors for analysis under four headings as: factors in the area of origin, factors in the area of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors. He notes that both the area of origin and potential areas of destination possess

positive, negative, and neutral elements which attract, repel or are indifferent to the potential migrant. Moreover, he makes an additional observation that migration is not decided on the basis of a simple comparison of factors in the area of origin with those in the area of destination; intervening obstacles (such as distance, economic costs, psycho-social costs) will be taken into account. Finally, personal factors (some of them more or less constant throughout life, others associated with specific stages of the life cycle) will influence the decision to migrate and the actual migration process (1966: 50-52). In Lee's theory, therefore, the actor's perceptions, are even more significant than the objective factors in influencing migration. Such a line of reasoning is not new. It was the basic theorem set forth by W. I. Thomas in his dictum, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (1951: 81). The actor responds primarily not to the objective features of the situation but to the meaning that situation has for him; having assigned his meaning to the situation, the actor's consequent behaviour is determined by that meaning.

Some research in the past has focused on the significance of different value-orientations for migration selectivity. Solomon dealt with the theoretical proposition that, situational factors being equal, measurable value concepts which people have regarding the relative desirability of particular aspects of the rural versus urban environments (residence values) are important factors in the selectivity of migration. He found that migrants tended to prefer the educational, intellectual, and religious activities of the city; non-migrants tended to prefer the country for a better home life, healthy living conditions, hobbies, and aesthetic enjoyment (1957). Solomon's study is concerned with conditions of living in rural and urban environments; he does not deal with career factors. Connor, on the other hand, has explored the relationship

between different value-orientations, career patterns, and selective migration and residence. Connor's theory is concerned with the socialized, free, adult human individual and his geographic mobility or stability. He developed the concept of orientation, stating the basic components of this to be a patterned and more or less integrated cluster of value-orientations, cognitive patterns, and belief systems which are associated with the selecting, regulating, and goal-discriminating processes in a cultural system (1963: 34-35). Connor postulated that "the cultural content internalized by an individual through socialization predicts and explains the possession of different orientations which, through their effect on the perceptions of utility, predict and account for the different patterns of migration and residence exhibited by free adult individuals" (1963: 120). In other words, the way of life and the social imperatives of the family background and home community help to determine the potential migrant's orientation to his area of origin, the duration or permanence of his residence away from the home community, and his orientation to the destination community. Connor's theory generated general hypotheses concerning the probability and patterns of migration associated with individuals possessing different orientations according to the size of their world view: global, societal, subcultural, local, familistic, and idiosyncratic orientations. From this theory he also developed a theoretically-ordered general typology of migrants and residents in terms of their dominant orientations. Using data from the Family Life Survey of the Stirling Country Study, a study of a rural county in Nova Scotia, Connor tested specific hypotheses relating the societal, subcultural, and local orientation with characteristic levels of living, amounts of education, and types of occupation. He found that the societal orientation was associated with more education, higher levels of living, and occupations involving rather broad social contacts; the local

orientation was associated with less education, lower levels of living, and occupations involving social contacts predominantly in the local community; those with a subcultural orientation generally occupied an intermediate position with respect to these three variables. Connor noted favourable associations for the relationships between orientation and migration; for example, native and continuous residents were least likely to possess a societal orientation; the children of parents with a societal orientation had migrated more frequently than children of parents with a local orientation (1963: 120-121).

Although Connor's emphasis is clearly on subjective elements involved in the migratory decision and actual migration, the orientation of actors, he does take into account factors that fall into Lee's category of intervening obstacles which can also influence the migratory decision: the possession of unsaleable fixed assets, family responsibilities or non-transferable job skills. These are objective conditions that are also important. The concept of orientation is applied to an actor having certain knowledge, beliefs, and ends or goals that he perceives as more or less desirable. The term aspiration is used in the literature to define a person's or a group of persons' orientation to a goal (Haller and Miller, 1963: 6; Kuvelsky and Bealer, 1966: 269).

Actors are oriented towards goals. As Davis observes, "no one migrates without an end in view" (1949: 586). Goals may be rational or irrational, conscious or unconscious, realistic or unrealistic, but unless we assume with Sorokin and Zimmerman that migration is a chance phenomenon (1929: 582), an adequate explanation of migration must take into account the presence of ends or goals attainable through the act of migration. As already noted above, Doeflinger's analytical framework for studying migration selectivity posits independence ends as the explanatory factor, and career factors are interpreted

as means to attain these independence ends. Other researchers see career-variables as ends in themselves.

For Ravenstein the most important law guiding all migratory movements is "the desire inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material respects" and this desire is manifested in the search for work (1889: 286). Shryock also concluded that the search for work is the principal motive for migration within the United States (1964: 406). Pourcher reached a similar conclusion from a survey of the motivations for migration from the provinces of France to the city of Paris. He contends that "desire for improvement in living conditions" is the prime activating factor in migration, and, while noting that the form of "desire for improvement" varies according to social background, he interprets improvement in terms of material situation. Pourcher adds a further dimension to the ends sought (and attained) by the pursuit of improved material conditions. He points out that the very fact of improving the material situation through migration arouses "new needs" (goals) in the actor: a psychological movement, the desire for success or upward mobility, which is generated in the new area of residence as broader possibilities are envisaged (1964: 201). In Connor's conceptual framework, Pourcher's interpretation can be formulated in terms of a change in the actor's dominant orientation.

In his analysis of the first stage of the migratory process, namely, the motivation to migrate, Eisenstadt has isolated four main spheres of social life in which the potential migrant may have a feeling of some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in his original social setting; among these he identifies certain goals which cannot be attained within the institutional structure of the society of origin, insufficient facilities and possibilities of survival, the inability to fully gratify aspirations to solidarity, and

the lack of opportunity to attain a desired pattern of life. This inability to attain some level of aspiration (a desired goal) in the original social setting may lead to the act of migration, according to Eisenstadt's argument (1954: 1-3). Where the potential migrant perceives that his goals or aspirations can be attained in possible communities of destination, then actual migration occurs.

In a recent study of the forces influencing large-scale migration of Irish rural youth, Hannan argues in a similar vein to Eisenstadt. He also contends that migration can best be understood as an attempt to attain some goals or ends that the individual believes cannot be attained in the area of origin. He found that occupational and income aspirations were the most important variables involved in the migration decisions and plans of Irish rural youth (1970: 166-169). Moreover, he assumed that the prestige level of the occupational category to which the potential migrant aspired was the major variable determining occupational frustration levels and migration rates (1970: 170). As the level of education and of occupational aspirations increased among the respondents, Hannan found, however, that non-economic factors, such as the community's social provisions, became increasingly important goals that the youth, especially girls, sought to attain through actual migration (1970: 169). In other words, for young adults taking up adult occupational roles for the first time, finding a satisfactory job, achieving an adequate income, and having a desired style of life are the predominant goals which will be taken into account in a migratory decision.

Hannan's study is important in the context of the present research in that he did a longitudinal analysis to see the extent to which migration plans predicted subsequent migration behaviour. He concluded that migration decision-making among a particular cohort of adolescents growing up in any

community proceeds in a series of stages which appear to duplicate each stage in the occupational decision-making process (cf. Payne, 1956, above). Hannan maintains that the occupational decision precedes the migration decision in the majority of cases, on the basis of the assumption that many previously unconsidered factors connected with job-seeking become important as the person moves from the tentative stage to the early trial stage in occupational decision-making (1970: 239-240). Occupational choice is, according to Ginzberg's theory, a developmental process (involving fantasy, tentative, and realistic choices); it is largely irreversible, in that each decision depends on the chronological age and the experiences (educational and other basic life experiences) of the individual; it is a process that ends in a compromise in the face of realities and perceptions of reality, e.g. job-market, socio-economic structure, images of occupations, and the like (1951: 185-198). One problem with Ginzberg's theory is that it is really only directly applicable to the middle classes. Most of the fantasy occupations of the very young males (e.g. fireman, policeman, lumberjack, etc.) are in fact the realistic possibilities of the working-class child. Although he does not explicitly say so, Hannan appears to see the migratory decision as being an outcome of the compromise element in the occupational choice. The individual's inability to achieve his occupational aspirations in the home community or his perception that his desired goal is unattainable there may lead him to migrate to an alternative community where he anticipates attaining the desired occupation or the education that facilitates his entering the occupation. On the other hand, "other factors" (as yet unspecified) may lead him to compromise by changing his occupational choice and remaining in the community of origin.

This line of reasoning agrees with Blau's analysis of occupational choice. Blau and his associates conceived of occupational choice as a process

of compromise between aspirations toward a particular occupation and the realistic expectations of actually entering that occupation, when other factors, such as the personality development of the chooser and the socio-economic conditions within which selections take place, are taken into account; they also drew attention to the actual limitations in the choice process itself through lack of information concerning real occupational opportunities (1956: 542-543). Blau's conceptual framework implies that the occupational chooser or actor in his search for a career must be informed about occupational opportunities in alternative communities if he is to consider actual migration as a means to attain his chosen career.

In another longitudinal analysis of the migration behaviour of youth, Harp, Morton, and Ruff have conceptualized the desired goals influencing the migration process as success goals. But success is defined in terms of occupational status and its associated monetary rewards and particular life styles (1967: 9-11). In their study of high school graduates in a relatively underdeveloped section of upper New York state, migration is viewed as the quest for opportunity. The research provides evidence for selective migration in terms of differential success goals and differential opportunity factors (types of major in high school, mental aptitude, and socio-economic status of the family), particularly among males (1967: 36-37).

Several studies in the literature on migration have identified aspirations to social mobility as one of the most significant factors determining migration. A paper by Gosta Carlsson based on the Swedish Mobility Study suggests that migration is a result, not a cause, of social mobility. Carlsson reports that "those who move to high status (occupational) groups are more likely to become migrants than those who remain in a lower status group" (Lipset and Bendix, 1959: 160). Kaufman, Duncan and colleagues

also explained rural-urban migration as often being a behavioral response to frustrated aspirations for social mobility within the occupational structure of the community of origin (1953: 22). In an analysis of the dynamic inter-relationship between geographical mobility and social mobility in the British context, Watson has noted that for some professional people, upward social mobility tends to be accompanied by spatial mobility. He coined the term spiralist to describe the person whose career mobility is accompanied by a series of moves through a number of communities, across local, regional, and national boundaries. Amongst the members of some professional groups of occupations, the salaried professionals, geographical mobility is a means of effecting spiralism, the career ascent up the organization (1964: 145-149). McFarlane has provided supportive evidence in Britain where he noted that "the willingness or reluctance to change geographical location has a bearing upon the possibilities of success: those who seemed reticent to move or, at least, always remained in the same location are found most frequently among the 'least successful'" (1961: 234). On the other hand, for fee-taking professionals, residential stability frequently tends to offer more favourable opportunities for occupational success and social mobility (Watson, 1964: 149). In such cases, social mobility within the professional group is the goal sought; this goal is the motivating factor determining migration or non-migration on the part of the actor. Among highly-qualified manpower in Canada, intra-national geographical mobility through job transfers within the corporation which employs them is frequently a matter of little choice or individual initiative. Such mobility, though seemingly approaching "forced migration," is still, however, the means (albeit the only means) within the organization of attaining the goal of occupational success. As noted above, Ladinsky stressed this point when he postulated that work organization and

career traits are important variables explaining geographical mobility among professionals (1967a: 253).

Blau and Duncan in their study of the American occupational structure have raised basic questions regarding the causal nexus underlying the inter-relationship between geographical mobility and occupational success (defined in terms of upward occupational mobility). The principal question to which they address themselves is, "Does migration itself produce greater occupational success, and, if so, for what reason?" But they also ask, "Does the pursuit of successful careers constrain men to migrate?" The second question is the one that is the focus of concern in the present research; but the important point in Blau and Duncan's analysis and interpretation is not so much the specification of the direction of the relationship between occupational success and geographical mobility as their observation that correlation may be perhaps the result of a third factor (such as individual initiative) that promotes both migration and occupational achievement. They raise the question, "Do migrants have superior achievements regardless of the locations from and to which they move?" (1967: 254).

The basic finding of the Blau and Duncan study is that "the careers of migrants are, in almost all comparisons, clearly superior to those of non-migrants" (1967: 271). But, more importantly, refinement and analysis of this major finding indicate that actual migration tends to be selective of men with higher potential for success--men with superior social origin, education, and first job experience. In other words, migration is conceived as a selective process in relation to career factors; it involves subjective personal elements, such as initiative (called enterprisingness in the Dutch study), that selects men most likely to succeed anywhere for geographical movement to places where the greatest opportunities for success are available

to anyone with specific career qualifications. The general superiority of the socio-economic structure in more urban places is the incentive that determines the direction of migration in response to these differential opportunities, from less urban to more urban places (1967: 273). This seems to be the argument put forward by Blau and Duncan. They present, however, an important modification to the argument; namely, a man is likely to migrate against the general direction of this stream if his personal occupational prospects are particularly good in a community less urban than where he was raised. In other words, the personal goals of the actor are a decisive factor determining migration.

Richmond has developed more fully this notion of the desire for social mobility being a significant determinant of geographical mobility among the members of high status occupational groups. He makes the important point that in modern post-industrial societies Eisenstadt's assumption that "every migratory movement is motivated by the migrant's feeling of some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in the original social setting" (1954: 1-2) may not be applicable. Richmond argues that in contemporary industrial and post-industrial societies, migration is closely related to the occupational career cycle and may be regarded (perceived) as a normal means to the end of occupational advancement (1969: 265). He identifies a different type of migrant, the transilient migrant, who is a member of a highly mobile and skilled labour force and who is ready to move from one industrial centre to another, wherever his particular educational and occupational skills are in demand, and who will freely cross cultural and political, regional and national boundaries (1969: 244). According to Richmond, migration is a norm of behaviour, at least for selected age and occupational groups, and it tends to be multi-directional, as a society moves into the post-industrial

stage of development (1969: 280).

Usually the literature on migration has emphasized variations of the push-pull hypothesis. Migration is attributed to structural imbalances between regions and certain factors pushing persons away from the area of origin and other factors pulling them to the area of destination. Jansen contends that the push-pull hypothesis appears most appropriate in migrations from rural to urban areas during the industrial revolution in modern countries and in developing countries today. He emphasizes the high rates of inter-urban migration in industrial countries today, particularly among the professional and more highly skilled occupational categories. Thus he speaks of an "exchange" process that takes place among inter-urban migrants with similar characteristics and skills in the various urban structures (1969: 65-66).

Both Jansen and Richmond have broadened the framework for analysis of migration in societies manifesting different stages of development in different regions and with a concomitant change in their occupational structure. Migration is conceived as a process related to changing occupational role patterns for the individual. This framework does take into account the dimension of time and of change in the occupational status of individuals over time affecting the migration process. It also implies that among individuals there is a differential propensity to migrate.

In recent years there has been a growing body of research which views migration as a stochastic process governed by probabilities which are a function of one or more independent variables (cf. Goldstein, 1954 and 1964; Morrison, 1967 and 1971; McGinnis, 1968; Land, 1969; Stone, 1969; McFarland, 1970; Beaman, 1973). Mobility modelling, as this research is called, is directed towards making predictions about longitudinal mobility

rates of different groups in the population at risk. In the Cornell Mobility Model, a modification of the Markov chain model, migration is formulated as a process governed by non-stationary probabilities. A fundamental postulate of this model is the axiom of cumulative inertia: the longer one has been in one's current status, the higher the probability of remaining there for yet another time unit (McGinnis, 1968: 716). In other words, a person's propensity to move declines as the duration of residence increases. Movement out of a status position is constrained by one's ties to that position, and the strength of these ties normally should be expected to grow with the passage of time (1968: 716). Duration of residence thus becomes a significant independent structural variable that must be taken into account to understand the migration process. The probability of a person's moving depends upon his or her personal residence history. Moreover, the Cornell Model posits that age interacts to affect the relationship between duration of residence and propensity to migrate. Mobility decreases with increasing age (Morrison, 1967).

A second structural consideration to be taken into account in the migration process is the division of people into mobile and stable groups. Studies by Goldstein (1954 and 1964), Morrison (1971) and others indicate that much of the total movement among a population is due to repeated moves among a small number of mobile persons who show a strong tendency to move several times over relatively short time spans. A large majority of the population is composed of stable persons who have a strong tendency to stay in the same residential status over long time spans. McFarland's (1970) version of this mover-stayer dichotomy stresses the heterogeneity of the population at risk which arises from structural sources other than duration of stay in current statuses (e.g., intelligence, family background, educational attainment). In

this model emphasising a heterogeneous population, the transition probabilities can be taken as dependent variables, and differentiation between movers and stayers has a sociological explanation involving the matching of attributes or particular persons and requirements of particular statuses (1970: 473).

Beaman (1973) has developed a model for studying migration as a multi-dimensional process. His model is a theoretical framework for analysis of mobile-stable individuals and communities. The five-dimensional typology he has developed takes into account chronic movers, return migration to a place of origin, population turnover in a community, long-term stability of the stable segment of the population in a community, and city growth.

Mobility modelling conceives of migration as a dynamic multi-dimensional process involving heterogeneity in individuals with differential propensities to migrate in time. It thus points the way to further constructive research that overcomes the inherent weakness in cross-sectional studies of differential migration.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the basic concepts and terms used in migration research. It has presented the findings in the literature that relate migration selectivity with significant personal and social variables, particularly career variables. Previous migration research indicates that the process is to be explained in terms of both objective structural factors and subjective personal elements in the opportunity structure of the individual.

Chapter III will present the conceptual framework for the present study and specific hypotheses suggested by the literature to test the relationship between career aspirations and the migration process.

III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Specification of Theoretical Domain

The foregoing selective review of an enormous amount of research into the migration process demonstrates clearly that migration is a non-random phenomenon and therefore capable of scientific explanation. The conceptual framework to be presented in this chapter will focus analytical attention upon a limited domain of the social phenomenon of migration. Theoretical concern is with young adults, who have reached a definite stage in the life cycle and who have attained at least some secondary education, and with their geographical mobility or stability. More specifically, theoretical concern is with understanding and explaining the influence of career aspirations of youth on their geographical mobility or stability.

Dependent Variable

The major dependent variable to be explained is the migrant status of individuals in the young adult stage of the life cycle. Migrant status can vary in terms of the geographical mobility or geographical stability of individuals who have a capacity to move. The term motility has been used by Blau and Duncan (1967: 250) and by Richmond (1969: 245) to refer to this capacity for movement in an individual. An individual is geographically mobile when this capacity for movement is actualized; the individual is geographically stable when no actual movement occurs. Migration is a more narrowly defined subcategory of geographical movement; it is the relatively permanent geographical movement of an individual from a settled community of origin across specified geographic boundaries to another community of destination. The definition implies a change of interaction systems as a significant component involved in the change of community of residence. Geographical stability, on the other

hand, implies that the relations between structural properties of the individual and processes within his personality and between the individual actor and his environment are such as to maintain his geographical location unchanged. In Parsonian analysis, this maintenance is dependent upon continuously varying processes within the individual actor and between the actor and his environment, which "neutralize" these "endogenous or exogenous sources of variability" that could lead to change, namely, geographical mobility (cf. Parsons, 1961: 221-222).

Actual Migration

The migration process involves several stages. Actual migration is preceded by an initial stage in which the individual may consider, evaluate, and plan migration as a possible mode of behaviour. The individual then decides whether or not to carry the act of migration into effect. This initial stage in the migration process will be referred to as the migratory decision-making stage. When one posits a decision-making stage in migration, however, one assumes that the potential migrant is the originator of the decision to migrate; he or she is in reality the actor of migration. Sometimes, however, the act of migration occurs voluntarily among individuals whose movement is more or less passively derived from the decisions of other significant individuals; such is the case when children accompany parents or when one member of a marriage partnership makes the migration decision for both. Hence it is useful to distinguish between primary migrants, to refer to individuals who are the actual decision-makers, and secondary migrants, to refer to the category of individuals for whom the decision is made by others. Actual migration from one community to another (by primary or secondary migrants) constitutes the second stage in the migration process; although related to desires, expectations, and plans of individuals, as has been seen, it can be generated from different sources; hence it requires separate analysis.

Attention in the present research will be focused not only on actual migration but also on the initial stage of the migration process, for an understanding of actual mobility is only possible in the light of an understanding of migratory decision-making. It is not the concern of this research to analyse the establishment, integration or absorption of the migrant in the community of destination (the third stage in the migration process).

Career Aspirations and the Migration Decision

The principal independent variable in this research is the career aspiration of the individual, a young person in the adolescent stage of the life cycle. A career decision is a complex concept composed of related but analytically distinct elements or components. The concept career has been deliberately selected since the term in its most general sense denotes not only the job a person has, the position in the occupational structure and the stratification system of a society, but also a way of life associated with the sequence of jobs, the career pattern and general course of action through life. Thus career emphasizes the time dimension involved in "the sequences of position, achievement, responsibility, and even of adventure" in the career of an individual, as Hughes observed many years ago (1937: 409). In a relatively loosely structured society the individual has greater freedom to choose his career than in a rigid society, but Hughes drew attention to the objective realities of the social order that will "set limits upon the individual's orientation of his life, both as to direction of effort and as to interpretation of its meaning" (1937: 409-410). Moreover, as Krause has noted, an individual's career is related to the way in which the personal stages in the life cycle intersect with history, the opportunities or oppositions presented by the current state of society as related to the individual's career stage (1971: 43).

A clear conceptualization of the phenomenon of career decisions of youth requires analytical distinction between and clarification of two basic concepts: aspirations and expectations, in reference to both education and occupation.

As noted already, the concept of aspiration can best be defined as a person's orientation to a goal (Kuvelsky and Bealer, 1966: 269). It has, therefore, three basic elements: (1) a person or persons, who differ from other persons in their biological, psychological, and social characteristics; (2) having an orientation towards, (3) a goal. Individuals are differentiated from each other in terms of their orientation and in terms of the goals towards which they are oriented. Moreover, an individual actor can be oriented towards a variety of goals. Kuvelsky and Bealer have used the term goal-area to refer to different kinds of goals with associated social status or status-attributes; they identify important goal-areas for the actor as occupation, residence, education, and income (1966: 270). Another important goal-area to be included in the concept of aspiration is way of life.

The review of the literature has indicated that goals are most frequently described with reference to particular social status (sometimes defined in terms of success); however, goals have also been described with reference to independence ends (according to Doeflinger, 1962: 87-88); and career goals may be more directly defined in terms of desired patterns for living, and patterns for working. The orientation element of the term aspiration refers to the individual's relationship to the desired goal. For Kuvelsky and Bealer, orientation implies the strength or weakness of the individual's desire for a specified goal relative to other goals (1966: 272-273). In other words, orientation is a matter of degree of intensity for them. This explication of the term is rejected as being too narrow for the

purpose of this research. Connor's conceptualization of orientation in qualitative dimensions on a spatial continuum is more helpful. For him orientation refers to the inclusiveness of the individual's world view (whether global, societal, subcultural, local, familistic or idiosyncratic). It includes value-orientations, cognitive patterns, and belief systems (1963: 36-39). The individual's orientation is associated with the selection, regulation, and discrimination of goals. This definition of orientation follows Parsons' conceptualization. He defined the orientation component of a role as an integration of value and motivational commitments internalized in the personality of the individual (1961: 266). The first basic dimension of career decision-making, therefore, involves career aspirations; that is, an individual oriented towards certain desired career goals.

Career aspirations must be distinguished from career expectations, the second basic dimension of career decision-making. Lack of clarity in the precise definition of these terms has led to much confusion in the literature. Lewin was one of the first to observe that a distinction must be made between the goal an individual thought he might really be able to attain, his real aspirations, and the goal he would like to attain if all went well, his ideal aspirations (1939: 868). Haller has preferred to use the terms realistic and idealistic, respectively, to specify this distinction (1968: 484). A more useful distinction would seem to be that formulated by Kuvelsky and Bealer, following the conceptual framework for occupational choice presented by Blau and his associates (1956: 531-543). Kuvelsky and Bealer use the term expectations to refer to the "individual's estimation of his probable attainment in reference to a particular goal-area" (1966: 273). When we speak of educational expectations we mean the level of education an individual actually expects to attain; occupational expectations refer to

the occupation an individual actually expects to enter. Career expectations are usually equated with occupational expectations; but insofar as level of education attained influences occupational status, then career expectations are closely related to educational expectations. Just as the concept of aspiration can be analytically broken down into the three elements of an actor who is oriented towards desired goals, so too the concept of expectations comprises three analytical elements: (1) an actor, (2) who is oriented towards, (3) ends that he or she anticipates attaining. Kuvelsky and Bealer make an important point in noting that an actor's orientation towards an expected attainment may be unfavourable or favourable; insofar as the end is not desired, then in such instances it is not a "goal" in the strict sense of the term. Sometimes the term occupational plans is used synonymously in the literature to refer to occupational expectations. The term plans when used with precision implies the additional note that the individual is taking or will be taking some definite action to realize the occupational expectations. Since ambiguity may arise as to whether plans refers to aspirations or expectations or to some other related but distinct concept, it is better to refrain from using the term without clear definition.

Finally, career aspirations and career expectations must be distinguished from career attainment. The concept of attainment is more readily understandable. It refers to the actual occupational (or educational) status reached by the individual. But it can be assumed that attainment will vary according to different stages in the life cycle and in the career of the individual. This is an important time dimension to be aware of when comparing aspirations, expectations, and attainment. Aspirations and expectations may refer to a time-period different from the point in time when attainment is measured. Kuvelsky and Bealer used the term congruence

to refer to agreement between the type of occupation aspired to and the type of occupation subsequently attained; and incongruence to refer to disagreement between these two variables (1967: 294). Kohout and Rothney (1964: 14) and other writers use the terms consistency and inconsistency, respectively, to refer to the same phenomena of agreement and disagreement between aspirations and attainment.

There are relatively few studies that explore the relationship between occupational aspirations of youth and subsequent occupational attainments. Kohout and Rothney made a longitudinal study of consistency between vocational preferences (aspirations) and subsequent job attainments among 321 male participants of the Wisconsin Counseling Study who were high school graduates in 1951. They found that few of their subjects were consistent in their career aspirations and attainment over a ten-year time period (1964: 14); there was evidence, however, to indicate that consistency was greater in specific occupational categories, namely among those males who aspired to professional and agriculture occupations; consistency was least in the semi-skilled and unskilled categories (1964: 20). These findings suggest that structural factors intervene to influence the attainment of desired careers. It is important to note, however, that inconsistency may refer to two different situations. On the one hand, an individual may attain an occupational status lower than that aspired to; on the other hand, an individual may aspire to a low or middle level of occupational status and actually attain a relatively higher level. Kuvelsky and Bealer studied congruence over a ten-year time period among 1001 rural males of Pennsylvania. Although they found a weak positive relationship between aspiration and attainment, and, in contrast to Kohout and Rothney, greatest congruence among aspirants to unskilled jobs, they concluded, nevertheless, that aspirations of youth are not good predictors

of long-run occupational attainment (1967: 299-300). Portes, Haller, and Sewell analysed the relationship between 1964 occupational and educational attainment and 1957 occupational aspirations among a random sample of Wisconsin farm boys. Their research indicated a somewhat greater congruence between aspiration and attainment than found in previous studies. More importantly, they found the greatest congruence between aspirations and attainments among those aspiring to high-status professional-executive occupations (1968: 156-158). Bohlen and Yoesting also confirmed that congruence between occupational aspirations and attainments among Iowa young people varies according to the occupational status to which the young person aspires (1968: 213). These four studies appear to indicate that greater clarification and more precise analysis of the objective and subjective personal factors and of the social structural factors in terms of time and place involved in the occupational (and educational) aspirations of youth would lead to a better understanding and possible explanation of the relationship between aspirations and attainment and of variations in terms of the occupational status to which the young person aspires.

To my knowledge, only three longitudinal studies relate occupational aspirations, subsequent occupational attainments, and the migration process. Bohlen and Wakeley investigated the consistency between intentions to migrate and actual migration among rural high school graduates; they found that attitudes towards entering the farming occupation were associated not only with migration decision-making but also with actual migration (1950: 332-333). The Harp, Morton, and Ruff study demonstrated that those individuals who maintained consistent career goals also manifested migration consistency; that is, over a three-year time period they planned to migrate and actually did so (1967: 33-36). However, in this study there is no analysis of

variations in consistency among aspirants to different occupational categories, and the relationship between these variations and migration behaviour.

Hannan's research demonstrated the predominant importance of occupational aspirations (and consumption aspirations) in explaining migration decisions and subsequent migration behaviour; in fact the main explanatory variable was found to be the difficulty young persons had in finding jobs in the local community to satisfy their aspirations, particularly among those who aspired to high status occupations or to well-paid lower level non-manual jobs or to manual jobs in general (1970: 197-200). The key factor involved here is clearly the frustration of career aspirations in the social structure of the local community. Hannan, however, was studying a cohort of youth in a typical rural community in Ireland which had been suffering a continuous population decline since the middle of the last century; other factors are likely to be more significant in an industrialized and larger urban community.

Statement of Hypotheses

The foregoing discussion of the relationship between the career orientations of adolescents and the migration process implies that young persons have certain career aspirations and certain reality career expectations. Moreover, objective elements in the opportunity structure of the individual's community of orientation and the individual's perceptions of that opportunity structure will mediate both career orientations and career attainment. The decision for residential stability or geographical mobility is made in this context. The general hypothesis to be tested in this research may be stated as follows: The career aspirations of youth influence their migrant status as young adults.

The career may be perceived by the individual as a means to a goal of success, prestige, status, social mobility, a style of life, or as an end

in itself. Actual migration is a mode of behaviour directed to the attainment of the desired goal: the career itself or the specific goals sought through the career-means. In the process of formulating an educational plan and a career goal, the adolescent matches himself and his environment in relationship to the future. The adolescent's perceptions of the future, his assessment of the opportunities available for him, his decisions and actions depend to a large degree on the objective structural conditions and the pattern of his relations to these structures. Elements of the family structure, the school structure, the peer group structure, and the community-of-orientation structure are important reality factors that influence the individual's career aspiration, career attainment, and the decision for residential stability or geographical mobility. Decisions depend, however, upon the individual's subjective perceptions of the opportunity structure: the individual self-concept, comparison with significant others, the significance of familism and kinship, and the value placed on success in life.

In the majority of cases, for the adolescent and young adult stage of the life cycle, the career decision is of prime concern. It seems reasonable to assume that in such cases the career decision precedes the migration decision. Within the context of the complex interplay of objective structural elements and subjective personal elements which may facilitate or hinder the attainment of a desired goal the individual's career aspiration is formed. But in the occupational decision-making process the adolescent's aspirations may become modified as reality factors intervene or perceptions of reality change. Variables such as the perception of job opportunities in the community of residence, job opportunities compared to peers, and job chances in terms of social class origin become important in the formation of actual expectations of occupational attainment. Similarly, the young

person's educational aspirations may become modified in relation to the actual expectations of occupational attainment. It seems logical to argue that where the adolescent gives primacy to the occupational goal and perceives relative lack of opportunity to attain the occupational goal in the community of residence, or where the range of locally available acceptable alternatives is limited, then he or she will be more likely to migrate to a region of greater opportunity.

This argument is supported by Rosenberg in his analysis of the relationship between values and occupational choice (defining value as that which is conceived as desirable). Rosenberg has made conceptual distinctions between occupational aspirations, occupational expectations, and occupational plans; he argues that where there is conflict between occupational aspirations and occupational expectations, the tendency is towards the reduction of psychological tension, either through changing the desired goals to accord with objective social conditions or, in some cases, changing the perception of the objective situation to accord with the values (1950: 120-123). Although Rosenberg does not apply his analysis to migration as a type of behaviour which can be influenced by a person's perception of the occupational status he or she actually expects to attain, it seems appropriate to do so. Migration is likely to occur where there is frustration of occupational aspirations and/or expectations.

The assumption that the career decision precedes the migration decision is particularly reasonable in the present research. This study is longitudinal. It focuses on young persons who expressed career aspirations when they were high school students in 1965, who have attained a certain educational level and occupational status in 1972, and who have been residentially stable or geographically mobile in the intervening seven years.

So far, in discussing the relationship between career aspirations and the migration decision, it has been assumed that the young person does in fact have more or less clearly defined career aspirations, a career goal. While this may be true in the majority of cases, the evidence indicates that it is far from being a universal phenomenon. In fact one of the main findings of the Breton study of career decisions among Canadian high school students was that about one-third of the respondents were without a career goal (1972: 9). This finding prompted a systematic analysis of the data to gain insight into the factors contributing to the lack of career goals among Canadian adolescents. Breton found that uncertainty about the future and about the individual's personal relationship to it influenced not only career indecision but also the level of career goals. That is, the adolescent's subjective perception of the opportunity structure of the future was an important factor in indecision about a career goal. Attitudes such as the estimation of poor chances of success in post-secondary school, anxiety about finding a job, the feeling of having below average chances of getting a good one, the sense of powerlessness about the future were found to be associated with the lack of career goal. And, as Breton astutely observes, "the adolescent's relationship with the future is partly an adjustment to a reality situation." Elements of the family structure, the school structure, the peer group structure, and the community-of-residence structure are important reality factors influencing career indecision as well as career aspiration (1972: 382-384). The Breton study found that structural characteristics of local and regional communities were associated not only with career aspirations but also with the lack of career goal. Although more than half male adolescents across Canada aspired to professional and managerial occupations, the Atlantic region had the lowest proportion of

males who aspired to these occupations (1972: 233); the likelihood of occupational indecision was higher in the economically less prosperous provinces than in the more prosperous (1972: 385). The size of the community of residence and the presence or absence there of post-secondary institutions were other community structural factors found to influence career aspirations and career indecision: the larger the community of residence, the more likely were aspirations to high-status occupations (1972: 238); the low access to post-secondary institutions was associated with a somewhat higher probability of career indecision (1972: 385).

These findings indicate that objective realities and the adolescent's perception of the situation are both important, not only in the process of formulating the career goals to which the adolescent aspires, but also in determining whether or not he or she perceives any end in the future. The consequences of career indecision in relation to migrant status are likely to be different, however, for males and females. Since a male occupational role is normative in society, one can expect the male adolescent who is undecided about his career to be geographically mobile in search of a career that may appeal to him or to drift into "any job" (typically a low-status job) in the local community.

For females, however, the issue of career decision is different from that for males. Breton's assumption that the basic issue for a female is whether or not to pursue a career (either before or after her marriage, only before marriage, or not at all) seems a reasonable one. In Breton's study the only two factors showing a consistent effect on the career intentions of females were language and employment status of the mother; other factors had importance, but only for certain categories of females. It was found that daughters of women who were gainfully employed were more likely

to intend to pursue a career than those who were not. "Pursuing a career" was defined as holding an occupation both before and after marriage (1972: 294, 279).

Nova Scotia communities, at the time of the Breton study, tended to be characterized by a relatively traditional structure with clearly differentiated male-female roles. One can therefore hypothesize that marital status will be a significant factor associated with the migrant status of females and intervening with the career aspiration to modify behaviour. Single females who are oriented to pursuing a career are likely to be initiators of the migration decision, that is, primary or active migrants. The single female, particularly if she lives in a rural area, is likely to migrate in pursuit of a career; and, perhaps more significantly, in pursuit of a marriage partner. At her marriage and afterwards, she is more likely to accompany her husband as a secondary or passive migrant or to return to her community of origin than to be an active migrant.

The review of the literature and the framework constructed in this chapter have suggested objective structural variables and subjective personal variables that intervene in career decisions of youth and thus may influence the relationship between career aspirations and the migration process. The hypothesized relationship among the variables is diagrammatically represented in the simple flow-chart below. The opportunity structure of the individual is conceived as including both objective structural factors and subjective personal factors. Subjective perceptions of reality are, however, influenced by the objective realities themselves, and this relationship is represented by the arrow in the diagram. Structural factors (such as the size of the community in which one is reared, family size, socio-economic status, and geographical mobility or stability of one's family) and personal factors

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(such as self-concept, estimation of career opportunities as compared with significant others, and the value placed on success goals) directly influence career aspirations. They are also hypothesized to influence migrant status and to intervene in the relationship between career aspirations at time t_1 and migrant status at time t_2 . It is now possible to reformulate the general hypothesis that the career aspirations of youth influence their migrant status as young adults in a set of specific hypotheses that can be tested.

Level of aspirations and migrant status

Hypothesis 1a Migrant status is directly related to the occupational aspiration level of young people. Individuals aspiring to high occupational status are more likely to migrate than individuals aspiring to low occupational status.

Furthermore, among those who have clearly formulated career aspirations and/or expectations, it would seem logical to argue that those who aspire to or expect high status professional and technical occupations will be prepared to migrate to prepare for these careers and that they will migrate to urban

and metropolitan centres (if they do not already reside in an urban centre) where there are greater opportunities for such careers. Those who aspire to lower status occupations requiring less highly developed skills will be less likely to migrate or, if they do migrate, will migrate shorter distances.

This hypothesis may be stated in the following terms:

Hypothesis 1b Migrant status is directly related to the educational aspiration level of young people. Individuals aspiring to post-secondary education are more likely to migrate than individuals not aspiring to post-secondary education.

Congruence between aspirations and attainment and migrant status

As a corollary to these hypotheses, it can be stated that where there is congruence between career aspirations and career attainment of the young person, one can expect a greater propensity to migrate. Studies of congruence (or consistency, as it is sometimes called) between the career aspirations of youth and their subsequent career attainments have indicated variations in terms of the occupational status to which the youth aspires and the need for greater clarification and explanation of the way in which objective structural factors and subjective personal factors influence congruence or incongruence. Some studies (e.g., Kohout and Rothney, 1964; Portes, Haller and Sewell, 1968) found greater congruence between aspirations and attainment among youth aspiring to high-prestige occupations; other studies (e.g., Kuvelsky and Bealer, 1967) found greater congruence among those aspiring to low-prestige occupations. It is hypothesized that where there is congruence between the career goal to which the youth aspires and subsequent career attainment (whether it be a high, medium or low prestige career goal), then the youth is more likely to migrate in pursuit of his or her career, and in pursuit of the education or training necessary to attain the desired occupation should this be unavailable in the community of

residence. These hypotheses may be stated as follows:

Hypothesis 2a Migrant status is directly associated with congruence between occupational aspirations and occupational attainment.

Hypothesis 2b Migrant status is directly associated with congruence between educational aspirations and educational attainment.

Career indecision and migrant status

The Breton study revealed that a large proportion of Canadian high school students expressed no occupational preference for a future career. The argument underlying Breton's analysis of career indecision was that adolescents who had not formulated a career goal were experiencing a serious problem in the process of matching self and environmental characteristics (1972: 17-31). Individuals who reside in an environment with such problems arising from personal, family background, school or community factors will tend to migrate in search of an environment that is more conducive to finding a satisfactory career. These considerations have led to the formulation of the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3 Migrant status is directly related to career indecision.

These three major hypotheses specify the postulated relationships between level of aspiration, the congruence between aspirations and attainment, and career indecision of youth and their migrant status as young adults. All the discussion so far has indicated very clearly, however, that the influence of career aspirations of youth on their subsequent migrant status is mediated by objective elements in the opportunity structure of the community of orientation and the individual's subjective perceptions of that opportunity structure. The expected relationship between some of these objective and subjective elements and subsequent geographical mobility or residential stability can now be stated in specific hypotheses.

Objective social structural variables and migrant status

Objective social structural factors that are important in facilitating or hindering the attainment of an adolescent's desired career goal in a given community include such variables as community size, family size, the social background of the family, and the migration background of the family.

Hypothesis 4 Migrant status is inversely related to the size of the community of origin. Individuals in small communities are more likely to migrate than individuals in larger communities.

The opportunity structure of a community is directly related to the degree of urbanization of that community. An individual residing in a large metropolitan centre has, objectively, a greater number of occupational opportunities available to him than an individual residing in a smaller urban centre, in a rural non-farm community, or in a rural farm community. Hence, the size of the individual's community of origin is likely to intervene in the relationship between pursuit of a career goal and residential choice. Individuals of rural farm and rural non-farm origin are likely to migrate to adjacent urban areas; individuals of urban origin are likely to migrate to other urban areas; individuals of metropolitan origin are likely to migrate to other metropolitan areas.

Hypothesis 5 Migrant status is directly related to the family size. Individuals who have many siblings are more likely to migrate than individuals with few or no siblings.

Several studies indicate that many siblings in a family are a handicap to occupational achievement among the members of that family. The effect of family size on occupational success is primarily through its effect on educational attainment (cf. Blau and Duncan, 1967: 298-307). Thus, family size is likely to be an objective factor influencing the attainment of a specific career goal in the community of origin; the individual from the

large family will migrate to seek occupational opportunities elsewhere (typically, a relatively low-prestige occupation).

Hypothesis 6 Migrant status is directly related to the socio-economic status origin of young people. Individuals of high socio-economic status origin are more likely to migrate than individuals of low socio-economic status origin.

Individuals of high socio-economic status origin tend to have high levels of educational attainment, to have at least some post-secondary education; they also tend to have high career aspirations. Their greater propensity to migrate is related to the pursuit of education and skills necessary to attain the relatively higher career goal than that typically aspired to by adolescents of lower socio-economic status origin. Moreover, persons in high prestige managerial, technical, and certain professional occupations are likely to be highly mobile geographically in pursuit of the goal of upward social mobility. Such geographical mobility is likely to occur in the earlier stages of the occupational career before the individual reaches the career peak as a mature adult. In other words, migration will occur under the auspices of work (in Tilly's terms). Research and common knowledge indicate that the work organization and the occupational community are important sources of job opportunity information in the high-prestige occupations. Job transfer, and job change within an occupational category, will be important means of achieving social mobility, and the occupational structure will be the migrant's link with the destination community.

Hypothesis 7 Migrant status is directly related to the migratory behaviour of the family of orientation. Migration is likely among young persons who have migrant family or relatives. Residential stability is likely among young persons whose family and relatives all reside in the community of origin.

Family, relatives, and acquaintances have been found to be important sources of information about opportunities in alternative areas of residence. It

can therefore be expected that young persons who have family or relatives who have migrated are more likely to migrate themselves. Moreover, they are more likely to migrate to destinations where they have such relatives and acquaintances. Conversely, those who have all their immediate relatives in the community of origin are more likely to experience a restraint on migration; actual migration is expected to be less likely among such persons.

Subjective personal variables and migrant status

Subjective personal factors that may influence career aspirations of adolescents and thus intervene in determining the migrant status of the young adult include such variables as the individual's self-concept in relation to mental ability, educational and occupational opportunity; his or her self-knowledge about interests and abilities; the estimation of job opportunities in comparison with peers in the same school or in other schools in the same region; the individual's general desire to succeed; and the relative importance of the occupational role in the individual's scale of values.

Hypothesis 8 Migrant status is directly associated with positive self-evaluation with regard to career opportunities.

An adolescent who perceives the chances of success in a career as good is not only more likely to achieve success in a chosen career but he or she is also more likely to have the initiative and other motivational qualities that stimulate migration to attain the desired goal. Favourable subjective rating of mental ability, a positive evaluation of chances of success in post-secondary education and in attaining a desired occupational role are significant factors in determining career orientations, as the Breton study shows (1972: 113-116, 129, 231-232); they can also be expected to intervene in the migration decision-making process.

Hypothesis 9 Migrant status is inversely related with estimation of job opportunities in comparison with peers.

Where the individual perceives that his chances of obtaining the desired occupation compare unfavourably with those of his peers either in the same class or in other schools in the same province, then the adolescent is more likely to migrate to seek the desired goal in another community of residence.

Hypothesis 10a Migrant status is directly associated with ambition to succeed.

Hypothesis 10b Migrant status is directly associated with valuing occupational success above alternative life goals.

Breton's study devised a measure of ambition which was intended to assess the desire to succeed without indicating any specific area of success. It is this generalized "ambition to succeed" independent of specific goals that is hypothesized as being related to migrant status. The adolescent's desire "to get ahead in the world" is expected to be a significant factor in explaining geographical mobility. Where occupational success is the specific goal desired, then this factor will also be significant in explaining geographical mobility.

Conclusion

This chapter has specified the theoretical domain for research in the present study; namely, clarification and explanation of the influence of career aspirations of youth on their geographical mobility or stability. It has been argued that actual migration or geographical stability is a mode of behaviour directed to the attainment of a desired career goal or specific goals sought through the career means. Attainment of the desired goals is mediated through structural and personal factors in the individual's opportunity structure and through perceptions of that opportunity structure, and these factors in the opportunity structure intervene to influence migrant status. This argument has led to the formulation of a set of specific hypotheses to test the relationship between career variables, objective and subjective variables in the opportunity structure of individuals, and migrant status. The following chapter will present the research procedure for testing these hypotheses.

IV. RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Origin of the Data

The present research is longitudinal, being based on the restudy of the Nova Scotia youth who were the respondents in the investigation of career decisions of Canadian youth, conducted in the 1965-66 academic year by Raymond Breton and John C. McDonald, in co-operation with the Federal Department of Manpower and Immigration and the Provincial Departments of Education (1967 and 1972).

In the original study, a stratified probability sample of 373 publicly-operated secondary schools located throughout the ten provinces of Canada was selected for investigation. The primary criteria of selection were: (1) province; and (2) type of school. Because of the relatively small number of schools which it was practicable to include in each of the groups of types of schools within each province, two secondary criteria of stratification were also used to ensure adequate representation: (1) size of community in which the schools were located; and (2) size of school by enrolment. The sample of schools thus included both large and small schools in terms of enrolment, schools situated in rural and urban communities, and schools of different types--academic, technical and vocational, commercial and composite schools.

The study included all students within secondary grades within the schools selected, rather than a random sample of students at each grade level within the schools. The rationale for this decision was that it increased the depth of student response at very small administrative cost, and it also simplified technical problems of administration of a two-stage study.

Approximately 150,000 secondary school students, drawn from all grade levels, were involved in the national survey.

In Nova Scotia, in 1965, the total number of secondary schools, eligible to be included in the study, was 134. Of these, 17 schools, located in different counties of the province, were included in the sample. As noted above, the study included all students in secondary grades in the schools selected. In Nova Scotia, with a junior and senior high school system, secondary grades comprise Grades 9 to 12 inclusive. The total enrolment of students in Grades 9 to 12 in all publicly-operated secondary schools for the year 1965-66 was 35,373. The number of secondary students in the sample of schools for study was 7,198.

Research Design

Sample for the present research

The focus of the present research is directed towards understanding the migration process of young adults in relation to their career aspirations. A critical review of the literature has indicated that both the career decision and the migration decision are related to the opportunity structure of the environment in which the individual is situated. To express the relationship very simply, young persons in search of career goals are geographically mobile or geographically stable in terms of the location of career opportunities. Census statistics indicate that during the past decade in Nova Scotia the ten-year age-span of 20-29 years evidenced heavy net out-migration. The significant aspect of these statistics is that young people who leave the province on completing their education and when starting out on their careers are not replaced apparently by young in-migrants from other regions. Moreover, concern has been expressed by the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council at the heavy out-migration among the more highly educated.

By focusing attention upon a representative sample of relatively well-educated adolescents (persons with at least some secondary education) during their secondary schooling period, studying their career aspirations and significant personal and structural factors influencing these aspirations at this stage of the life cycle, then studying the same sample of respondents after a seven-year time period when they have reached the young adult stage in life to observe their subsequent geographical mobility or stability, one should gain a much better understanding of the inter-relationship between career patterns, mobility patterns, and the opportunity structure.

For the analysis of the data obtained from the original study, Breton did not use the full national sample of 145,817 students. Taking into account the four criteria for selection of schools (province, type of school, size of community in which the school is located, and school enrolment), Breton obtained a weighted sub-sample by selecting every other student in the total sample. In undersampled schools each student was assigned a high weight. A further self-weighting sub-sample was then drawn randomly by means of a procedure which took account of the weight initially assigned to each student, to yield a national sub-sample 12,160 students (1972: 13). For example, each of 5 students from a Nova Scotia, academic school, in a community of 1,000 or less population, with an enrolment of 300 students might be assigned a weight of 10 which reflects the proportion (10%) of Nova Scotia, academic students in communities of the same size in Canada; in this hypothetical situation, 50 students would be drawn in the weighted sub-sample. (For basic data regarding the schools selected and selection of respondents for the sub-sample, see Appendix A). The sample of Nova Scotia respondents used as a test population in the present research is identical with the self-weighting sub-sample of 391 Nova Scotia secondary school students used

by Breton in his analysis of social and academic factors involved in the career decisions of Canadian youth.

In the original study, Breton and McDonald recognized the limitations of a cross-sectional design that gives a rather static picture of the phenomenon under consideration. They took several steps to offset these limitations. In particular, a second questionnaire repeating important items of the original questionnaire was administered to the students in the spring of 1966, six months after the original data were collected, in order to ascertain changes that had taken place during the school year. The Breton-McDonald study of 1965-66 provided bench-mark information on educational and occupational aspirations of Nova Scotia youth for a longitudinal analysis of their subsequent career patterns and migratory behaviour.

Operationalization of the major variables

To operationalize the variables, questions were taken from both the fall questionnaire of Breton's 1965 study and from my own follow-up questionnaire of 1972. In the 1972 study the aim was to explain the migrant status of young persons in terms of their career aspirations as adolescents. Questions in the 1972 questionnaire, therefore, were used as operational definitions of the dependent variable, migrant status, and questions in Breton's Fall 1965 questionnaire were used to test the influence of career aspirations at that time on subsequent migrant status. In this section, procedures for operationalization of the major variables used in the analysis are discussed.

1. Dependent variable: Migrant status

In the 1972 follow-up questionnaire there are 3 main indicators of migrant status:

- i. present home address as related to 1965 address;

- ii. size of community of present residence;
- iii. return to 1965 place of residence after migration
in the intervening seven years.

In addition, those who have migrated are classified as

- iv. secondary (passive) migrants, if they accompanied migrating
parents or spouse; and
primary (active) migrants, if they fall into all other categories.

These indicators have been used to classify the respondents in the following manner:

- i. Present home address. The respondents were classified, after location,
according to the following coding system:
 - non-migrant: residing in 1972 in the same town or
county of Nova Scotia as in 1965;
 - intra-provincial migrant: residing in another county of Nova
Scotia, whether contiguous or not;
 - inter-provincial migrant: residing in another province of Canada,
specified, whether contiguous or not;
 - international migrant: residing in a foreign country.
- ii. Size of community of residence, 1972. The present residence of the
respondents was classified according to 1971 Census statistics in
the following manner:
 - metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth, 100,000 and over population;
 - other metropolitan, 100,000 and over population;
 - 10,000 to 99,999 population;
 - 1,000 to 9,999 population;
 - population less than 1,000.
- iii. Returned migrants. Those presently residing in the same town or

county as their residence of 1965 are selected in terms of their response to item 47 (Appendix B). Those who respond to this question, "I have returned to reside in the same town or county," are classified as returned migrants.

- iv. Primary (active) and secondary (passive) migrants. These variations in migrant status are operationalized through the responses to item 41 (Appendix B) in which the respondent who has moved since 1965 states the main reason for moving from the 1965 residence. Those who give as the main reason any one of the response categories 1, 13, 14, 15, 16, which specify accompanying parents or spouse as the main reason, are classified as secondary migrants. Those who give any one of the other responses as the main reason for moving are classified as primary migrants.

2. Independent variables: Career variables

- a. Career aspirations. In the Breton Fall 1965 questionnaire, two indicators of career aspirations have been used.
 - i. Educational aspirations. This variable is operationalized by an item in Breton's questionnaire asking the respondent if he or she thinks of continuing education after high school. Those respondents stating they will continue their education definitely or probably full-time, and definitely or probably part-time are classified as aspiring to post-secondary education. Respondents who fall in none of these categories are classified as not aspiring to post-secondary education (Appendix C, B-3, in Fall 1965 questionnaire).
 - ii. Occupational aspirations. This variable is operationalized by an item in Breton's questionnaire asking the respondent to name

the type of work or occupation he or she "would like most to have as a career." (Appendix C, D-7, in Fall 1965 questionnaire). Breton coded the responses into 96 categories using the Occupational Classification Manual (1961) of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Furthermore, Breton classified respondents who mentioned a managerial or professional occupation as "expressing a preference for a high-status occupation" (1972: 441). Although there are many weaknesses in the DBS classification as a basis for measuring level of occupational aspiration, the decision was made to keep Breton's coding system for the follow-up study, to ensure data comparability. Several modifications have been introduced, however, to give a more sociologically meaningful measure of level of occupational aspirations than that offered by the DBS classificatory system. Examination of the marginals for occupational aspirations in 1965 reveals that the respondents actually fall into only 40 of the possible 96 occupational categories (excluding 7 response categories which name an industry, but not an occupation, aspired to). These are broad categories which make re-coding according to the detailed Blishen 1961 scale based on socio-economic index values for each occupation impossible without reference to the original questionnaires completed by the students, and these are unavailable. (See Blishen, 1967.) However, the Pineo-Porter scale of occupational prestige in Canada is more helpful. This socio-economic status classification of occupations provides a gradient in occupational prestige mean scores from professional occupations to unskilled occupations (Pineo and Porter, 1967). With this information, the 96 possible occupational response categories in

the Breton study have been recoded into eight sociologically meaningful occupational categories: professional; proprietors, managers, and officials, large; semi-professional; proprietors, managers, and officials, small; clerical and sales; skilled; semi-skilled; and unskilled. Those respondents aspiring to an occupation in one of the first three categories are classified as "aspiring to a high status occupation"; those respondents falling into the next three categories are classified as "aspiring to a medium status occupation"; and those respondents falling into the last two categories are classified as "aspiring to a low status occupation."

b. Congruence between career aspirations and career attainments

This variable is measured in terms of both education and occupation. Respondents who attain the same level of education and/or occupation as that to which they aspired in 1965 are classified as manifesting congruence between aspiration and attainment; respondents who attain a different (whether lower or higher) level are classified as manifesting incongruence between aspiration and attainment. The measures of attainment are as follows:

- i. educational attainment--Respondents are classified as to whether or not they have some post-secondary education (Appendix B, items 7, 8, and 9 in the 1972 questionnaire).
- ii. occupational attainment--respondents are classified according to the coding system used to measure occupational aspirations (Appendix B, item 20, in the 1972 questionnaire). A separate category is created for "housewife" and another for "full-time student" in the study.

Some of the difficulties inherent in defining "congruence" and "incongruence" between aspiration and attainment will be discussed in the analysis of the data.

- c. Lack of career goal. This variable is measured by the responses given to the item in Breton's Fall 1965 questionnaire dealing with occupational aspirations (Appendix C, D-7, 8). Those male respondents who indicate preference for "no type of work or occupation in particular," that they "have not thought much about it," or that they are "not sure" are classified as having no career goal. Among females, lack of career goal is measured by the responses to the question, "Do you plan to work full-time after you finish your schooling?" Those who responded, "not at all," "have not thought about it yet" or who did not respond at all are classified as being without a career goal (Appendix C, D-19). A further measure of career indecision among both males and females is provided by the failure to respond to the item questioning the occupation to which the respondent aspires.

3. Objective structural variables

- a. Size of community of origin. This variable is measured by the size of the respondent's community of residence in 1965. In the Breton study the community of residence is defined as the location of the school which the respondent attended in 1965 at the time of completing the questionnaire. In some cases, the school was located in a community larger than that in which the respondent resided. For example, in the 1972 follow-up one found respondents who lived in a rural community and commuted daily (sometimes long distances) to attend an urban or metropolitan school, particularly a vocational school, when they were students.

However, this situation occurred in relatively few cases. Sociologically, it is meaningful to define the community of origin for the high school student as the location of his school, a significant community of orientation, and in most cases identical with his community of residence.

- b. Family size. This variable is measured by adding brothers and sisters and the individual respondent to obtain a value (Appendix B, 65, 66).
- c. Socio-economic status origin. Using Breton's Fall 1965 questionnaire, the respondent's socio-economic status origin is measured by the occupational status of the father at that time (Appendix C, G-1). This is the measure of socio-economic status of the respondent's family used by Breton in his analysis. In the present research, however, Breton's definitions for high, middle, and low socio-economic status origin have not been used. Instead, the same classificatory system obtained by recoding occupational aspirations of the respondents in line with the Pineo-Porter scale of occupational prestige was used. Thus the respondents are classified in the 1972 analysis in the following categories:

Professional	)	High
Proprietors, managers, and officials, large)	)	socio-economic
Semi-professional	)	status origin
Proprietors, managers, and officials, small)	)	Middle
Clerical and sales	)	socio-economic
Skilled	)	status origin
Semi-skilled	)	Low
Unskilled	)	socio-economic
	)	status origin

- d. Migratory behaviour of family of orientation. Several items in the 1972 follow-up questionnaire measure this variable. Item 41 indicates directly the migration of parents. Items 68, 71, and 72 classify siblings and aunts and uncles according to their present place of residence, so that a score can be calculated. For migrant respondents, items 43 and 44 indicate whether relatives lived in the area of destination (Appendix B).

4. Subjective personal variables

a. Self-concept. In the Breton study there are several indicators of this variable. Only three items are selected for analysis in the follow-up study to test their influence on migration. The respondents were asked to give a subjective estimation of their mental ability rank, of their chances of success in post-secondary school, and of their chances of success in the job of their choice, respectively, in the following questions (Appendix C, F-20, B-12, and F-22):

"Where do you think you stand in intelligence in relation to the students in your class?"

"Suppose you continued your education after high school. Thinking of your ability, how good do you think your chances would be of being successful in getting a degree or diploma?"

"Even with a good education, a person like me will have a tough time getting the job he wants." (The respondent is asked to agree or disagree with this statement.)

b. Job opportunities compared with peers. Two items in the Breton study are used to measure this variable. The respondents were asked to estimate their chances of getting a good job as compared with their peers in the same school and in other high schools in the same province (Appendix C, D-32 and D-33).

c. Ambition to succeed. Breton used three items to devise a measure of ambition that would be somewhat independent of specific goals, the intention being that in answering the question the respondent could choose the frame of reference that suited (1972: 123-124; 443). The same items used for analysis in this study are the following (Appendix C, E-2, E-3, and E-11):

"The most important thing for a parent to do is to help his children get further ahead in the world than he did."

"A person should try to do what he does better than anyone else."

"I would make any sacrifice to get ahead in the world."

- d. Occupational primacy. Breton used Kahl's concept of occupational primacy to refer to "achievement values that put occupational success ahead of alternative possibilities" and measured this concept by three items in Kahl's occupational primacy measure (1972: 120-121):

"The best way to judge a man is by his success in his occupation."

"The job should come first, even if it means sacrificing time from recreation."

"The most important purpose of high schools is to prepare people for their occupational career."

These three items in Breton's Fall 1965 questionnaire have been used in the follow-up analysis of the relationship between occupational primacy and migrant status (Appendix C, E-4, E-8, and E-9).

Location of the original respondents

The initial data were obtained from questionnaires administered to students in school. To collect the longitudinal data necessary to achieve the objectives of this study, the sample of respondents from the original survey had to be traced. With the permission of the Nova Scotia Department of Education (to which the data now belong) and the co-operation of Professor Breton, the respondents in the Nova Scotia sample were identified by school, name, sex, age, and grade in 1965. Early in May, 1972, a personal letter, accompanied by a Department of Education letter of authorization, was sent to the principal of each of the 17 schools of the province involved in the study advising him of the follow-up study and announcing that the researcher

would contact him by phone to arrange a visit to the school in the immediate future. During the last three weeks of May, a feasibility study was carried out. In this the researcher visited each of the 17 schools and enlisted the help of the principals and school staff concerned to obtain current addresses of the respondents through school records, knowledge of respondents, personal contact of family, relatives and/or friends. Not all respondents were traced in this initial visit of the communities involved, but a sufficiently high proportion (approximately 70 per cent) were located to indicate that the longitudinal study would be feasible.

This initial visit to the communities of origin was of even greater value to the research than had been anticipated. In the first place, it gave a general introduction to the study to all the persons contacted--school personnel, community residents, respondents' families, and respondents themselves; these persons had an opportunity to ask questions about the nature of the study and to receive answers from the researcher in person. Secondly, the visit helped to establish good rapport and to facilitate the eventual interview. Thirdly, it suggested significant information to be gathered in the data collection. Lastly, it provided valuable first-hand knowledge of the demographic structure and way of life in the community of origin of the respondents.

Pretesting

A questionnaire was designed to obtain information about the respondent's residential stability or mobility and stated reasons for this stability or mobility; high school attainment; post-secondary education; occupational aspirations, expectations, and attainment; marital status; income; spouse's education, occupation, and income; the education, occupation, and residence of immediate family and relatives. Many of the questions asked

were replications of items used in the student questionnaires administered in the original 1965-66 study. For example, if a student had planned in 1965 to leave high school before finishing, he was asked to indicate the main reason for leaving; in the 1972 study, if a respondent had left high school before finishing, the same response categories from the original questionnaire were used to indicate the main reason for actually leaving high school before finishing. Those items in the research which are replications of items used in the Breton study have been marked accordingly in the questionnaire which appears in Appendix B.

In June, 1972, before beginning the data collection for the main study, a pre-test was conducted by administering the questionnaire in an interview with 4 migrants from Nova Scotia now resident in Ontario, 4 migrants within the province of Nova Scotia, and 4 non-migrants in Halifax city, all within approximately the same age category as the respondents and with at least high school education, but not included in the study sample. In the interview the respondent was free to respond spontaneously to each question as it was asked. The researcher used a pre-coded questionnaire schedule to code the response. It was found that an interview took somewhat more or less than half an hour, depending on the number of relatives about whom information was required. On the basis of the experience gained in the pre-test, the questionnaire was modified and amended.

Data Collection

To ensure a high response rate and accuracy of content, the decision was made to interview the respondents as far as possible, rather than use a mailed questionnaire. Such a method of data collection had the added advantage of giving the researcher first-hand knowledge of the present areas of residence of the respondents, the key variable in the study. When a respondent could not

be contacted for a personal interview, either because he or she was away on the occasions on which the researcher visited the community or because the respondent now lives in a remote and relatively inaccessible area of Canada or abroad, then a mailed questionnaire was used. In all cases of mailed questionnaires, either a member of the family (usually a parent) or even the respondent had first been contacted personally to explain the nature and objectives of the study and to acquaint the respondent about the study. When a mailed questionnaire was used, the respondent was told in an accompanying letter the name of the person who had provided the respondent's present address, and the researcher asked for co-operation in the study.

The data were collected in interviews in the eastern provinces during August, September, and October, 1972, the greater part of the time being spent in Nova Scotia. Interviews in western Canada were conducted during the first three weeks of November. A research assistant was trained to interview approximately 20 per cent of the respondents, all located in metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth, and all previously contacted either directly or indirectly through their families by the researcher. Thus, all the interviews were conducted over a period of approximately six months in the spring, summer, and fall of 1972; at the same time the researcher studied all the communities of origin and most of the destination communities of the respondents.

Table 5 presents the distribution of the sample by form of response to the questionnaire. In all, the very high response rate of 97.5 per cent was obtained. Of the 391 persons in the sample, 346 (88.5%) were interviewed; 35 (9%) returned mailed questionnaires; 3 persons failed to return mailed questionnaires (or failed to receive them); and 3 could not be found, although their community of residence was known; 4 persons have died since the original study of 1965.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY FORM OF RESPONSE, BY SEX, 1972

Form of response	Males	Females	Total
Interview	86.2% (162)	90.6% (184)	88.5% (346)
Mailed questionnaire	10.1% (19)	7.9% (16)	9.0% (35)
No return of mailed questionnaire	0.5% (1)	1.0% (2)	0.8% (3)
Not found	1.6% (3)	0.0% (0)	0.8% (3)
Deceased	1.6% (3)	0.5% (1)	1.0% (4)
Total	100.0% (188)	100.0% (203)	100.0% (391)

From the six living persons who did not complete questionnaires some information was obtained, either from the respondent or a reliable informant, and this information has been included in the processing of data. The death rate among the respondents is compared in Table 6 with the death rate of the same age group in Nova Scotia and in Canada. In all cases of death, the year of death, cause of death, and age at death were ascertained.

TABLE 6

DEATH RATE AMONG RESPONDENTS COMPARED WITH DEATH RATE IN NOVA SCOTIA, CANADA, (1970)^a

	Death rate, 20-24 age group		
	Males	Females	Both sexes
Research sample	1.6%	0.5%	1.0%
Nova Scotia	2.1%	0.5%	1.3%
Canada	1.8%	0.6%	1.1%

^aSource: SC /84-202, Vital Statistics, 1970.

Analysis of Data

Since the level of measurement established for the dependent variable (migrant status) is nominal and that for the major independent variables (with a few exceptions) is nominal or ordinal, it is obvious that an analysis of variance technique cannot be used. The most appropriate procedure for analysis of relationships between nominal variables or between nominal and ordinal variables seems to be the use of bi-variate and multi-variate contingency tables, and this is the procedure adopted in the research.

The technical problem involved in analysis is the study and interpretation of complex inter-relations among a multiplicity of characteristics, identified and operationalized at two different points in time, of a single sample of respondents. Thus two data sets must be successfully merged. To facilitate data handling, recoding, and transformation of variables as well as actual statistical analysis of the data, it was decided to use the packaged computer programme, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Thus analysis of the data is both facilitated and limited by the measures of association and tests of significance available in this programme.

In the general case of the contingency table with r rows and c columns, and where nominal-scale variables have been cross-tabulated, the Chi-square test is an appropriate test of significance. The aim is to test whether the observed relationships in the sample of respondents could have occurred by chance or whether they can be generalized to the population of students of publicly-operated secondary schools of Nova Scotia in 1965. Random factors might account for weak observed relationships. In the Chi-square test the level of significance at which the null hypothesis is to be rejected or accepted will be specified in each table. Since the sample is relatively small, and frequently a third variable (such as sex or marital

status) will be introduced for elaboration and elucidation of the relationship between independent and dependent variables, levels of significance as high as .10 will be taken into account in the consideration as to whether the trend observed in the table is clearcut enough to lead to rejection of the null hypothesis. At the same time, there is always the danger of committing a type II error, that is, of failing to reject a null hypothesis when it is actually false, and consequently of losing a valid finding of the research. This is particularly likely to occur when elaboration (for example, studying a relationship between variables among married, migrant, females compared with single, migrant females) leads to a very small N.

The strength of the relationship between nominal variables will be measured by Pearson's Contingency Coefficient, available for the SPSS cross-tabulation sub-programme. Pearson's Contingency Coefficient adjusts chi-square for chi-square plus N. Its formula is: $C = \frac{\chi^2}{\sqrt{\chi^2 + N}}$. The contingency coefficient equals zero when there is no association between variables, but its upper limit never reaches unity. The upper limit of the contingency coefficient is a function of the number of categories. The value of C ranges from 0 to .707 for a 2 x 2 table; as the size of the table increases, the upper limit of C increases (to .816 for a 3 x 3 table; to .949 for a 10 x 10 table). For this reason it can only be used to compare tables that have the same dimensions. The contingency coefficient makes no assumptions about the shape of the population of scores and it does not require continuity in the variables under analysis.

In some instances, where the independent variables under investigation in terms of relationship are interval, and the dependent variable (migrant status) can be collapsed into two categories (migrant and non-migrant), Pearson's zero-order product-moment correlation coefficient is used as a measure of association.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the research procedure for the present longitudinal study of the influence of career aspirations of youth on their subsequent migrant status. The sampling procedure used by Breton in the original study has been outlined to indicate how the panel of 391 respondents, representative of the population of secondary school students in publicly-operated Nova Scotia high schools of 1965-66, was obtained. The methods used to locate the original respondents and to collect the data have been presented. The procedures used for operationalizing the major variables and for analysing the data have also been discussed. Chapter V will present the major characteristics of the sample. From these findings, a profile will be drawn of three categories of respondents: migrants, non-migrants, and returned migrants.

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

The problem proposed in this research into the function of career aspirations in the migration process is to account for geographical mobility or geographical stability of youth in terms of their aspirations and other related objective and subjective variables. The year 1965 in which the original study of career decisions of Canadian youth was conducted is taken as the benchmark to establish the community of origin for the respondents in the present study. Migrant status in 1972 is defined in terms of the respondent's present address in relation to the 1965 community of residence; geographical mobility or stability in the intervening seven years is also taken into account to establish migrant status. The respondents are then classified in terms of major characteristics by their migrant status.

Major Characteristics of the Sample

Migrant status

Tables 7a, 7b, and 7c present the distribution of the respondents by migrant status. Table 7a gives the actual 1972 residence of the respondents as compared with the 1965 residence; that is, respondents are categorized as residing in the same Nova Scotia county, in another county of Nova Scotia, in another Canadian province or outside Canada. Table 7b classifies the respondents as non-migrants, intra-provincial migrants, other Atlantic provincial migrants, other inter-provincial migrants, and international migrants. Table 7b makes an important modification. It became apparent in interviewing the respondents that many who resided in 1972 in the same county as their community of origin in 1965 had actually migrated in the intervening seven years and subsequently returned to their community of origin. In fact, 73 respondents (18.9%) were returned

TABLE 7a

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY 1972 RESIDENCE
AS COMPARED TO 1965 RESIDENCE, BY SEX

1972 community of residence	Males	Females	Total
Same N.S. county	54.6% (98)	55.2% (113)	54.5% (211)
Other N.S. county	22.7 (41)	23.2 (47)	22.7 (88)
Nfld.	1.7 (3)	1.0 (2)	1.3 (5)
N.B.	3.3 (6)	3.0 (6)	3.1 (12)
P.E.I.	1.1 (2)	0.5 (1)	0.8 (3)
Que.	0.6 (1)	0.5 (1)	0.5 (2)
Ont.	9.4 (17)	6.4 (13)	8.3 (32)
Man.	1.7 (3)	1.0 (2)	1.3 (5)
Sask.	0.0 (0)	0.5 (1)	0.3 (1)
Alta.	2.2 (4)	1.5 (3)	1.8 (7)
B.C.	2.2 (4)	3.4 (7)	2.8 (11)
N.W.T.	0.5 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.3 (1)
Outside Canada	1.5 (3)	3.0 (6)	2.3 (9)
Total	100.0% (185)	100.0% (202)	100.0% (387)

migrants. Of the 391 respondents who were all attending Nova Scotia secondary schools in 1965-66, only 138 respondents (35.7%) can be classified as non-migrants. Table 7c classifies the respondents as non-migrants, migrants, and returned migrants, to give a total of 176 (45.4%) migrants. Among the migrants, the

TABLE 7b

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PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO MIGRANT STATUS, BY SEX

Migrant status	Males	Females	Total
Non-migrant	34.8% (65)	35.6% (73)	35.7% (138)
Returned migrant	17.9 (33)	19.7 (40)	18.9 (73)
Intra-provincial migrant	22.3 (41)	23.2 (47)	22.7 (88)
Other Atlantic inter-provincial migrant	6.0 (11)	4.4 (9)	5.2 (20)
Other Canadian inter-provincial migrant	17.4 (32)	13.3 (27)	15.2 (59)
International migrant	1.6 (3)	3.0 (6)	2.3 (9)
Total	100.0% (185)	100.0% (202)	100.0% (387)

TABLE 7c

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED AS NON-MIGRANTS, MIGRANTS, AND RETURNED MIGRANTS, BY SEX

Migrant status	Males	Females	Total
Non-migrant	34.8% (65)	36.5% (73)	35.7% (138)
Migrant	47.3 (87)	43.8 (89)	45.4 (176)
Returned migrant	17.9 (33)	19.7 (40)	18.9 (73)
Total	100.0% (185)	100.0% (202)	100.0% (387)

majority are intra-provincial migrants, residing in other counties of Nova Scotia. A further 5% have migrated to other provinces in the Atlantic region, giving a total of approximately 28% of the respondents who are migrants residing in the Atlantic region. In terms of inter-provincial migration, as was expected, Ontario was the province that received the highest proportion (8%) of inter-provincial migrants. Only a small percentage (2%) of respondents are inter-national migrants.

Size of 1972 community of residence

The present residence of the respondents is also characterized in terms of a basic structural variable: community size. The definition of community size conformed to census usage: communities having a population of 100,000 or more (including metropolitan areas); communities with 10,000 to 99,999 population; communities with 1,000 to 9,999 population; communities with less than 1,000 population. Since a large proportion (one-third) of the respondents presently reside in metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth, this community is separately identified. Table 8 presents the distribution of

TABLE 8
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SIZE OF
COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE, 1972, BY SEX

Size of community of residence	Males (N=185)	Females (N=201)	Total (N=386)
Over 100,000 (metro Hfx.-Dartmouth)	35.7% (66)	30.8% (62)	33.2% (128)
Over 100,000 (other metro)	14.6 (27)	10.0 (20)	12.2 (47)
10,000-99,999	9.2 (17)	13.9 (28)	11.7 (45)
1,000- 9,999	21.1 (39)	18.9 (38)	19.9 (77)
Less than 1,000	19.5 (36)	26.4 (53)	23.1 (89)
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

respondents by size of 1972 community of residence. In 1972 almost half the respondents reside in metropolitan areas (45%); but it is to be noted also that 23% reside in communities of less than 1,000 population.

Primary and secondary migrants

Migrants (including returned migrants) are classified as primary migrants and secondary migrants in terms of their responses to a single item in the follow-up questionnaire (Appendix B, item 41)¹. Table 9 presents the percentage distribution of migrants classified as primary migrants and secondary migrants.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED AS PRIMARY MIGRANTS AND SECONDARY MIGRANTS, BY SEX

Migrant type	Males	Females	Total
Primary migrants	89.7% (105)	73.2% (93)	83.6% (198)
Secondary migrants	10.3 (12)	26.8 (34)	16.4 (46)
Total	100.0% (117)	100.0% (127)	100.0% (244)

¹As noted above, respondents who indicated that their main reason for moving was "to continue my education" are classified among the category of primary migrants; in other words, the student, defined as a migrant, is assumed to be an active decision-making migrant, even though parents or significant others might have influenced the decision to migrate.

The data in Table 9 indicate that only 16% of the migrants can be classified as secondary migrants. Among the primary migrants, over a quarter (29%) stated that they first migrated to continue their education. More than 25% migrated for work reasons--15% to take a job that was waiting for them, 6% to look for a job in line with their qualification, 6% to look for any kind of job. Less than 2% stated explicitly that they migrated "to make more money" as the main reason; and, if one can interpret "to get ahead in life" as an economic motive, the percentage is not appreciably increased, since only 2 respondents gave this as the main reason for migration. On the other hand, 12% stated that their main reason for migration was to travel or for a change. Analysis of the marginals by sex, however, reveals important differences (Appendix D, Table I). Whereas 26.8% of the females are secondary migrants, only 10.3% of the males fall into this category. And among females, 18% stated that their main reason for migrating was to accompany their husbands who migrated for job reasons. On the other hand, 12% of the females gave as their reason for migrating the desire for a change, as compared with 3% of the males. These sex differences suggest that the opportunity structure differs for males and females. The data also indicate that analysis of the relationship between career variables and migrant status should not only be controlled for sex but also be analysed in terms of the marital status of females. The data suggest single females and married females with similar aspirations and of the same age may well behave differently in terms of residential mobility or stability.

Influence of relatives, friends or others on migration

Although 80% of the migrants stated that they had already known someone living in their receiving community (with approximately half the migrants giving members of the immediate family as the person known; and approximately a fifth giving a girl friend or a boy friend as the person known), only a half

of these stated that someone had suggested that they move to their present community of residence (an employer, 30%; the spouse, 28%; a member of the immediate family, 20%). These data (presented in Table II, Appendix D) suggest that migrants do move to regions where they already know someone; they also indicate the importance of job transfer in migration. The hypothesis that having migrant relatives does in fact influence the migrant status of respondents will be tested later in the analysis.

A Selected Profile of Migrants, Non-Migrants, and Returned Migrants

The findings of the 1972 follow-up study make possible a description of the original 1965 sample in terms of their present migrant status as it is related to major personal and structural characteristics, such as age, sex, marital status, level of educational attainment at the secondary and post-secondary level, family background, and social and geographical origin characteristics. The findings of the Breton study are also used to describe the background characteristics of the sample. The present chapter will be limited to a descriptive analysis of the data. The following chapter will deal with career variables and with personal and structural factors that are hypothesized to act as independent or intervening variables in the migration process.

Table 10 presents a summary table of major characteristics of the sample by migrant status. The more detailed tables are contained in Appendix D.

Age

All the respondents are young adults ranging in age from 19 years to 28 years, the median age for the sample being 22.8 years and the mode being 22 years. The marginals indicate that the median age for migrants tends to be slightly lower than that for non-migrants; the median age for returned migrants equals that of the sample, and lies between that for the other two categories (Table III, Appendix D).

TABLE 10a
MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS BY MIGRANT STATUS

Migrant status	Age		Marital status			Level of secondary education		Post-secondary educational attainment		Present level of occupational prestige		
	19-23 yrs.	24-28 yrs.	Single	Now married	Other	Gr. 12 completed	Less than Gr. 12	Yes	No	High	Medium	Low
Migrants	46.4% (117)	43.3% (58)	46.3% (81)	43.8% (88)	50.0% (4)	47.4% (101)	44.3% (74)	49.6% (132)	35.8% (43)	58.8% (50)	35.3% (67)	49.1% (26)
Returned migrants	19.8% (50)	17.2% (23)	20.6% (36)	17.4% (35)	25.0% (2)	17.8% (38)	18.6% (31)	18.4% (49)	20.0% (24)	20.0% (17)	23.2% (44)	13.2% (7)
Non-migrants	33.7% (85)	39.6% (53)	33.1% (58)	38.8% (78)	25.0% (2)	34.7% (74)	37.1% (62)	32.0% (85)	44.2% (53)	21.2% (18)	41.6% (79)	37.7% (20)
Total	100.0% (252)	100.0% (134)	100.0% (175)	100.0% (201)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (213)	100.0% (167)	100.0% (266)	100.0% (120)	100.0% (85)	100.0% (190)	100.0% (53)
	Chi-square = 1.35181 d.f.=2 C = .05908		Chi-square = 1.92659 d.f.=4 C = .07065			Chi-square = .37171 d.f.=2 C = .03126		Chi-square = 7.02736** d.f.=2 C = .13372		Chi-square = 16.84683**** d.f.=4 C = .22103		

Level of significance: *.10; **.05; ***.02; ****.01; *****.001. This notation will be used in all tables in future. No asterisk indicates that the chi-square value obtained is not significant.

TABLE 10b
MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS BY MIGRANT STATUS, MALES

Migrant status	Age		Marital status		Level of secondary education		Post-secondary educational attainment		Present level of occupational prestige		
	19-23 yrs.	24-28 yrs.	Single	Now married	Gr. 12 completed	Less than Gr. 12	Yes	No	High	Medium	Low
Migrants	50.5% (52)	42.0% (34)	47.5% (47)	45.7% (37)	51.0% (52)	43.8% (35)	50.7% (68)	36.0% (18)	68.2% (30)	31.4% (22)	48.8% (21)
Returned migrants	18.4% (19)	17.3% (14)	23.2% (23)	11.1% (9)	15.7% (16)	18.8% (15)	20.1% (27)	12.0% (6)	9.1% (4)	28.6% (20)	14.0% (6)
Non-migrants	31.1% (32)	40.7% (33)	29.3% (29)	43.2% (35)	33.3% (34)	37.5% (30)	29.1% (39)	52.0% (26)	22.7% (10)	40.0% (28)	37.2% (16)
Total	100.0% (103)	100.0% (81)	100.0% (99)	100.0% (81)	100.0% (102)	100.0% (80)	100.0% (134)	100.0% (50)	100.0% (44)	100.0% (70)	100.0% (43)
	Chi-square = 1.93767 d.f. 2 C = .10208	Chi-square = 6.1394** d.f. 2 C = .18161	Chi-square = .95876 d.f. 2 C = .07239	Chi-square = 8.44577*** d.f. 2 C = .20949	Chi-square = 16.58786**** d.f. 4 C = .30913						

TABLE 10c

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS BY MIGRANT STATUS, FEMALES

Migrant status	Age		Marital status		Level of secondary education		Post-secondary educational attainment		Present level of occupational prestige		
	19-23 yrs.	24-28 yrs.	Single	Now married	Gr. 12 completed	Less than Gr. 12	Yes	No	High	Medium	Low
Migrants	43.6% (65)	45.3% (24)	44.7% (34)	42.5% (51)	44.1% (49)	44.8% (39)	48.5% (64)	35.7% (25)	48.8% (20)	37.5% (45)	50.0% (5)
Returned migrants	20.8% (31)	17.0% (9)	17.1% (13)	21.7% (26)	19.8% (22)	18.4% (16)	16.7% (22)	25.7% (18)	31.7% (13)	20.0% (24)	10.0% (1)
Non-migrants	35.6% (53)	37.7% (20)	38.2% (29)	35.8% (43)	36.0% (40)	36.8% (32)	34.8% (46)	38.6% (27)	19.5% (8)	42.5% (51)	40.0% (4)
Total	100.0% (149)	100.0% (53)	100.0% (76)	100.0% (120)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (87)	100.0% (132)	100.0% (70)	100.0% (41)	100.0% (120)	100.0% (10)
	Chi-square = .36387 d.f. 2 C = .04240	Chi-square = .6087 d.f. 2 C = .05564	Chi-square = .06448 d.f. 2 C = .01804	Chi-square = 3.75957 d.f. 2 C = .13517	Chi-square = 8.17382* d.f. 4 C = .21359						

Sex

Table 7c has presented the distribution of the sample by migrant status and sex. The data indicate that sex alone is not a significant factor in predicting migrant status; however, sex will be controlled in analysing the relationship between other variables and migrant status, and the percentage distribution of the respondents by sex on major variables is contained in the detailed tables in Appendix D. In general, a higher proportion of males than females are migrants, and a slightly higher proportion of females than males are returned migrants. This raises the question of whether females migrate when they are single and then return home "to settle down". The data for migration in relation to marital status do not seem to indicate this.

Marital status

In terms of marital status, whereas among non-migrants 42% are single and 57% are now married, among migrants 47% are single and 51% are now married; the returned migrants are evenly distributed in migrant status, 49% being single and 48% being now married (Table IV, Appendix D). Table 10 presents the classification of respondents by marital status and migrant status. While there is no statistically significant difference among non-migrants, migrants, and returned migrants with regard to marital status in the sample as a whole, when sex is controlled marital status becomes a significant independent variable influencing migrant status among males: single males are more migratory than married males; only 29% of the single males are non-migrants as compared with 43% of the married males. On the other hand, marital status is not a variable significantly influencing migrant status among females: single and married females are distributed fairly evenly among the non-migrant, migrant, and returned migrant categories. These data raise an important issue, the direction of the relationship between mobility and marriage opportunities. Among these respondents, did mobility limit marriage opportunities? or

marriage opportunity limit mobility? The findings suggest that marital status should be controlled in analysing the relationship between career variables and migration. Since a high proportion (58%) of the married respondents have a marriage partner who was born in the same county of Nova Scotia, and three-quarters have married Nova Scotians (see Table V, Appendix D), these respondents are apparently pursuing their careers and building their married life in the 1965 community of origin.

It must be borne in mind that the respondents in the sample are all young adults (half of them being under 23 years of age); within this age-group it is the younger males and the single males who show the greatest propensity to migrate. In Table 11 the sample is compared with the Nova Scotia population of young adults aged 20-29 years in terms of their marital status. As compared to the Nova Scotia population in the 20-24 age-group, both males and females in the sample have married in greater proportions. This is contrary to what might be expected of this sample. It is a sample of relatively well-educated respondents. One would assume that the level of education of the sample would be higher than that of the total Nova Scotia population of the same age-group; and it would seem reasonable to hypothesize that the better educated would marry at a slightly older age than the less well educated. Yet the data seem to suggest the opposite. Some clarification of this apparent paradox is provided by further analysis of the data in terms of educational attainment, especially at the post-secondary level.

Educational attainment

At the secondary level.--Ninety-four per cent of the sample continued their high school education in the same town or county as that in which they resided in 1965; and 96% left high schools in Nova Scotia. Whereas 58% of the migrants completed Grade 12, only 54% of the non-migrants and 55% of the returned migrants completed Grade 12 (Table VI, Appendix D). It must be noted,

TABLE 11

MARITAL STATUS OF SAMPLE BY AGE GROUP AND SEX COMPARED TO NOVA SCOTIA POPULATION

Marital status	Nova Scotia population ^a (in thousands)							Research sample							
	Age-group							Age-group							
	20-24 years				25-29 years			20-24 years				25-29 years			
	M	F	Total		M	F	Total (N=323)	M	F	Total (N=323)	M	F	Total (N=58)		
Single	64.7% (22.4)	41.6% (14.1)	53.3% (36.5)		23.7% (6.3)	13.1% (3.3)	18.2% (9.7)		59.9% (85)	38.7% (70)	48.0% (155)		35.9% (14)	21.1% (4)	31.0% (18)
Married ^b	35.0% (12.1)	57.6% (19.4)	46.1% (31.6)		75.2% (20.1)	85.0% (21.8)	80.3% (41.9)		40.1% (57)	60.2% (109)	51.4% (166)		64.1% (25)	78.9% (15)	69.0% (40)
Other	0.3% (0.1)	0.8% (0.3)	0.6% (0.4)		1.1% (0.3)	1.9% (0.5)	1.5% (0.8)		0.0% (0)	1.1% (2)	0.6% (2)		0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)

^aSource : 1971 Census of Canada, #92-730, Marital Status by Age Groups; Table 2: 2-1^bIncludes separated

however, that it is possible to enter certain universities in Nova Scotia and other Atlantic provinces (as in other parts of Canada) on the completion of Grade 11. Virtually all (90%) of those respondents who attend university did so in the Atlantic region; and, in all, 15 (4%) of the respondents attended university without completing Grade 12.

The distribution of the respondents by educational attainment at the secondary level as related to migrant status is presented in Table 10. Although the differences by migrant status are not statistically significant, they do help to draw a profile of the three categories, migrants, non-migrants, and returned migrants.

At the post-secondary level.--A high proportion of the respondents (69%) have continued their education after high school, either on a full-time or part-time basis (Table VII, Appendix D). Among those who have continued their education, two years is the mean number of years of post-secondary education. Most (35%) have gone to college or university; 20% have attended business college; 13% have attended an institute of technology or similar school (Table VIII, Appendix D). In the seven years since the original survey, 51 respondents (13% of the total sample) have obtained a university degree, certificate or diploma, and 129 respondents (33% of the total sample) have completed a full-time vocational or apprenticeship course.

Half of those who continued their education beyond high school did so in their county of origin, and 84% of those who continued did so in within the province of Nova Scotia. Ontario was the province chosen for post-secondary education among 9% of those who continued. Only 3 respondents have continued their education outside Canada (Table IX, Appendix D).

Table VII, Appendix D, differentiating between non-migrants, migrants, and returned migrants in terms of their distribution on whether or not they have continued their education (either full-time or part-time) after high

school shows that only 62% of the non-migrants, as compared to 75% of the migrants and 67% of the returned migrants, continued their education after high school. Table 10 presents the data on the relationship between post-secondary education and migrant status. Continuation of education at the post-secondary level is significantly related to migration. When sex is controlled, the relationship holds even more firmly for males, but not for females. In other words, the data confirm that migration is selective of the better educated, particularly the better educated males. Moreover, in this sample a higher proportion of males (73% of the total males) than females (65%) have continued their education beyond high school. But it has already been indicated that part of the migration selectivity of the better educated may in fact be migration to seek the higher education available in large urban areas. The responses to item 41 in the follow-up questionnaire reveal that 39 males (10% of the total sample) and 32 females (8% of the total sample) did in fact migrate to continue their education (Table 1, Appendix D). On the other hand, the data do seem to indicate some genuine migration differentials by post-secondary educational level of attainment. There is greater need for job mobility as one goes from the lower to the higher educational groups.

It has been suggested above that the relationship between post-secondary education and marital status should be examined. The data show that for females with post-secondary education at college or university two-thirds are still single and only one-third is married. In other words, the most highly educated females in the sample tend to be single in greater proportion than females in the sample as a whole (38%). Among college-educated males, 64% are single and 36% are married, as compared to 54% and 44%, respectively, among males in the total sample. These data are summarized in Table 12, which should be compared with Table 11.

TABLE 12

COLLEGE-EDUCATED RESPONDENTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND AGE-GROUP, 1972, COMPARED TO TOTAL SAMPLE

Marital status	Age-group						College- educated total	Research sample total
	20-24 years			25-29 years				
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total		
Single	74.1% (40)	65.4% (17)	63.1% (57)	9.1% (1)	0	9.1% (1)	63.8% (58)	45.4% (173)
Married ^a	25.9% (14)	34.6% (9)	36.9% (23)	90.9% (10)	0	90.9% (10)	36.2% (33)	54.1% (206)
Other								0.5% (2)
Sub-total	100.0% (54)	100.0% (26)	100.0% (80)	100.0% (11)		100.0% (11)		
Grand total							100.0% (91)	100.0% (381)

^aIncludes separated

Educational financing

Relatively few respondents were financed by their families to continue their post-secondary education. For 10% of those who continued, the family financed the total cost; another 10% stated that the family contributed about half to three-quarters of the total cost; and 17% stated that the family contributed about a quarter of the cost (Table X, Appendix D). A student loan from the government, the Department of Manpower or a summer job has been the main source of finance for post-secondary education, with employers often financing part-time post-secondary education. Of those who continued their education, 63% stated that the family contributed none of the direct costs of

post-secondary education; however, these data do not take into account those respondents who received free room, food, clothing, and other necessities of life through living at home as students.

Occupational status

Of the respondent.--Only one per cent of the respondents are unemployed. In terms of their distribution in the occupational structure: 22% of the respondents are in professional, semi-professional, technical and managerial high-prestige occupations; 49% are in clerical, sales, and skilled medium-prestige occupations; 14% are in semi-skilled and unskilled low-prestige occupations. Three per cent of the respondents give housewife as their normal occupation and 11% are full-time students. Within the high-prestige occupations, teachers and nurses rank first and second, respectively, in frequency. The modal occupational category of the respondents is office secretary, including a wide variety of occupations, such as stenographers, typists, office appliance operators, ticket agents, doctors' and dentists' attendants, key punch operators, typists for computer tape, bank clerks, desk clerks. In all, 18.5% of the respondents fall into this occupational category. The detailed tabulation of the distribution of respondents by occupation is presented in the Appendix D (Tables XI to XIII). These tables compare migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants in their distribution among the eight occupational categories. Greater proportions of migrants and return migrants than non-migrants are employed in the highest-ranking professional occupations. On the other hand, there is a clear gradient in the opposite direction among the three groups of respondents in the clerical and sales occupations. A high proportion of the return migrants are skilled workers, and a relatively high proportion are semi-professionals, but all these semi-professional returned migrants are females (mainly graduate nurses

or teachers). The non-migrants are heavily concentrated in the clerical and sales occupations (especially among females) and the skilled occupations (especially among males). These data indicate that migrants are more highly represented in the high-prestige occupations than non-migrants and that within this occupational category respondents in the professional occupations (both males and females) tend to be migratory in relatively high proportions.

Table 10 classifies the respondents by three broad categories of occupational prestige and migrant status, according to the occupational classificatory system outlined in Chapter IV, and excluding those respondents who are full-time students, housewives or unemployed. The data show that occupation is directly associated with migrant status (Contingency Coefficient = .22 for the total sample, .30 for males, and .21 for females). Moreover, the relationship is statistically significant at the .01 level for the total sample and for males (but only at the .10 level for females). These data confirm that migration tends to be selective of young adults (especially males) in the high-prestige professional, managerial, and semi-professional occupations.

It will be noted in Table 10 that a high proportion of respondents in low-prestige occupations are also migrants. These findings are elucidated by the marginals which show that half of those respondents in semi-skilled occupations are policemen (RCMP officers who are always posted away from their home province unless they have compassionate grounds for a home posting) and non-commissioned ranks in the armed forces. During the interviews several of these policemen stated that one of the several motives for taking up this occupation had been to work in different parts of Canada.

Occupational status

Of the respondent's spouse.--Among those who are now married, 73% of their spouses are presently employed full-time or part-time; 47% (39) of the wives of married male respondents are working, and 90% (112) of the

husbands of the married female respondents are working. The occupational distribution of wives and husbands of respondents is presented in Tables XIVa, b, Appendix D. The modal occupation for wives is clerical work, with 43% of the wives falling into this category. Husbands of married female respondents are employed predominantly in semi-skilled occupations (31%) and clerical and sales occupations (27%).

Socio-economic background

Whereas 21% of the total sample come from a high socio-economic background, among migrants (particularly among migrant males) a higher proportion than this are of high socio-economic background; among returned migrants and non-migrants, on the other hand, lower proportions are from a high socio-economic background. In contrast, 42% of the total sample are of low socio-economic background, and a slightly higher proportion of non-migrants (particularly non-migrant females) are of low socio-economic background; a much higher proportion of returned migrants (57%) are of low socio-economic background; and a lower proportion of migrants (particularly migrant males) are of low socio-economic background. Among non-migrant males a much higher proportion are of medium socio-economic background than in the sample as a whole (Table XV, Appendix D). These data suggest that migrants, especially male migrants, tend to be of high socio-economic background; returned migrants, especially female returned migrants, tend to be of low socio-economic background; non-migrant males tend to be of medium socio-economic background; non-migrant females tend to be of low socio-economic background.

Family size

The data in Table XVI, Appendix D, indicate that the only child tends to be a non-migrant. The respondents from the family of 2 to 5 children are distributed in the migrant, returned migrant, and non-migrant categories in approximately the same proportions as in the sample as a whole; those

respondents who come from larger families, however, especially female respondents, tend to be migrants or returned migrants in greater proportions than the proportion of respondents from large families in the sample as a whole.

Community of origin

Table XVII in Appendix D shows that a high proportion of migrants (47%) resided in small communities of less than 1,000 population in 1965. In contrast, a high proportion of non-migrants (45%) resided in metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth in 1965, and a high proportion of returned migrant males are those respondents who resided in metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth in 1965. These data suggest that respondents residing in the smaller communities with fewer educational and occupational opportunities have migrated to communities with a more favourable opportunity structure. Respondents residing in the metropolitan area, with a number of alternative post-secondary schools and a broad range of occupational opportunities, have tended to remain geographically stable, and if males have migrated (for post-secondary education, job-training and experience or for other reasons), they have tended to return to metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth. Females who are returned migrants, on the other hand, tend to be those from the smaller communities of less than 10,000 population, having returned perhaps to a local clerical or sales job or to get married.

Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter describe the major characteristics of the research sample. It has been seen that 36% of the respondents have resided continuously in the same Nova Scotia county since the original Breton study was conducted in 1965. A further 19% have returned to their 1965 place of residence, having migrated in the intervening seven years. Forty-five per cent of the respondents are migrants, the majority being intra-provincial migrants who have taken up residence elsewhere in the province of Nova Scotia.

Almost half the respondents reside in metropolitan areas.

Of those who have migrated since 1965, over 50% have migrated for educational or occupational reasons, and the data indicate that migrants tend to move to communities where they already know someone, usually a relative.

The data presented in this chapter have also sketched in broad outline a profile of migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants as compared in terms of age, marital status, educational level, family background, family size, and geographical origin. Migrants (both males and females) and returned migrant males have continued their education at the post-secondary level in greater proportions than have the non-migrants. Migrants are represented in greater proportions in the professional occupations than are the returned migrants or the non-migrants. Returned migrants are characteristically in higher proportions in the clerical and sales occupations, the skilled occupations, and the semi-professional occupations. Non-migrants are engaged in clerical and sales occupations, skilled and semi-skilled occupations in relatively high proportions, with few non-migrants in occupations of higher prestige. Migrants tend to come from families of higher socio-economic status than those of non-migrants, and from large families. They also tend to come from small communities. Thus the data obtained from this study appear to support the evidence in the literature describing the basic characteristics of migrants as compared with non-migrants.

This chapter has been concerned with descriptive analysis of the data. Chapter VI will focus on analysis of career variables and personal and structural variables that are hypothesized to contribute to explanation and prediction of migration.

VI. LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF CAREER ASPIRATIONS AND MIGRANT STATUS

The general hypothesis of this research has been stated as follows: the career aspirations of youth influence their migrant status as young adults. A particular advantage of the research project is that it is a longitudinal study in which the same random sample of Nova Scotia respondents who expressed their career aspirations as high-school students in 1965 has been interviewed again in 1972. The dependent variable, migrant status in 1972, has been related to data on the major independent variable, career aspirations, and on structural and personal variables, obtained in the 1965 study. Thus it has been possible to obtain direct evidence of time relationships between the dependent and independent variables; there is greater confidence for inferring from any observed relationships that career aspirations do in fact contribute to an explanation and prediction of the migrant status of young adults.

Testing Specific Hypotheses

Hypotheses relating career aspirations and migrant status

Hypothesis 1a Migrant status is directly related to the occupational aspiration level of young people. Individuals aspiring to high occupational status are more likely to migrate than individuals aspiring to low occupational status.

Hypothesis 1b Migrant status is directly related to the educational aspiration level of young people. Individuals aspiring to post-secondary education are more likely to migrate than individuals not aspiring to post-secondary education.

The data used to test Hypothesis 1a are presented in Table 13. The respondents have been classified as migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants. The occupational preferences they expressed in 1965 have been collapsed into

TABLE 13
MIGRANT STATUS IN 1972 BY OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN 1965, SEX CONTROLLED

Level of occupational aspirations										
Migrant status	High			Medium			Low			Total
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	
Migrants	50.9% (29)	42.6% (46)	45.5% (75)	37.9% (12)	41.9% (18)	40.0% (30)	61.1% (11)	37.5% (6)	50.0% (17)	44.5% (122)
Returned migrants	21.1% (12)	23.1% (25)	22.4% (37)	6.2% (2)	16.3% (7)	12.0% (9)	22.2% (4)	12.5% (2)	17.6% (6)	19.0% (52)
Non-migrants	28.1% (16)	34.3% (37)	32.1% (53)	56.3% (18)	41.9% (18)	48.0% (36)	16.7% (3)	50.0% (8)	32.4% (11)	36.5% (100)
Sub-totals	100.0% (57)	100.0% (108)	100.0% (165)	100.0% (32)	100.0% (43)	100.0% (75)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (16)	100.0% (34)	100.0% (274)
Total										

Chi-square for total sample = 7.33922, d.f. 4; C. = .16151

Chi-square for male respondents = 11.2109**, d.f. 4; C = .30796

Chi-square for female respondents = 2.51376, d.f. 4; C = .12178

three broad occupational categories: high prestige occupations, medium prestige occupations, and low prestige occupations, according to the procedures for operationalization of the variable occupational aspirations outlined in Chapter IV above. That is, professional, managerial, and semi-professional occupations are ranked as high-prestige occupations; small managerial, clerical and sales, and skilled occupations are ranked as medium prestige occupations; and semi-skilled and unskilled occupations are ranked as low in prestige. When sex is controlled, the findings confirm the hypothesis that migration is directly related to the level of occupational aspiration among males; but the hypothesis is not supported among females. These findings suggest that the relationship between aspirations and migrant status is not a linear one. Among males, the association between level of occupational aspirations and migrant status is relatively high (.31), when it is recalled that the contingency coefficient can reach a maximum value of only .816 in a 3 x 3 table.

Table 13 shows that a high proportion of males aspiring to low prestige occupations are also migrants (50% of the low aspirants, in fact). This finding that seems to call the hypothesis into question becomes clearer upon examination of the marginals for occupational aspirations of males (Table XVIIIa, Appendix D). Among the 18 males who aspired to low-prestige occupations in 1965, 11 stated that they wanted to be policemen (and the interviews revealed that this should be interpreted as joining the RCMP) and 6 wanted to join the armed forces, both occupations that necessitate migration, at least temporarily.

Among female respondents, although the association between migrant status and occupational aspirations runs in the predicted direction, with those aspiring to high prestige occupations being distributed in high proportions in the migrant and returned migrant categories, and those aspiring to low prestige occupations being predominantly non-migrants, the association

is not as strong as that for males. It is possible to speculate about the factors contributing to these discrepancies. Table XVIIb, Appendix D, presenting the marginals for occupational aspirations among female respondents to the 1965 questionnaire, shows that 20% aspired to become nurses, 16% to various secretarial occupations, 14% to become teachers, and 6% to an occupational category that includes housekeepers, stewardesses, boarding-house keepers, etc. The interviews revealed that a number of female respondents had really hoped to become airline stewardesses. They related accounts of promoters for this occupation who had visited schools and distributed literature and information about training programmes. The need to travel to the United States for training, the lack of financial aids for training, and the lack of guarantee of a job at the end of the training programme deterred many from pursuing their desired career. If this "glamour occupation" of airline stewardess was coded as the low-prestige occupation of "housekeeper, stewardess, etc." in the Breton study, then the coding system might have contributed to the finding among females of a weak relationship between aspirations and present migrant status.

Within the category of high-prestige occupations, the respondents are distributed between the professions and the semi-professions in their aspirations. None of the respondents in the total sample aspired to managerial occupations (whereas 6% of the respondents are presently engaged in these occupations). Table 14 presents the percentage distribution of migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants with aspirations for the high prestige professional and semi-professional occupations. The migrants are heavily represented in semi-professional occupations rather than the professional occupations (particularly among females). On the other hand, the male non-migrants are heavily concentrated in the professional occupations.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, AND NON-MIGRANTS, 1972, BY
HIGH PRESTIGE OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, 1965, BY SEX

High prestige occupational aspiration level	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants			Total
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	
Professional	46.4% (13)	28.3% (13)	35.1% (26)	75.0% (9)	40.0% (10)	51.4% (19)	80.0% (12)	32.4% (12)	46.2% (24)	42.3% (69)
Semi- professional	53.6% (15)	71.7% (33)	64.9% (48)	25.0% (3)	60.0% (15)	48.6% (18)	20.0% (3)	67.6% (25)	53.8% (28)	57.7% (94)
Sub-totals Total	100.0% (28)	100.0% (46)	100.0% (74)	100.0% (12)	100.0% (25)	100.0% (37)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (37)	100.0% (52)	100.0% (163)

To a certain extent the sex differentials may be accounted for by the type of occupations which are classified as professional and semi-professional. For example, 10% of the total sample (all females) aspired to become nurses (a semi-professional occupation), whereas the aspirants to become physicians, lawyers, architects, accountants (professional occupations) were virtually all males (see Tables XVIIIa and b, Appendix D). Among returned migrants, the high proportion of male respondents in the professional category (although the N is small) suggests that these respondents may well have migrated to obtain the education necessary to pursue their desired professional career. Another more likely explanation for these findings lies in the occupational opportunity structure of the respondent's community of origin and the availability of training for the occupation aspired to within that community. Clarification of the importance of this contextual variable will be increased by the analysis of the congruence between career aspirations and career attainment.

The data used to test Hypothesis 1b, which proposes that those who aspire to post-secondary education are more likely to migrate than those who do not aspire to post-secondary education, are presented in Table 15. In the sample as a whole, the proportion of respondents in each category of migrant status in terms of their aspirations to post-secondary education is approximately equal, and the hypothesis must be rejected. Among males, however, there is a weak association between aspiring to post-secondary education and migration, and the relationship is statistically significant at the .05 level. These findings support and confirm previous research findings that the desire for higher education is a significant independent variable influencing migration among young males; but it appears to have no significant influence on the migrant status of the population of Nova

Scotia females in secondary schools in 1965.

TABLE 15

MIGRANT STATUS IN 1972 BY POSTSECONDARY EDUCATIONAL
ASPIRATIONS IN 1965, SEX CONTROLLED

Migrant status	Aspirations to post-secondary education					
	Yes			No		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Migrant	71.6% (78)	62.2% (79)	66.5% (157)	54.7% (41)	66.7% (50)	60.7% (91)
Non-migrant	28.4% (31)	37.8% (48)	33.5% (79)	45.3% (34)	33.3% (25)	39.3% (59)
Total	100.0% (109)	100.0% (127)	100.0% (236)	100.0% (75)	100.0% (75)	100.0% (150)

Chi-square for total sample = 1.12728, d.f. 1; C = .05396

Chi-square for male respondents = 4.83477**, d.f. 1; C = .16001

Chi-square for female respondents = .23641, d.f. 1; C = .03419

Hypotheses relating congruence between aspirations and attainment
and the migrant status of respondents

Hypothesis 2a Migrant status is directly associated with congruence between occupational aspirations and occupational attainment.

Hypothesis 2b Migrant status is directly associated with congruence between educational aspirations and educational attainment.

The major difficulty in testing hypothesis 2a is the definition of congruence. Inevitably the occupations aspired to and attained by respondents have to be collapsed into broader categories and then related to each other to determine whether an individual can be classified as congruent or incongruent. Even when this is done and an individual falls into the category incongruent, one does not distinguish in statistical analysis between those who actually attain an occupation higher than that aspired to and those who attain an occupation lower than that aspired to. This lack of distinction is likely to have an important bearing on the results obtained from testing the influence of congruence on migrant status.

Tables 16a, b, and c make this distinction by presenting the findings for the total sample, and for male and female respondents, respectively, with regard to occupational attainment in 1972 as compared to occupational aspirations in 1965, in terms of the eight broad categories of occupations ordered according to relative prestige (professional, large managerial, semi-professional, small managerial, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled). These data thus show not only the proportion of respondents who are congruent or incongruent in their aspirations and attainment, but also the proportion who have attained an occupation of higher prestige than that aspired to and the proportion who have attained an occupation of lower prestige than that aspired to. The data show that for this sample, representative of the population of Nova Scotia secondary school students of 1965, occupational aspirations are relatively good predictors of occupational attainment. Among males, congruence is greatest among those who aspire to and attain skilled and semi-skilled occupations; among females, congruence is greatest among those who aspire to and attain clerical and sales occupations, and professional and semi-professional occupations. The data in

TABLE 16a
OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT 1972 BY OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS 1965, TOTAL SAMPLE

Level of occupational attainment 1972	Level of occupational aspirations 1965								Total
	Professional	Managerial, large	Semi-professional	Managerial, small	Skilled	Clerical, sales	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	
Professional	20.0% (11)	0	9.4% (8)	0	3.3% (1)	6.2% (2)	5.9% (1)	0	9.7% (23)
Managerial, large	7.3% (4)	0	2.4% (2)	0	6.7% (2)	3.1% (1)	5.9% (1)	0	4.2% (10)
Semi-professional	14.5% (8)	0	23.5% (20)	0	3.3% (1)	0	5.9% (1)	0	12.6% (30)
Managerial, small	0	0	0	20.0% (1)	0	0	5.9% (1)	0	0.8% (2)
Skilled	10.9% (6)	0	10.6% (9)	0	50.0% (15)	12.5% (4)	23.5% (4)	7.1% (1)	16.4% (39)
Clerical, sales	32.7% (18)	0	49.4% (42)	0	23.3% (7)	68.8% (22)	5.9% (1)	78.6% (11)	42.4% (101)
Semi-skilled	3.6% (2)	0	3.5% (3)	40.0% (2)	10.0% (3)	3.1% (1)	35.3% (6)	14.3% (2)	8.0% (19)
Unskilled	10.9% (6)	0	1.2% (1)	40.0% (2)	3.3% (1)	6.2% (2)	11.8% (2)	0	5.9% (14)
Column total	23.1% (55)	0	35.7% (85)	2.1% (5)	12.6% (30)	13.4% (32)	7.1% (17)	5.9% (14)	100.0% (238)

Chi square = 151.98106*****; d.f. = 42; C = .62427

TABLE 16b

OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT 1972 BY OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS 1965, MALES

Level of occupational attainment 1972	Level of occupational aspirations 1965								Total
	Profes- sional	Managerial, large	Semi-pro- fessional	Managerial, small	Skilled	Clerical, sales	Semi skilled	Unskilled	
Professional	8.0% (2)	0	23.5% (4)	0	0	20.0% (1)	6.2% (1)	0	8.8% (8)
Managerial, large	16.0% (4)	0	5.9% (1)	0	9.1% (2)	20.0% (1)	6.2% (1)	0	9.9% (9)
Semi- professional	16.0% (4)	0	11.8% (2)	0	0	0	6.2% (1)	0	7.7% (7)
Managerial, small	0	0	0	20.0% (1)	0	0	6.2% (1)	0	2.2% (2)
Skilled	24.0% (6)	0	23.5% (4)	0	59.1% (13)	0	25.0% (4)	0	29.7% (27)
Clerical, sales	12.0% (3)	0	23.5% (4)	0	13.6% (3)	40.0% (2)	6.2% (1)	0	14.3% (13)
Semi- skilled	8.0% (2)	0	11.8% (2)	40.0% (2)	13.6% (3)	0	37.5% (6)	100.0% (1)	17.6% (16)
Unskilled	16.0% (4)	0	0	40.0% (2)	4.5% (1)	20.0% (1)	6.2% (1)	0	9.9% (9)
Column total	27.5% (25)	0	18.7% (17)	5.5% (5)	24.2% (22)	5.5% (5)	17.6% (16)	1.1% (1)	100.0% (91)

Chi-square = 60.78386**; d.f. = 42; C = .63282

TABLE 16c

OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT 1972 BY OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS 1965, FEMALES

Level of occupational attainment 1972	Level of occupational aspirations 1965							Total
	Professional	Managerial, large	Semi-professional	Managerial, small	Skilled	Clerical, sales	Semi-skilled	
Professional	30.0% (9)	0	5.9% (4)	0	12.5% (1)	3.7% (1)	0	10.2% (15)
Managerial, large	0	0	1.5% (1)	0	0	0	0	0.7% (1)
Semi-professional	13.3% (4)	0	26.5% (18)	0	12.5% (1)	0	0	15.6% (23)
Managerial, small	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Skilled	0	0	7.4% (5)	0	25.0% (2)	14.8% (4)	0	8.2% (12)
Clerical, sales	50.0% (15)	0	55.9% (38)	0	50.0% (4)	74.1% (20)	0	59.9% (88)
Semi-skilled	0	0	1.5% (1)	0	0	3.7% (1)	0	2.0% (3)
Unskilled	6.7% (2)	0	1.5% (1)	0	0	3.7% (1)	100.0% (1)	3.4% (5)
Column total	20.4% (30)	0	46.3% (68)	0	5.4% (8)	18.4% (27)	0.7% (1)	100.0% (147)

Chi square = 71.78918****; d.f. = 30; C = .57282

these tables, however, exclude those respondents whose present occupation is classified as "full-time student." It can be assumed that these respondents (N=42) are pursuing education that leads to a relatively high prestige professional, technical or semi-professional occupation. Tabel 17 gives the distribution of respondents who are presently full-time students according to their occupational aspirations in 1965; these data show that a high proportion of full-time students (48%) were aspirants to the high prestige professional and semi-professional occupations. In other words, assuming that these students complete their post-secondary education, one can predict congruence between their aspiration and attainment at a later stage in their career. The interviews revealed that several present students who aspired to become medical doctors and teachers are continuing education towards these goals.

In an attempt to obtain another measure of congruence between aspirations and attainment in occupation, each of the eight occupational categories was assigned the mean occupational prestige score for that category in the Pineo-Porter scale (1967: 35). This produced a crude scale to correlate aspirations and attainments in occupation. The findings are presented in Table 18 which shows a relatively weak correlation between aspirations and attainment, as measured by the mean prestige score of the occupational category in which the respondent falls in terms of both aspirations and attainment. The relationship holds when sex and marital status are controlled.

These analyses indicate that, contrary to the findings of other researchers (such as Kohout and Rothney, 1964; Kuvelsky and Bealer, 1967), occupational aspirations have been relatively good predictors of subsequent occupational attainment in this longitudinal study over a seven-year time span, when congruence is defined in terms of broad occupational categories.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED AS FULL-TIME STUDENTS,
1972, BY OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, 1965

Level of occupational aspirations 1965	Males	Females	Total
Professional	34.9% (8)	21.0% (4)	28.5% (12)
Semi-professional	17.4% (4)	21.0% (4)	19.1% (8)
Skilled	4.3% (1)		2.4% (1)
Clerical		21.0% (4)	9.5% (4)
Semi-skilled	8.6% (2)		4.8% (2)
Unskilled		5.3% (1)	2.4% (1)
Trade (retail and wholesale, no occupation stated)	13.0% (3)	5.3% (1)	9.5% (4)
Other industry (no occupation stated)		5.3% (1)	2.4% (1)
No response	21.8% (5)	21.1% (4)	21.4% (9)
Total	100.0% (23)	100.0% (19)	100.0% (42)

As noted above, Tables 16a, b, and c permit analysis of whether or not incongruence between aspirations and attainment represents attainment of an occupation of higher or lower prestige than that to which respondents aspired. The findings show that among males and females incongruence can be defined as attainment of an occupation at a lower level than that of aspiration. The only exceptions of note are the attainment of professional occupations among both males and females who aspired to semi-professional occupations.

TABLE 18

PARTIAL CORRELATION, OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS WITH OCCUPATIONAL
ATTAINMENT, CONTROLLING FOR SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

	Correlation coefficient	Degrees of freedom	Signifi- cance
Zero order correlation	.2589	233	.001
1st order correlations controlling for sex	.2586	232	.001
1st order correlations controlling for marital status	.2568	232	.001
2nd order correlation controlling for sex and marital status	.2560	231	.001

The hypothesis to be tested in the present research is that migrant status is directly associated with congruence between occupational aspirations and occupational attainment. These data are presented in Table 19. The partial correlation coefficients obtained by pairing migrant status with congruence between occupational aspirations and occupational attainment are extremely weak and not significant at the .10 level of significance. The hypothesis must therefore be rejected on the evidence. In other words, although, aspirations predicted attainment moderately well, congruence is not directly associated with migrant status.

TABLE 19

PARTIAL CORRELATION, MIGRANT STATUS WITH CONGRUENCE BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL
ASPIRATIONS AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS CONTROLLED

	Correlation coefficient	Degrees of freedom	Signifi- cance
Zero order correlation	.0776	233	.118
1st order correlations, controlling for sex	.080	232	.111
1st order correlations, controlling for marital status	.0771	232	.120
2nd order correlation, controlling for sex and marital status	.0793	231	.114

A further test of the hypothesis was carried out by cross-tabulating congruence between aspirations (measured as high, medium, and low prestige occupational aspirations) and attainment (measured in terms of the same three prestige categories) and the migrant status of respondents. These data are presented in Table 20 below. The findings show a very weak association between

TABLE 20

MIGRANT STATUS 1972 BY CONGRUENCE BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS 1965 AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT 1972, BY SEX

Migrant status	Relation between aspirations and attainment					
	Congruent			Incongruent		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Migrant	59.1% (26)	45.6% (31)	50.9% (57)	38.3% (18)	35.4% (28)	36.5% (46)
Returned migrant	11.4% (5)	25.0% (17)	19.6% (22)	23.4% (11)	20.3% (16)	21.4% (27)
Non-migrant	29.5% (13)	29.4% (20)	29.5% (33)	38.3% (18)	44.3% (35)	42.1% (53)
Total	100.0% (44)	100.0% (68)	100.0% (112)	100.0% (47)	100.0% (79)	100.0% (126)

For total sample: Chi square = 5.53173*, d.f. = 2; C = .15071

Among males: Chi square = 4.41689, d.f. = 2; C = .21515

Among females: Chi square = 3.47005, d.f. = 2; C = .15186

migrant status, the dependent variable, and congruence between aspirations and attainment in occupational prestige; for the total sample the association is statistically significant at the .10 level. Among males, although the chi-square value obtained is not as high, the association is slightly stronger than that for the total sample and stronger than that for females. Tables XXa, b, and c (Appendix D) show, however, that congruence between aspirations and attainment is greater among migrants and returned migrants than among non-migrants, and greatest among the migrants. It would seem, therefore, that

attainment of a desired occupation is influenced by migration.

Hypothesis 2b which states that migrant status is directly associated with congruence between aspirations to post-secondary education and actual attainment of some post-secondary education has not been confirmed. These data are presented in Table 21, which shows the migrant category collapsed to include returned migrants to give a 2 x 2 contingency table.

TABLE 21

MIGRANT STATUS BY CONGRUENCE BETWEEN POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, BY SEX

Migrant status	Relation between educational aspirations and educational attainment					
	Congruent			Incongruent		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Migrants	68.8% (77)	65.2% (88)	66.8% (165)	57.7% (41)	61.2% (41)	59.4% (82)
Non-migrants	31.3% (35)	34.8% (47)	33.2% (82)	42.3% (30)	38.8% (26)	40.6% (56)
Total	100.0% (112)	100.0% (135)	100.0% (247)	100.0% (71)	100.0% (67)	100.0% (138)

For total sample: Chi square = 1.78893, d.f. = 1; C = .06801

Among males: Chi square = 1.84186, d.f. = 1; C = .09982

Among females: Chi square = .16032, d.f. = 1; C = .02816

The data for attainment of post-secondary education include those respondents who have had any post-secondary education, whether it be for only one year or for more than a year, and whether it be at university, an institute of technology, a business school, or any other kind of post-secondary school. When post-secondary education is defined in these terms, the hypothesis of association between migrant status and congruence is not confirmed. However, of the 94 respondents with post-secondary education at university, 60% are

classified as migrants since they continued their post-secondary education in places other than their residential community of 1965 (see Table IX, Appendix D). Therefore a relatively high proportion of the best educated respondents do tend to migrate, albeit within the province of Nova Scotia, or the Atlantic region.

Hypotheses relating career indecision with migrant status

A major finding of the Breton study was that approximately one-third of the male respondents and one-third of the female respondents in each of the provinces were without an occupational preference at the time of the survey (1972: 68). It has been hypothesized in this study that career indecision as adolescents is directly associated with migrant status as young adults. The hypothesis has not been confirmed, however, either among males or among females. The data are presented in Table 22. These data show that 30% of the males

TABLE 22

MIGRANT STATUS 1972 BY LACK OF CAREER GOAL 1965, MALES AND FEMALES

	Males		Females	
	Orientation to career		Orientation to career	
	No career goal	Career goal	No career goal	Career goal
Migrants	35.7% (20)	51.9% (67)	46.2% (30)	43.1% (59)
Returned migrants	21.4% (12)	16.3% (21)	20.0% (13)	19.7% (27)
Non-migrants	42.9% (24)	31.8% (41)	33.8% (22)	37.2% (51)
Total	100.0% (56)	100.0% (129)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (137)
Row per cent	30.3%	69.7%	32.2%	67.8%

Among males: Chi square = 4.1290, d.f. = 2; C = .14776

Among females: Chi square = .23669, d.f. = 2; C = .03421

expressed no occupational aspirations in 1965, and that 32% of the females stated at that same date that they did not plan to work at all after finishing their schooling or that they had not thought about working. In terms of migrant status, the males with no career goal tended to be represented in greater proportions among the non-migrants rather than among the migrants, as hypothesized. When the row totals are examined (Table XXI, Appendix D), it is observed that whereas migrants represent 47% of the males in the total sample, 23% of the migrant males have no career goal as compared with 77% of the migrant males who have a career goal. Migration is selective of males with a career goal. Among the returned migrants (18% of the male respondents), 36% of the males have no career goal, as compared to 64% with a career goal; return migrant males who lacked a career goal in 1965 are represented in greater proportion than they are in the sample as a whole.

Among females, the presence or absence of a career goal is associated with no variation in migrant status. Examination of the row totals within each category of migrant status again reveals that among females those with a career goal are represented in the migrant category in greater proportion than in the sample as a whole.

A possible interpretation for these findings might be that young males with no clear career goal will be deterred from migration when job opportunities are less plentiful, as they have been in these early 'seventies when approximately 25% of the sample left high school. It is the respondents who are seeking to pursue a chosen career or the education leading to that career who are more likely to migrate.

Career indecision (as indicated by failure to respond to item D-7, 8 in the Breton Fall 1965 questionnaire, Appendix C) has, on the other hand, apparently not been a deterrent to the attainment of a relatively high-

prestige occupation by some respondents, especially male respondents, as the data in Table 23 indicate.

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS STATING NO CAREER GOAL, 1965,
BY LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT, 1972, BY SEX

Level of occupational attainment, 1972	Males	Females	Total
Professional	9.5% (5)	6.2% (2)	8.3% (7)
Managerial, large	10.4% (6)		7.2% (6)
Semi-professional	0	0	0
Managerial, small	0	0	0
Skilled	25.0% (13)	6.2% (2)	17.9% (15)
Clerical and sales	13.3% (7)	53.3% (17)	28.5% (24)
Semi-skilled	21.0% (11)	6.2% (2)	15.4% (13)
Unskilled	7.6% (4)	0	4.8% (4)
Housewife		15.6% (5)	5.9% (5)
Full-time student	9.4% (5)	12.5% (4)	10.6% (9)
Unemployed	3.8% (2)		2.4% (2)
Total	100.0% (53)	100.0% (32)	100.0% (85)

Hypotheses relating migrant status to objective structural variables

Size of community of origin

Hypothesis 4 Migrant status is inversely related to the size of community of origin. Individuals in small communities are more likely to migrate than individuals in larger communities.

Further sub-hypotheses have been postulated with regard to the relationship between the size of origin community and the size of destination community among migrants; namely, that individuals residing in rural farm and rural non-farm areas of population less than a thousand are likely to migrate to adjacent urban areas; that individuals in urban areas are likely to migrate to other urban areas; and that individuals residing in large metropolitan areas are likely to migrate to other metropolitan areas. Table 24 presents the data to test this hypothesis. The distribution of respondents in the three categories of non-migrant, migrant, and returned migrant shows that the hypothesis has been confirmed for the total sample and also among males and among females when sex is controlled. Respondents whose community of origin had a population of less than 1,000 are represented in much greater proportion in the migrant category than in the non-migrant category; on the other hand, respondents whose origin is a metropolitan area are distributed in a greater proportion in the non-migrant category than in the migrant category.

The data for returned migrants indicate that returned migrants tend to be individuals from urban areas rather than small communities of less than 1,000 population. Returned migrants constitute 19% of the total sample of respondents; the proportion of respondents returning to communities of 10,000 to 99,999 population is much greater than this (28%). Analysis of the occupational distribution of the respondents (Tables XII and XIII, Appendix D) has already shown that returned migrant males are heavily concentrated in the skilled occupations (45%). Returned migrant females, on the other hand, tend

TABLE 24

MIGRANT STATUS, 1972, BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN, 1965, BY SEX

Migrant status	Size of community of origin											
	100,000 or more			10,000 - 99,000			1,000 - 9,999			Less than 1,000		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Non-migrant	46.6% (34)	52.8% (28)	49.2% (62)	20.0% (3)	28.6% (4)	24.1% (7)	40.0% (16)	32.0% (16)	35.6% (32)	21.1% (12)	29.4% (25)	26.1% (37)
Migrant	34.2% (25)	28.3% (15)	31.7% (40)	53.3% (8)	42.9% (6)	48.3% (14)	45.0% (18)	44.0% (22)	44.4% (40)	63.2% (36)	54.1% (46)	57.7% (82)
Returned migrant	19.2% (14)	18.9% (10)	19.0% (24)	26.7% (4)	28.6% (4)	27.6% (8)	15.0% (6)	24.0% (12)	20.0% (18)	15.8% (9)	16.5% (14)	16.2% (23)
Total	100.0% (73)	100.0% (53)	100.0% (126)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (14)	100.0% (29)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (50)	100.0% (90)	100.0% (57)	100.0% (85)	100.0% (142)

For total sample: Chi square = 23.00067****, d.f. = 6; C = .23685
 Among males: Chi square = 14.07880**, d.f. = 6; C = .26593
 Among females: Chi square = 12.04080*, d.f. = 6; C = .23718

to be engaged in clerical and sales occupations (53%) and semi-professional occupations (23%). These findings suggest that returned migrants are individuals who migrate for education and training in their career and initial experience, and then return to the urban areas where there are employment opportunities available. The data also indicate the differential occupational opportunity structure, for males and females, of small towns as compared to large urban areas.

Table XXII, Appendix D, gives the distribution of migrants by community of origin as related to community of residence in 1972, controlled for sex. These data show that a very high proportion of migrants from origin communities of all four categories have migrated to metropolitan areas. The relationship is especially marked among males from urban centres of populations between 10,000 and 99,999 and the smaller urban communities; migrant respondents from metropolitan communities (Halifax-Dartmouth) have migrated to other metropolitan centres in relatively high proportions. The data suggest that the opportunity structure of the metropolitan community attracts young people from communities of all sizes.

The relationship between size of community of origin and size of destination community among migrants has been controlled for marital status and sex; these findings are presented in Table XXIII, Appendix D. They show a much stronger association between these variables among married respondents than among single respondents, particularly among married females. The cells become very small and so the findings must be interpreted with caution; however, the observed relationship for married females (contingency coefficient = .47) is statistically significant at the .10 level. Whereas 48% of married female migrants came from communities of less than 1,000 population, 39% now live in communities of over 100,000 and a further 25% in large urban centres. Since only 7 migrant females in the total sample have "housewife" as their

occupation, it seems reasonable to assume that those married females who have migrated to larger communities have found opportunities to pursue a chosen career in these communities.

Family size

Hypothesis 5 Migrant status is directly related to the family size. Individuals who have many siblings are more likely to migrate than individuals with few or no siblings.

Since family size is an interval variable, migrant status has been collapsed into the dichotomous classification of migrants and non-migrants to compute partial correlation coefficients, controlling for sex, for migrant status paired with family size. The results are presented in Table 25.

TABLE 25
CORRELATION BETWEEN MIGRANT STATUS AND FAMILY SIZE,
SEX CONTROLLED

	Correlation coefficient	Degrees of freedom	Signi- ficance
Zero order correlation	.1324	379	.005
1st order partial correlation	.1321	379	.005

Mean family size = 4.5538; Standard deviation = 2.5997; N = 381.

These findings indicate that the hypothesis can be accepted; individuals who have many siblings are more likely to migrate than individuals with fewer siblings. The strength of the association is relatively weak.

Socio-economic-status origin

Hypothesis 6 Migrant status is directly associated with socio-economic-status origin. Individuals of high socio-economic-status origin are more likely to migrate than individuals of low socio-economic-status origin.

As noted in Chapter IV, socio-economic-status origin of the respondents is measured in terms of the occupational status of the father in 1965. Father's occupation has been ranked into three categories of high, medium, and low prestige occupations according to the procedure already described for other occupational variables. The data relating migrant status in 1972 with socio-economic-status origin are presented in Table 26. These findings confirm the

TABLE 26
MIGRANT STATUS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC-STATUS ORIGIN, BY SEX

Migrant status	Socio-economic-status origin								
	High			Medium			Low		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Migrant	67.6% (23)	50.0% (18)	58.6% (41)	44.8% (30)	51.7% (31)	48.0% (61)	40.0% (22)	36.5% (31)	37.9% (53)
Returned migrant	5.9% (2)	22.2% (8)	14.3% (10)	14.9% (10)	11.7% (7)	13.4% (17)	25.5% (14)	24.7% (21)	25.0% (35)
Non-migrant	26.5% (9)	27.8% (10)	27.1% (19)	40.3% (27)	36.7% (22)	38.6% (49)	34.5% (19)	38.8% (33)	37.1% (52)
Total	100.0% (34)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (70)	100.0% (67)	100.0% (60)	100.0% (127)	100.0% (55)	100.0% (85)	100.0% (140)

For total sample: Chi square = 12.04881***, d.f. = 4; C = .18579
 Among males: Chi square = 9.88499**, d.f. = 4; C = .24411
 Among females: Chi square = 6.18279, d.f. = 4; C = .18174

hypothesis that migrant status is directly associated with socio-economic-status origin. Individuals whose fathers are employed in high-prestige professional, managerial and semi-professional occupations are more likely to migrate than individuals whose fathers are employed in low-prestige occupations. The relationship is much stronger for males than for females, and it is statistically significant for males, but not for females.

Individuals from high socio-economic-status origin, especially males, tend to pursue high prestige careers and the post-secondary education leading to those careers. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are also geographically mobile in pursuit of these careers. The male respondents from medium socio-economic-status origin (the clerical, sales, and skilled occupations) are fairly evenly distributed among the migrant and non-migrant categories. Approximately 37% of the respondents are of medium prestige socio-economic-status origin and about half of their fathers are classified as skilled tradesmen. Those sons who have remained in a similar occupational category or moved into clerical or sales occupations are less likely to migrate to pursue their careers than sons attaining semi-professional, managerial, or professional careers. This finding suggests the important role which family and social networks play in the placement of youth in apprentice and other on-the-job training schemes, as found, for example, in the Hall and McFarlane (1962) study.

Migratory relatives

Hypothesis 7 Migrant status is directly related to the migratory behaviour of the family of orientation. Migration is likely among young persons who have migrant family or relatives. Residential stability is likely among young persons whose family and relatives reside in the community of origin.

This hypothesis is tested simply by counting the number of siblings and the number of paternal and maternal aunts and uncles who reside in communities other than the respondent's community of origin in 1965, to give a rough interval scale of the number of migratory siblings and the total number of migratory relatives. It is recognized as being a crude measure; ideally it would have been desirable to obtain a migration history of the immediate family and the close relatives (aunts and uncles) during the interviews. The decision to include present place of residence of aunts and uncles was made as a result

of informal conversations with respondents and informants during the feasibility study. It was apparent that frequently respondents visited relatives for a holiday in another part of Canada, then decided to take up residence in the region, at least for a time.

When the migrated siblings and other relatives have been counted for each respondent an interval scale is created for each variable (migratory siblings and total migratory relatives). Each of these variables has been correlated with migrant status, dichotomized into the two categories of migrants and non-migrants. The findings are presented in Table 27. The data

TABLE 27

CORRELATION OF MIGRANT STATUS WITH MIGRATORY SIBLINGS AND
MIGRATORY RELATIVES, SEX AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORIGIN CONTROLLED

Migrant status	Correlation coefficient	Degrees of freedom	Sig.
Zero order correlation with migratory siblings	.1964	206	.002
1st order partial correlation, sex controlled	.1978	205	.002
socio-economic origin controlled	.1966	205	.002
2nd order partials sex and s.e.s. controlled	.1979	204	.002
Zero order correlation with migratory relatives	.1331	206	.028
1st order partial correlation sex controlled	.1325	205	.028
socio-economic origin controlled	.1326	205	.028
2nd order partials sex and s.e.s. controlled	.1322	204	.029

show a positive association between migrant status and each of the variables, migratory siblings and migratory relatives, respectively; moreover, the relationship holds just as strongly when sex and socio-economic origin are controlled in both first-order and second-order partials.

Hypotheses relating migrant status to subjective personal variables

Self-concept

Hypothesis 8 Migrant status is directly associated with positive self-evaluation with regard to career opportunities.

Three items in the Breton questionnaire have been used to test this hypothesis, namely, the respondent's subjective rating of his mental ability, and the estimation of success in post-secondary education and in attaining a desired occupational goal. The findings are presented in Tables 28 to 30 respectively. For all of these items the association with migrant status is extremely weak in the sample as a whole and also when cross-tabulated in the sub-groups of males and females. The strongest association is that between migrant status among females and their subjective estimation of attaining a desired occupational goal (Contingency coefficient = .198); this association, moreover, is the only statistically significant relationship (at the .10 level of significance). Among males there is a moderate association between subjective rating of mental ability and migrant status ($C = .15$) and the distribution of responses runs in the predicted direction with those respondents having a high subjective mental ability ranking being distributed in high proportion in the migrant category and those respondents with low subjective mental ability rating being distributed in high proportion in the non-migrant category.

These findings lead to the conclusion that these subjective variables, as measured among the respondents when they were high school students in 1965, have had little or no influence on their subsequent migrant status. The

TABLE 28

MIGRANT STATUS 1972 BY SUBJECTIVE MENTAL ABILITY RATING 1965, BY SEX

Subjective mental ability rank									
Migrant status	High			Medium			Low		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Migrants	54.7% (29)	48.9% (22)	52.0% (51)	45.5% (50)	43.7% (59)	44.5% (109)	22.2% (2)	29.4% (5)	26.9% (7)
Returned migrants	17.0% (9)	20.0% (14)	18.4% (18)	18.2% (20)	20.0% (27)	19.2% (47)	33.3% (3)	17.6% (3)	23.1% (6)
Non-migrants	28.3% (15)	19.4% (14)	29.6% (29)	36.4% (40)	36.3% (49)	36.3% (89)	44.4% (4)	52.9% (9)	50.0% (13)
Total	100% (53)	100% (45)	100% (98)	100% (110)	100% (135)	100% (245)	100% (9)	100% (17)	100% (26)

For total sample: Chi square = 5.74807, d.f. = 4; C = .12385
Among males: Chi square = 3.99652, d.f. = 4; C = .15069
Among females: Chi square = 2.73219, d.f. = 4; C = .11696

TABLE 29

MIGRANT STATUS 1972 BY ESTIMATION OF CHANCES OF POST-SECONDARY SUCCESS 1965, BY SEX

Migrant status	Estimation of chances of success									
	High			Medium			Low			
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Migrants	50.0% (18)	55.0% (11)	51.8% (29)	46.7% (57)	44.8% (65)	45.7% (122)	43.5% (10)	36.4% (12)	39.3% (22)	
Returned migrants	16.7% (6)	20.0% (4)	17.9% (10)	18.0% (22)	19.3% (28)	18.7% (50)	17.4% (4)	21.2% (7)	19.6% (11)	
Non-migrants	33.3% (12)	25.0% (5)	30.4% (17)	35.3% (43)	35.9% (52)	35.6% (95)	39.1% (9)	42.4% (14)	41.1% (23)	
Total	100% (36)	100% (20)	100% (56)	100% (122)	100% (145)	100% (267)	100% (23)	100% (33)	100% (56)	

For total sample: Chi square = 1.90934, d.f. = 4; C = .07080
 Among males: Chi square = .29702, d.f. = 4; C = .04048
 Among females: Chi square = 2.09577, d.f. = 4; C = .10234

TABLE 30

MIGRANT STATUS 1972 BY ESTIMATION OF POOR CHANCES OF GETTING DESIRED JOB 1965, BY SEX

Migrant status	Estimation of poor chances of getting desired job for self									
	Strongly disagree				Agree				Strongly agree	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Migrants	52.4% (11)	62.5% (15)	57.8% (26)	47.8% (54)	38.3% (51)	42.7% (105)	43.6% (17)	52.9% (18)	47.9% (35)	
Returned migrants	14.3% (3)	20.8% (5)	17.8% (8)	17.7% (20)	21.8% (29)	19.9% (49)	20.5% (8)	11.8% (4)	16.4% (12)	
Non-migrants	33.3% (7)	16.7% (4)	24.4% (11)	34.5% (39)	39.8% (53)	24.4% (92)	35.9% (14)	35.3% (12)	35.6% (26)	
Total	100% (21)	100% (24)	100% (45)	100% (113)	100% (133)	100% (246)	100% (39)	100% (34)	100% (73)	

For total sample: Chi square = 4.20974, d.f. = 4; C = .10693
 Among males: Chi square = .56569, d.f. = 4; C = .05709
 Among females: Chi square = 7.86919*, d.f. = 4; C = .19892

findings are surprising in the light of evidence from other studies that report, for example, that self esteem is strongly related to the expectation of future occupational success (cf. Rosenberg, 1965), and that self-concept of ability is the best predictor of educational aspirations (cf. Porter, 1973). One is led to question the validity of the indicators (items F-20, B-12, and F-22 in Appendix C) for measuring the variables self-concept of ability, estimation of chances of post-secondary educational success, and estimation of chances of attaining a desired occupation, respectively. The data from the present research, however, indicate that there is only a weak association between educational aspirations and migrant status, and this relationship is significant only for males (cf. Table 15); on the other hand, there is a stronger relationship (significant for males, but not for females) between actual post-secondary educational attainment and migrant status (cf. Table 10).

In his analysis of the relationship between attitudes towards self, work, and the future and level of occupational aspirations, among the total sample of Canadian high school students, Breton noted that, of the attitudes considered, "it is the student's evaluation of his chances of success (in post-secondary education) and of his mental ability that show the strongest association with the level of preference" (1972: 231-232). To examine whether these findings are supported among the sample of Nova Scotia respondents, Tables 31 to 33 present the distribution of the sample by level of occupational aspirations and degree of intensity of the attitudes. The data show that the only statistically significant relationship is that between subjective mental ability rank and level of occupational aspirations among males. The most outstanding finding, however, is that very high proportions of respondents show a medium degree of intensity in their attitudes on all three variables. In other words, the modal response to items measuring these attitudinal

TABLE 31

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS, SUBJECTIVE MENTAL ABILITY RANK BY LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, BY SEX

Subjective mental ability rank	Level of occupational aspirations											Total
	High			Medium			Low			T		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F				
High	40.4% (21)	28.0% (30)	32.1% (51)	25.0% (8)	11.9% (5)	17.6% (13)	11.8% (2)	12.5% (2)	12.1% (4)	25.6% (68)		
Medium	51.9% (27)	65.4% (70)	61.0% (97)	71.9% (23)	76.2% (32)	74.3% (55)	88.2% (15)	75.0% (12)	81.8% (27)	67.3% (179)		
Low	7.7% (4)	6.5% (7)	6.9% (11)	3.1% (1)	11.9% (5)	8.1% (6)	0	12.5% (2)	6.1% (2)	7.1% (19)		
Total	100.0% (52)	100.0% (107)	100.0% (159)	100.0% (32)	100.0% (42)	100.0% (74)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (16)	100.0% (33)	100.0% (266)		

For total sample:

Chi square = 9.49481**, d.f. = 4; C = .18565

Among males:

Chi square = 8.79661*, d.f. = 4; C = .28305

Among females:

Chi square = 6.23361, d.f. = 4; C = .19080

TABLE 32

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS, ESTIMATION OF CHANCES OF POST-SECONDARY SUCCESS, BY
LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, BY SEX

Estimation of chances of post-secondary success	Level of occupational aspirations									
	High			Medium			Low			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
High	25.9% (15)	8.3% (9)	14.5% (24)	13.3% (4)	12.2% (5)	12.7% (9)	15.8% (3)	6.2% (1)	11.4% (4) †	13.6% (37)
Medium	65.5% (38)	77.8% (84)	73.5% (122)	73.3% (22)	70.7% (29)	71.8% (51)	68.4% (13)	81.3% (13)	74.3% (26)	73.2% (199)
Low	8.6% (5)	13.9% (15)	12.0% (20)	13.3% (4)	17.1% (7)	15.5% (11)	15.8% (3)	12.5% (2)	14.3% (5)	13.2% (36)
Total	100.0% (58)	100.0% (108)	100.0% (166)	100.0% (30)	100.0% (41)	100.0% (71)	100.0% (19)	100.0% (16)	100.0% (35)	100.0% (272)

For total sample: Chi square = .76076, d.f. = 4; C = .05281
 Among males: Chi square = 2.76513, d.f. = 4; C = .15872
 Among females: Chi square = 1.15155, d.f. = 4; C = .08325

TABLE 33

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS, ESTIMATION OF POOR CHANCES OF GETTING DESIRED JOB,
BY LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, BY SEX

Estimation of poor chances of getting desired job	Level of occupational aspirations									
	High			Medium			Low			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Strongly disagree	15.1% (8)	11.3% (12)	12.6% (20)	9.4% (3)	20.0% (8)	15.3% (11)	5.9% (1)	13.3% (2)	9.4% (3)	12.9% (34)
Agree	67.9% (36)	75.5% (80)	73.0% (116)	65.6% (21)	52.5% (21)	58.3% (42)	70.6% (12)	66.7% (10)	68.8% (22)	68.4% (180)
Strongly agree	17.0% (9)	13.2% (14)	14.5% (23)	25.0% (8)	27.5% (11)	26.4% (19)	23.5% (4)	20.0% (3)	21.9% (7)	18.6% (49)
Total	100.0% (53)	100.0% (106)	100.0% (159)	100.0% (32)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (72)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (32)	100.0% (263)

For total sample: Chi square = 6.17122, d.f. = 4; C = .15142
 Among males: Chi square = 1.90535, d.f. = 4; C = .13542
 Among females: Chi square = 7.31336, d.f. = 4; C = .20845

variables is "average," or a similar term. Such a finding can be understood if one is familiar with normative types of restrained response among Nova Scotians, particularly when questioned by the "outsider," even though a questionnaire may be administered by a member of the local community. In any event, the findings for the Nova Scotia respondents as compared to the total sample of Canadian high school students suggest that either attitudes towards self have little influence on aspirations among the Nova Scotians or the methods selected to measure these attitudes are not valid indicators to achieve significant results among the Nova Scotia respondents.

Comparison with peers

Hypothesis 9 Migrant status is inversely related to estimation of job opportunities in comparison with peers.

This hypothesis is tested by measuring the association between migrant status and two variables in the Breton study, job chances compared to peers in the same school, and job chances compared to peers in other high schools in the same province. Again, as the data in Tables 34 and 35 indicate, the association is too weak to give any confirmation to the hypothesis.

Success values

Hypothesis 10a Migration status is directly associated with ambition to succeed.

Hypothesis 10b Migrant status is directly associated with valuing occupational success above alternative life goals.

As outlined in Chapter IV, each of these variables, a generalized "ambition to succeed" and giving primacy to occupational success, is measured by summing the scores on three items in Breton's Fall 1965 questionnaire, to give an index of success and occupational primacy, respectively.

The hypotheses 10a and 10b have been tested, first by ranking the distribution of respondents on the success index and on the occupational primacy

TABLE 34

MIGRANT STATUS 1972 BY ESTIMATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES COMPARED TO PEERS IN
SAME SCHOOL 1965, BY SEX

Estimation of job opportunities									
Migrant status	Above average			Average			Below average		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Migrants	55.3% (21)	50.0% (8)	53.7% (29)	44.4% (64)	43.2% (79)	43.7% (143)	50.0% (1)	66.7% (2)	60.0% (3)
Returned migrants	15.8% (6)	18.8% (3)	16.7% (9)	18.8% (27)	19.7% (36)	19.3% (63)	0	33.3% (1)	20.0% (1)
Non-migrants	28.9% (11)	31.3% (5)	29.6% (16)	36.8% (53)	37.2% (68)	37.0% (121)	50.0% (1)	0	20.0% (1)
Total	100% (38)	100% (16)	100% (54)	100% (144)	100% (183)	100% (327)	100% (2)	100% (3)	100% (5)

For total sample: Chi square = 2.48205, d.f. = 4; C = .07993
 Among males: Chi square = 1.91589, d.f. = 4; C = .10151
 Among females: Chi square = 2.03958, d.f. = 4; C = .09998

TABLE 35

MIGRANT STATUS 1972 BY ESTIMATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES COMPARED TO PEERS IN OTHER SCHOOLS
IN SAME PROVINCE 1965, BY SEX

Migrant status	Estimation of job opportunities									
	Better			Equal			Worse			
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Migrants	47.4% (27)	42.6% (20)	45.2% (47)	46.3% (56)	45.5% (66)	45.9% (122)	50.0% (3)	42.9% (3)	46.2% (6)	
Returned migrants	19.3% (11)	19.1% (9)	19.2% (20)	17.4% (21)	19.3% (28)	18.4% (49)	16.7% (1)	28.6% (2)	23.1% (3)	
Non-migrants	33.3% (19)	38.3% (18)	35.6% (37)	36.4% (44)	35.3% (51)	35.7% (95)	33.3% (2)	28.6% (2)	30.8% (4)	
Total	100% (57)	100% (47)	100% (104)	100% (121)	100% (145)	100% (266)	100% (6)	100% (7)	100% (13)	

For total sample: Chi square = .25064, d.f. = 4; C = .02557
 Among males: Chi square = .21872, d.f. = 4; C = .03446
 Among females: Chi square = .57384, d.f. = 4; C = .05362

index into three approximately equal categories, high, medium, and low, then crosstabulating each in turn with migrant status, classified into the three categories of migrant, returned migrant, and non-migrant. The contingency tables are presented in Tables 36 and 37. The data show that the respondents are evenly distributed in their orientation to success as related to migrant status. There is no support for the hypothesis that ambition to succeed influences migrant status. When the association between occupational primacy and migrant status is tested, there is evidence of a slightly stronger relationship, especially among males ($C = .19$), although the relationship is not significant even at the .10 level. There is little or no evidence, therefore, to support the hypothesis that valuing occupational success above alternative life goals influences migrant status.

Since the variables ambition to succeed and valuing occupational success are interval variables, a further test of the hypotheses 10a and 10b was carried out by correlating each of these variables with migrant status, collapsed into the two categories of migrant and non-migrant. The findings, presented in Table 38, show little or no correlation between either variable and migrant status. It is therefore concluded from this second test that there is no evidence to support either the hypothesis that ambition to succeed influences migrant status or the hypothesis that valuing occupational success above alternative life goals influences migrant status.

All the findings obtained by testing hypotheses relating migrant status to subjective personal variables have thus shown that these subjective variables, as measured in the 1965 study, are not good predictors of the 1972 migrant status of this sample of respondents who are representative of the Nova Scotia high school student population of the 1965-66 academic year. It has been suggested above that other indicators of these variables might yield different results, but in the absence of such alternative measures in the 1965 study, no

TABLE 36

MIGRANT STATUS IN 1972 BY AMIBITON TO SUCCEED 1965, BY SEX

Migrant status	Level of ambition to succeed									
	High			Medium			Low			T
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Migrants	45.2% (38)	48.5% (32)	46.7% (70)	47.4% (27)	44.7% (21)	46.2% (48)	50.0% (22)	40.4% (36)	43.6% (58)	
Returned migrants	21.4% (18)	16.7% (11)	19.3% (29)	12.3% (7)	19.1% (9)	15.4% (16)	18.2% (8)	22.5% (20)	21.1% (28)	
Non-migrants	33.3% (28)	34.8% (23)	34.0% (51)	40.4% (23)	36.2% (17)	38.5% (40)	31.8% (14)	37.1% (33)	35.3% (47)	
Total	100% (84)	100% (66)	100% (150)	100% (57)	100% (47)	100% (104)	100% (44)	100% (89)	100% (133)	

For total sample: Chi square = 1.53060, d.f. = 4; C = .06277
 Among males: Chi square = 2.39489, d.f. = 4; C = .11305
 Among females: Chi square = 1.27106, d.f. = 4; C = .07908

TABLE 37

MIGRANT STATUS 1972 BY PRIMACY GIVEN TO OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS 1965, BY SEX

Migrant status	Level of occupational primacy orientation									
	High			Medium			Low			
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Migrant	48.1% (37)	48.0% (36)	48.0% (73)	51.0% (26)	35.1% (20)	42.6% (46)	42.1% (24)	47.1% (33)	44.9% (57)	
Returned migrant	24.7% (19)	18.7% (14)	21.7% (33)	13.7% (7)	24.6% (14)	19.4% (21)	12.3% (7)	17.1% (12)	15.0% (19)	
Non-migrant	27.3% (21)	33.3% (25)	30.3% (46)	35.3% (18)	40.4% (23)	38.0% (41)	45.6% (26)	35.7% (25)	40.2% (51)	
Total	100% (77)	100% (75)	100% (152)	100% (51)	100% (57)	100% (108)	100% (57)	100% (70)	100% (127)	

For total sample: Chi square = 4.24527, d.f. = 4; C = .10417
 Among males: Chi square = 7.10525, d.f. = 4; C = .19232
 Among females: Chi square = 2.85419, d.f. = 4; C = .11804

conclusions of association between subjective attitudinal variables and migrant status can be drawn.

TABLE 38

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS, MIGRANT STATUS WITH SUCCESS ORIENTATION, VALUING OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS, CONTROLLING FOR SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

Dependent variable: migrant status	Correlation coefficients	Degrees of freedom	Significance
Zero order correlations with success	.0295	377	.283
1st order partials control for sex	.0291	376	.286
controlling for marital status	.0222	376	.334
2nd order partials controlling for sex and marital status	.0234	375	.326
Zero order correlation with occupational primacy	.0976	377	.029
1st order partials controlling for sex	.0975	376	.029
controlling for marital status	.1009	376	.025
2nd order partials controlling for sex and marital status	.1017	375	.024

Conclusion

This chapter tested specific hypotheses relating migrant status with career variables (career aspirations, congruence between career aspirations and subsequent career attainment, and career indecision), and with selected structural and personal variables postulated to influence migration.

The results indicate that the relationship between level of occupational aspirations and migrant status is non-linear; there are sex differentials, level of occupational aspirations being a better predictor of migrant status

among males than among females. Aspirations to post-secondary education were found to be a relatively weak predictor of migrant status among males; among females, there was little or no association between these variables.

In this research, in contrast to the findings of other studies, occupational aspirations were found to be moderately good predictors of subsequent occupational attainment, when congruence was defined in broad categories of occupational prestige; congruence between aspirations and attainment among males being greatest among those who aspired to skilled and semi-skilled occupations; congruence among females being greatest among those who aspired to clerical, sales, professional, and semi-professional occupations. It was found, moreover, that relatively high proportions of present full-time students were aspirants to high-prestige occupations in 1965. When the relationship of migrant status to congruence between aspirations and attainment was tested, however, there was little or no support for the hypothesis of direct association between these variables. It must be noted in evaluating these findings that congruence, by definition of the term, excludes from the analysis present full-time students (who, it was found, were distributed in relatively high proportions among aspirants to high-prestige occupations).

The hypothesis that career indecision is directly associated with migrant status was not supported by the evidence. It was found, moreover, that career indecision as an adolescent was apparently no deterrent to subsequent attainment of a relatively high-prestige occupation, particularly among male respondents.

In summary, therefore, occupational aspirations were moderate predictors of migrant status among males, aspirations were moderate predictors of subsequent occupational attainment, but congruence between aspirations and attainment was not associated with migrant status. In addition, the analysis

of the characteristics of the sample in Chapter V showed that migrant status was directly associated with level of occupational attainment. Possible explanations for these apparent inconsistencies in the results have been suggested. The difficulties inherent in measuring congruence between aspirations and attainment were noted; the relatively small proportion of cases where incongruence represents attainment of a higher-prestige occupation (in particular, a professional occupation) than that aspired to were identified. The finding that among males congruence was greatest in those aspiring to skilled and semi-skilled occupations emphasised the importance of the contextual variable, the opportunity structure of the community of origin, in explaining the relationship between career aspirations and migrant status; the analysis of the characteristics of the sample in Chapter V indicated that a high proportion of non-migrant males fall into the category of skilled occupations (Table XII, Appendix D).

The importance of the structural variable size of community of origin in determining migrant status was demonstrated in testing Hypothesis 4, which states that individuals in small communities are more likely to migrate than individuals in larger communities. The findings among males and females supported the hypothesis, and the data (presented in Tables XII and XIII, Appendix D) also indicated the differential occupational opportunity structure, for males and females, in small towns as compared to large urban areas. Metropolitan communities tend to attract young adults from communities of all sizes.

As predicted, the structural variable family size was found to be directly associated with migrant status, although the relationship was weak. Individuals with many siblings were more likely to be migrants than those with few or no siblings. The socio-economic status of the respondent's family, as

measured by the occupational status of the father in 1965, was also found to be directly associated with migrant status, particularly among males. Individuals of high socio-economic status origin tended to migrate more than individuals of low socio-economic status origin.

The influence of migratory relatives on the migrant status of the respondents was tested in the data presented in Table 27, which shows a positive correlation between these variables. Young persons who have siblings or close relatives who are migrants are more likely to be migrants themselves than individuals who have no migratory relatives.

None of the hypotheses relating migrant status to subjective personal variables, such as the respondent's self-concept, estimation of personal job opportunities as compared to peers, and success values, has been supported by the evidence. The only significant relationship found was that between the estimation of obtaining a desired occupation and migrant status among females.

This chapter completes the presentation of the results of the research. The final chapter discusses some general conclusions and implications that can be drawn from this longitudinal study among Nova Scotia high school students of 1965. In particular, findings of the present research which call into question generalizations and explanations of the migration process presented in previous studies are discussed, and suggestions are made for further research.

VII. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis deals with two studies, analysis of career decisions of Canadian youth carried out by Professor Raymond Breton in 1965-66 and a follow-up longitudinal study in 1972 of Nova Scotia respondents in the original study to explain geographical mobility or residential stability in relation to career aspirations, the problem for research in this thesis.

The present research was prompted by an awareness of concern in the province of Nova Scotia at the evident out-migration of large numbers of well-educated young persons and by the implication, frequently explicitly stated (cf. Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, 1967: 60), that all efforts should be made and policy directed towards retaining highly-qualified young people in the province.

The introductory chapter outlined the sociological problem for investigation, namely, the relationship between migration and career decisions among relatively well-educated young people of the province in the past seven years, and indicated the major migration trends in Nova Scotia. The writer believes that geographical mobility is an enriching and educating experience, particularly for young persons in the early stages of their career, and that a community benefits not only from the contributions of in-migrants from other regions or cultures, but also from the contributions of its members who migrate and return, enriched by education, training, and life experience; therefore, several important questions for research suggested themselves. Some of these questions were: Is it true that a high proportion of well-educated young people leave their home communities in the province? If so,

where do they go? Why do they go? Do they leave permanently, or do they return? To what extent does the opportunity structure of the community of origin fail to retain its young people, fail to attract them back after experience elsewhere, fail to attract other young persons of comparable qualifications and experience?

This final chapter serves both as a conclusion and as an introduction. It is a conclusion in that it presents a summary of the major findings of the research, particularly as they relate to the findings of previous studies, and an interpretation of these findings in the context of the originating questions and the sociological problem outlined in the introductory chapter. It is also an introduction in that problems beyond the scope of the present project and further hypotheses to be tested are suggested for future research.

The Argument

The argument of the thesis, presented in the introductory chapter, stated that an adolescent is oriented towards certain career goals (aspirations) and that this orientation is largely acquired through the socialization process in family, school, peer group, and community. In the process of career decision-making, however, objective structural factors in the individual's environment and subjective personal factors shape and modify the career aspirations as the individual passes through different stages of the life cycle, and as reality factors impinge upon the individual's experience. Decisions about residential stability or geographical mobility are made in the context of reality factors and perceptions of reality associated with career aspirations.

The Research Procedure

In order to accomplish the purpose of the present study, the subsample of 391 Nova Scotia respondents to the original Breton project had to

be traced. Data collection proved to be a rewarding, enriching, and fruitful experience. Not only were virtually all of the respondents located through persistent effort and following of leads from various sources, but personal extensive travel and study of communities throughout most of Nova Scotia and across Canada gave the researcher valuable knowledge of varying patterns of behaviour, styles of life, and other global properties in communities of different size and region. It was found that differences in normative behaviour are as marked between Cape Bretoners and people from "the Valley" (the Annapolis Valley) as they are between people of the Maritimes and those of the Prairies.

As reported in Chapter IV, the data were collected by the researcher personally interviewing approximately 70 per cent of the respondents and training one research assistant to interview approximately 20 per cent of the respondents (many of whom had been initially contacted by the researcher); mailed questionnaires were used for approximately 9 per cent of the respondents who were contacted directly or through relatives or friends but who could not be interviewed. While recognizing that personal data collection can increase the possibility of bias, the researcher decided that previous intensive training and experience in interviewing would minimize this problem, and that the advantages in terms of response rate, reliability of response, knowledge of origin and destination communities, and financial costs far outweighed the disadvantages of possible interview bias. Experience gained in the present research has led the writer to the conclusion that data obtained in careful interviews, when the researcher is aware of the dangers and difficulties involved and cautious to guard against such problems, are possibly more reliable and less subject to error than those data obtained from mailed questionnaires or other forms of written reporting. Raw data

obtained in the interviews, moreover, stimulated new insights in the analysis of findings.

Summary of Findings

Chapter II of the thesis defined basic migration concepts and terms and reviewed the literature related to the migration process. Previous research has indicated that migration in the Atlantic provinces follows the general pattern of selecting predominantly young adults at the beginning of their careers. The aim of the present research has been to analyse and explain the migration process among this age group. Studies have shown migration to be selective of married persons in greater proportions than single or widowed persons (cf. George, 1970; Lee, 1966; Doeflinger, 1962), of the well-educated (cf. Richmond, 1969; Anderson, 1966), of those in high-prestige professional, technical, and managerial occupations (cf. McInnis, 1971; Stone, 1969; Ladinsky, 1967b), but also of those in low-prestige service occupations (cf. McInnis, 1971; Stone, 1969). The evidence of previous studies suggested that sex-selectivity in migration varies according to time and place and according to origin community and destination community (cf. George, 1970; Stone, 1969; Whyte, 1967).

The respondents for this study came from 17 secondary schools of 1965, sampled according to the criteria of type of school, size of school, and size of community, and located in 10 of the 20 Nova Scotia counties. The geographical mobility or residential stability data gathered from the sub-sample placed the respondents in three broad categories of migrant status: migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants. Migrants comprised approximately 45 per cent of the sub-sample; returned migrants, approximately 19 per cent; and non-migrants, approximately 36 per cent. Statistical analyses were made comparing migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants in terms of basic personal and structural characteristics to sketch a selected profile

of each of these three categories of respondents.

In terms of age, with all the respondents falling within the age-category of 19 to 28 years, the median age of migrants tends to be slightly lower than that of the sample as a whole; that of non-migrants is slightly higher than that of the sample; the median age of returned migrants corresponds with that of the sample.

Although sex is not a significant factor determining migrant status in the sample as a whole, among the migrants and returned migrants (according to their stated reasons for migration), a greater proportion of males than females are primary (active) migrants, and a relatively high proportion (19%) of the total migrant females accompanied their husbands as secondary (passive) migrants. The data indicate that marital status is an important variable differentiating between the sexes in terms of migrant status.

Contrary to the findings of other studies, the data show that among migrant males, greater proportions are single rather than married; among non-migrants, greater proportions are married rather than single; the returned migrants are fairly evenly distributed in marital status. The question for interpretation raised by these findings was whether geographical mobility limits marriage or whether marriage limits geographical mobility. The most likely interpretation is offered by the data on post-secondary education and occupational status of the respondents.

There is a clear gradient from migrants to returned migrants to non-migrants with regard to continuing education at the post-secondary level. Greater proportions of migrants than either returned migrants or non-migrants have continued their education; and greater proportions of returned migrants than non-migrants have continued their education. Analysis of the marital status of the college-educated respondents (as distinct from those who have had any kind of post-secondary education) revealed that college-educated

males and females tended to be single in much greater proportions than in the sample as a whole and than in the Nova Scotia population of the same age-categories; the differences are more marked in the younger 20-24 age-category. The data suggest that the more highly educated (in the occupations of higher prestige) are the more geographically mobile respondents, and that they tend to marry at a later age.

The data of this research support the findings of other studies that migration is selective of persons in high-prestige professional, technical, and managerial occupations, and also of persons in low-prestige service occupations (in this study, persons in the armed forces and in the R.C.M.P.). Migrants are represented in the high-prestige professional occupations in greater proportions than are the returned migrants or the non-migrants. Returned migrant males are represented in high proportion in the medium-prestige skilled worker occupations; returned migrant females are represented in high-prestige semi-professional occupations (mainly graduate nurses and teachers). Non-migrant males are heavily concentrated in the medium-prestige skilled worker occupations; non-migrant females in the medium-prestige clerical and sales occupations.

Migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants were also compared in terms of three structural variables: socio-economic status of the family, family size, and size of community of origin. The data indicated that migrants, especially male migrants, tended to be of high socio-economic status origin; returned migrants, especially female returned migrants, tended to be of low socio-economic status origin; non-migrant males tended to be of medium socio-economic status origin; non-migrant females tended to be of low socio-economic status origin. In terms of family size, the findings supported other studies in that the only child tended to be a non-migrant, and migrants and returned

migrants, especially females, tended to be from large families in greater proportions than the proportion of respondents from large families in the total sample.

Migrants were also found to come in a high proportion from small communities of less than 1,000 population; non-migrants, on the other hand, were predominantly from metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth. Returned migrant males were also from the metropolitan centre in a high proportion, whereas returned migrant females were from communities of less than 10,000. These data are interpreted as indicating not only that young persons migrate in search of the more favourable career opportunity structure to be found in the metropolitan and urban centres, but also that the same communities differ in the opportunity structure they offer to males and to females.

The data also showed that in 1972 over half the migrants (no matter what the size of their community of origin) resided in metropolitan communities; half the non-migrants also resided in metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth. A great deal of migration has been within the province of Nova Scotia or within the Atlantic region. Although 45 per cent of the respondents were migrants, 23 per cent were intra-provincial migrants, and 28 per cent were migrants within the Atlantic region. Inter-provincial migrants comprised 15 per cent of the sample, and some of these were found to be temporary residents of Nova Scotia at the time of the original survey, their fathers being posted in the province as armed forces personnel. International migrants were a very small proportion of the sample (2%) and half of these were members of the armed forces or married to members of the armed forces. The few remaining international migrants provided interesting case studies of migration motives and career plans in the form of long personal letters accompanying their mailed questionnaires; these raw data suggested that for this small segment of the sample the search for opportunity implies a successful career that is measured less

in terms of monetary reward or prestige than personal commitment to public social issues.

The profile of migrants, returned migrants, and non-migrants portrayed three categories of respondents with important differences among them in relation to personal and structural variables. In particular, the data indicated that the returned migrants were to be distinguished from migrants. Returned migrants appeared to be an "in-between" category of middle level education, middle-level occupational prestige, from middle-sized families, from the city (if they were males) or from small communities of less than 10,000 (if they were females), but of low socio-economic status whether they were males or females. These findings suggested that for the returned migrants, migration was a means to upward social mobility; migration enabled them to get the education, training, and experience for their middle-level skilled occupations (among males) or for their semi-professional and clerical occupations (among females). The data also indicated that the category of returned migrant status should be retained in the longitudinal analysis of the relationships between career variables, objective variables, and personal variables and the migration process, that is, in testing the major hypotheses of the thesis.

The main explanatory variables employed to test the argument of the thesis were the level of career aspirations of the respondents in 1965, congruence between career aspirations and subsequent career attainment among those who expressed a career goal as adolescents, and career indecision among the respondents as adolescents. The findings led to the conclusion that the relationship between occupational aspirations and migrant status is non-linear; aspiration to high-prestige occupations and low-prestige occupations is associated with migration; there are sex differentials, with occupational

aspirations being a better predictor of migrant status among males than among females. The association between aspirations to post-secondary education and migrant status was found to be relatively weak among males; among females there was little or no association between these variables.

In this research there was a weak association between occupational aspirations and subsequent occupational attainment; congruence among males was greatest among those who aspired to skilled and semi-skilled occupations; congruence among females was greatest among those who aspired to clerical, sales, semi-professional, and professional occupations. It was noted, however, that in measuring congruence to test this hypothesis, respondents who were full-time students at the time of interviewing were excluded from the analysis; the data indicated that a relatively high proportion of full-time students were aspirants to high-prestige occupations in 1965 and therefore likely to attain relatively high-prestige occupations if they complete their studies.

When the relationship of migrant status to congruence between career aspirations and attainment was tested, however, there was little or no support for the hypothesis of direct association between these variables, whether career was measured in terms of occupation or post-secondary education. Analysis of occupational congruence among each of the three categories of migrant status, however, showed that congruence was greatest among the migrants, and greater among returned migrants than among non-migrants. These findings led to the conclusion that there was some support for the hypothesis that migration facilitates the attainment of a desired occupation or that migration is directed towards attainment of a desired career goal.

The present researcher met the same difficulty that has been encountered in other studies, namely, that of measuring congruence between aspirations and attainment. Kuvelsky and Bealer (1967: 295) drew attention

to this methodological problem. The degree of congruence will be influenced by the system of classifying occupations at each point in time and by the degree of specificity or inclusiveness in the occupational categories used to measure congruence; the broader and more inclusive the categories used, the higher the probable rate of congruence will be. In this study, although the respondents were classified in terms of congruence or incongruence by the specific narrow occupational categories used for coding, for the purposes of statistical analysis, since the size of the sample was small, the eight relatively broad categories of occupational prestige (Pineo and Porter, 1967) were used. Using this method, as noted above, there was a weak positive association between adolescent occupational aspirations and subsequent occupational attainment.

These findings led to the conclusion reached by other researchers (cf. Kuvelsky and Bealer, 1966) that occupational aspirations are not very good predictors of subsequent occupational attainment, but they do play a directional role. The present research, however, suggested that a longitudinal study of career patterns over a longer period of time might reveal a greater association between aspirations and attainment. It also suggested a possible interpretation for the apparent contradiction found in other studies in the specific nature of the differentials of congruence among occupational categories. Whereas some studies (cf. Kohout and Rothney, 1964) found congruence greatest among those who aspired to professional occupations, other studies (cf. Kuvelsky and Bealer, 1967) found congruence greatest among aspirants to unskilled occupations. The findings of the present study suggest that a contextual variable, namely, the occupational opportunity structure of the community is a significant factor influencing not only both level of aspirations and level of attainment but also the specific occupational

categories in which greatest congruence occurs. Other factors, such as availability of training, the demand for a specific occupation aspired to as an adolescent at a later point in time, technological development in the intervening time-period, economic conditions, also intervene to influence the degree of congruence. These other structural variables are considered possible factors intervening to influence both congruence and migrant status.

The hypothesis that career indecision is directly associated with migrant status was not supported by the data. On the contrary, the males with no career goal tended to be represented in greater proportions among the non-migrants. Migration was selective of the males with a career goal. Among the returned migrant males, those with no career goal as adolescents as compared with those with a stated career goal are represented in greater proportion than they are in the sample as a whole, and in the same proportion as they are in the non-migrant category. These findings among male respondents provided further evidence of important differences between the migrant and returned migrant categories. It was suggested in Chapter VI above that the explanation for the influence of career indecision on migrant status might lie in the employment opportunity conditions in Canada in the early 'seventies, when approximately 25 per cent of the sample left high school. In a society where a male occupational role is normative, it is the male respondents who have a career goal, or who seek the education or training for a chosen career, who are more likely to migrate. The network of family, friends, and acquaintances who have previously migrated informs those with no clearly formulated career aspirations that jobs are scarce. It is noteworthy that among males, of the 117 respondents who have migrated since the original study, only 15 (13%) stated that the main reason for migration was to look for a job (Table I, Appendix D).

Among females, the presence or absence of a career goal was found to have no association with migrant status. The data showed, however, that among migrants, females (like males) with a career goal were represented in greater proportion than in the sample as a whole. Migration, therefore, is selective of both males and females with a career goal rather than those who, as adolescents, are indecisive about their future career.

Four hypotheses proposed relationships between objective structural variables and migrant status. Four variables, size of community of origin, family size, socio-economic status of the respondent's family, and family migratory background, were all found to be associated with migrant status. The findings showed that migrants were more likely to be persons of small origin communities; if their origin was the metropolitan community of Halifax-Dartmouth, they migrated to other metropolitan communities in relatively high proportion.

As also hypothesised, the family background variables were significant factors related to migration. Migration was found to be directly associated with the size of the respondent's family, the father's level of occupational prestige, and the number of migratory siblings or close relatives.

The hypotheses of expected relationships between subjective personal variables (self-concept with regard to career opportunities, personal job opportunities compared to opportunities of significant others, and success values) and migrant status were not supported by the data. It was suggested in the interpretation of these findings that the indicators used to measure the personal variables could possibly have been inappropriate for Nova Scotia respondents, especially when used in a written questionnaire. Measurement of attitudes is a hazardous task at any time; personal and cultural factors can influence the modal response an individual is prone to give: extreme

responses, neutral responses, agree responses, disagree responses. These factors can confound the measurement of the specific attitude; they can also, in consequence, limit the reliability of attitude comparisons across regional sub-cultures. It is the opinion of the writer that a modal response of "average" to an attitude question is normative for a Nova Scotian respondent, whether or not, for example, the respondent's self-concept is very positive, average, or relatively poor. The data supported this opinion. If this is a valid hypothesis, then it raises important questions about the reliability of attitude comparison among adolescents across the provinces.

Implications

The approach of the present research has been micro-sociological in that the focus has been on career factors that influence migrant status among young adults. The study has also taken into account, however, macro-sociological dimensions of the problem of migration of youth. In particular, objective factors in the opportunity structure of individuals were found to be significant determinants of residential choice in relation to career decisions. The respondents, representative of the population of relatively well-educated secondary school students in Nova Scotia public schools in 1965-'66, were found to be highly mobile. A great deal of the migration, however, was intra-provincial or intra-regional; metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth within the province, and the city of Moncton within the region, both with their varying types of post-secondary educational institutions and their wider range of job opportunities, especially in the high-prestige and skilled occupations, were the destination communities for a high proportion of migrants. Returned migrant males have returned to the metropolis or to the urban industrial centres in Cape Breton; returned migrant females have returned to the metropolis in lesser proportion than males, their return

communities being about equally divided among Halifax-Dartmouth, large urban centres of Cape Breton, and smaller urban centres of 10,000 to 1,000 population. The findings suggest that the provision of viable job opportunities in terms of industry and business in selected areas of the province will not only retain the more highly educated young adults but also attract those who migrate, for whatever personal reasons, to return to their origin communities. It could also attract comparable qualified and highly mobile young adults from other communities within the region or from other regions of Canada.

Inter-regional migration has been mainly to metropolitan destination communities which offer the most favourable occupational opportunity structure. The raw data showed that in many cases these moves were made by individuals, especially males, who were employed by a national or international corporation. Several accepted the job-transfer, whether willingly or reluctantly, with the stated intention of using the experience in another province as a step towards a higher managerial post within the province of Nova Scotia or in charge of the Atlantic region.

The findings support Davis's metropolis-hinterland model of Canadian society. Davis defines hinterland as "relatively underdeveloped or colonial areas which export for the most part semi-processed extractive materials--including people who migrate from the country to the city for better educational and work opportunities;" metropolis, on the other hand, signifies "the centres of economic and political control located in the larger cities" (Davis, 1971: 12). Davis notes, moreover, that there are "hierarchies of metropolis-hinterland relationships;" that is, areas of a province can be a hinterland for the metropolitan centre (e.g., the rest of the province of Nova Scotia in relation to Halifax-Dartmouth); between provinces (e.g., to a certain extent, Nova Scotia in relation to the other Atlantic provinces),

and between regions (e.g., "Upper Canada" and the Atlantic region), there can also be a metropolis-hinterland relationship; lastly, the metropolis-hinterland model applies to Canada's relationship with the United States, according to Davis's argument (1971: 16). The model fits Nova Scotia's history particularly well; for generations it has exported people, fish, timber, and ships to the sprawling eastern seaboard of the United States. Economic factors (and military factors) have stopped the flow of young people from Nova Scotia to the New England States; but the migrants of previous flows (or their descendants) still return in large numbers as temporary summer residents of origin communities with strong family and kinship networks and bonds that create a sense of belonging.

The quest for community is a characteristic of young people (among others) to-day. The interviews with the respondents of the present research revealed that Nova Scotia offered many of them the kind of communal social relationships that alienated youth in more sophisticated regions of Canada tend to seek, never having experienced them in the highly organized, technologically-oriented post-industrial metropolitan centres. Returned migrants frequently stated explicitly that the main reason for return was preference for the slower-paced communal life-style of Nova Scotia (or of the smaller community in relation to metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth).

These findings suggest that a key variable in the explanation of migrant status is "style of life." The questionnaire for the present research gathered data on this variable. A relatively high proportion of respondents stated that preference for a particular style of life influenced their choice of residence at the time of the study and would influence their future residential stability or geographical mobility. Migratory young adults tended to be the more highly qualified members of the sample. For

many of these persons, however, attachment to a particular geographical location in the province, family ties, a sense of belonging to the community, and an attractive life-style were high-priority values to weigh against success values measured in terms of high-income occupational roles. This finding lends further support to the argument that socio-economic development of the province implies policies directed towards increasing public and private investment and a programme of industrialization designed to provide a greater number of alternative job opportunities.

Suggestions for Further Research

In the introduction to this chapter, it was indicated that research activity is an on-going process. Findings and conclusions from one study often suggest directions for further research. Such was the genesis of the present study. The conclusions drawn from Breton's investigation of social and academic factors related to the career decisions of youth led to this follow-up study of the influence of career decisions on the migration process. The purpose of this section of the thesis is to present problems beyond the scope of the present research and to suggest some hypotheses which appear to the writer appropriate directions for research in future studies of the relationship between career factors and the migration process.

The findings of the present study indicated that structural properties of the community of origin are important determinants of migrant status; size of community of origin was found to be inversely related to migration. These results suggest that it would be fruitful to design a study which would specifically address the problem of the effect of varying community structures on migrant status. Variables such as the occupational structure, kinship patterns in industrial ownership and control, per capita income, degree of urbanization, number and type of post-secondary institutions

available, should be included in an analysis of communities that would be comparative not only within a region but between regions.

At the end of the previous section of this chapter it was reported that "style of life" was an important factor influencing residential stability or geographical mobility among young adults. This concept might well be used as an overarching concept to elaborate and explain the relationship between different career patterns and migrant status; it is hypothesized that occupational life style is a significant intervening factor influencing the relationship between these variables. On another level, community life style is proposed as an intervening variable between the career decision and the migration decision. On a third level, personal life style (in terms of mobility or stability) is an independent variable to be taken into account in the explanation and prediction of migration.

Related to the above problems is the question of personal histories of career patterns and migration patterns over time. Careful longitudinal studies of the career history and the migration history among the same individuals over an extended period of time would yield a better understanding of the interaction between these variables and the direction of the relationship. These studies, moreover, should take into account the intersection of the personal biography with historical events and the current economic conditions of society.

Finally, there is need for improved methodological procedures for measuring the congruence between career aspirations and career attainments and for more thorough analysis of structural and personal factors that influence congruence or incongruence in career aspirations and attainment and of the way in which these structural and personal factors intervene between congruence and the migration process.

Conclusion

In the present study, major concern was with the influence of career variables and of objective structural variables and subjective personal variables on the migrant status of young adults. Each of these variables was investigated independently. It has been suggested several times, however, that these factors are inter-related. If this is true, then it would be well to investigate the interaction of combinations of career variables and structural and/or personal variables with migrant status. Such a study would be possible using a larger sample of respondents from the original Breton study and comparing respondents from different regions of Canada. There is a wealth of material available in the Breton project for longitudinal study of many aspects of the career decisions of Canadians, of which but one facet is the present analysis of the relationship between career aspirations and the migration process.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A^a

NOVA SCOTIA SCHOOLS SELECTED FOR STUDY OF CAREER DECISIONS OF CANADIAN YOUTH, 1965-66

School number	Size of community	Type of school	Grades taught	No. of classes	Secondary enrolment 1965-66	Weight	Sub-sample Breton '65 Ralston '72
1	10,000-99,999	Academic	9-12	10	301	9.0	27
2	100,000 or more	Academic	10-12	32	1000	5.0	48
3	100,000 or more	Academic	10-12	42	1550	3.0	40
4	1,000-9,999	Academic	9-12	3	63	11.0	7
5	1,000-9,999	Academic	9-12	7	200	24.0	47
6	1,000-9,999	Academic	9-12	13	420	8.0	29
7	Less than 1,000	Academic	9-12	7	187	39.0	53
8	Less than 1,000	Academic	9-12	9	265	10.0	21
9	Less than 1,000	Academic	9-12	9	268	10.0	22
10	Less than 1,000	Academic	9-12	12	400	5.0	17
11	Less than 1,000	Academic	9-12	23	675	2.0	13
12	Less than 1,000	Academic	9-12	25	850	2.0	16
13	10,000-99,999	Vocation	10-12	11	325	1.0	2
14	100,000 or more	Vocation	10-12	41	1000	1.0	9
15	1,000-9,999	Vocation	10-12	13	200	3.0	5
16	1,000-9,999	Vocation	10-12	33	375	1.0	3
17	100,000 or more	Jr. High	9	7	200	18.0	32
Total					8,279		391

^aSource: Nova Scotia Department of Education, unpublished mimeograph.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE (RALSTON, 1972)

Province number _____
 School number _____
 Respondent number _____

NAME _____
 (Family name) (First name) (Middle name)

PRESENT HOME ADDRESS _____

Phone No. _____ Code Community Size: _____

In 1965-66 respondent attended _____ school.
 Using the card providing the code for geographical location, INTERVIEWER
 please pre-code in the space provided the respondent's present address as
related to the address in 1965.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

My name is _____, I (Sister Helen Ralston of Saint Mary's
 University, Halifax) have (has) already contacted you (your family) about
 this project. When you were in high school seven years ago, you were asked
 to answer questions about your future career. With the co-operation of the
 Nova Scotia Department of Education and your school then, this project is
 a follow-up of some of the Nova Scotia students who took part in that
 survey of educational and job plans.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out what these high school
 students of seven years ago are doing now. You may have ended up doing what
 you planned then, or your ideas may have changed in the meantime and you may
 be doing something different.

A particular concern of the project is to learn whether people have
 moved during the seven years of whether they have stayed in the same locality.
 Many young people in Nova Scotia move within the province or to other places
 for different reasons. One of the aims of this project is to find out some
 of the factors that have influenced the choice of your place of residence,
 whether or not you have moved.

All information you give for this study is strictly confidential. It
 will be used only for statistical purposes to obtain a better understanding
 of the career opportunities available for young people and their residential
 movement after leaving high school.

Date of Interview	Visit No. (Check✓)	Time of Interview			Remarks
		Start	Finish	Duration	

Respondent contacted and interviewed	1
Respondent contacted, but unwilling to be interviewed	2
Respondent could not be found	3
Respondent deceased since original survey in 1965-66	4
Respondent completed mailed questionnaire	5
No response to mailed questionnaire	6

INTERVIEWER PLEASE PRE-CODE SEX OF SUBJECT

Male	1
Female	2

1. How old were you on your last birthday?

19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

These are questions about your education.

2a. What was the last high school you attended?

(Name) _____

(Place) _____

2b. In what year did you leave high school?

1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
------	------	------	------	------	------	------

2c. How far did you go in high school?

I finished Grade 9	1
I finished Grade 10	2
I finished Grade 11	3
I finished Grade 12	4
I was in Grade 9 when I left, but did not complete it . .	5
I was in Grade 10 when I left, but did not complete it. .	6
I was in Grade 11 when I left, but did not complete it. .	7
I was in Grade 12 when I left, but did not complete it. .	8
Not sure, don't remember.	9
- GO TO Q.3

* 2d. If you left school before finishing Grade 12, what was your main reason for leaving?

To get a job	1
To make my own living and be independent.	2
Poor marks or grades.	3
To get married	4
Because of financial problems	5
Disliked school work.	6
Other (What?) _____	7
Don't know	8

3. Here is a list of the programmes or courses of study offered in high schools in the province of Nova Scotia. When you finished or left high school, which programme or course of study were you in?

University preparation	1
General course	2
Undifferentiated academic programme.	3
Commercial course preparatory to post-secondary.	4
Terminal commercial course	5
Non-terminal technical course.	6
Terminal technical course.	7
Other (What?).	8
Vocational or trade course	9
Not sure, don't remember	10

* An asterisk indicates replication of an item used in the Breton 1965 study.

Some students change programmes or courses of study during their high school career.

4a. Did you?

Yes 1

No 2 GO TO Q. 5

* 4b. What was the main reason that made you change your programme or course of study to the one you finished in?

- My marks were not good enough 1
- My former programme did not lead to good job opportunities. 2
- There was too much work 3
- I had difficulty with certain subjects. 4
- I did not like most of the subjects 5
- My former programme did not lead to further education . . . 6
- None of the above reasons 7
- Don't know. 8

5. If you could choose your high school programme or course of study over again today, what programme would you choose now?

- University preparation. 1
- General course. 2
- Undifferentiated academic course. 3
- Commercial course preparatory to post-secondary 4
- Terminal commercial course. 5
- Non-terminal technical course 6
- Terminal technical course 7
- Other (What?) _____ 8
- Vocational or trade course. 9
- Don't know. 10

6. Were you able to get that programme or course of study in the school you attended in 1965-66?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2 Don't know . . . 3

7. Did you continue your education after high school on a full-time basis, on a part-time basis, or not at all?

Full-time 1
Part-time 2
Not at all 3 GO TO Q. 17

GO TO Q. 8

* 8. What kind of school did you attend after finishing high school?

- Business college. 1
- Agricultural college or institute 2
- Teacher's college or normal school. 3
- Nursing school. 4
- Theological school or seminary. 5
- Institute of technology or similar post-secondary school. . 6
- College or university 7
- Other (What?) 8

9. How many years of schooling have you had since high school?

1 or less 2 3 4 5 6

10a. Do you have a university degree, certificate or diploma?

(Give highest academic qualifications.)

No university degree, certificate or diploma. 1
 Yes, university certificate or diploma (below Bachelor level) 2
 Yes, Bachelor degree. 3
 Yes, first professional degree. 4
 Yes, Master's or equivalent, or earned Doctorate (e.g. Ph.D.) 5
 GO TO Q. 11

10b. In what year did you obtain your highest university degree, certificate or diploma?

1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972

11a. Have you ever completed a full-time vocational course of three months or longer?

(Do not include university or high school courses.)

Yes, apprenticeship course. 1 No 3
 Yes, other full-time vocational . . . 2
 GO TO Q. 12

11b. Describe course or apprenticeship of longest duration.

(e.g., auto mechanic, chemical technology, drafting, commercial art, X-ray technician, accounting, barbering...)

11c. How long was this course or apprenticeship?

3-5 months . . . 1 1-2 years . . . 3 More than
 6-12 months . . . 2 2-3 ye-rs . . . 4 3 years . . . 5

11d. In what year did you complete this course or apprenticeship?

1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972

12. Where did you continue your education after high school?

Place _____

13. How soon after finishing high school did you begin your post-secondary education?

The year following high school 1
 One year after high school 2
 Two years after high school. 3
 More than two years after high school. 4

14. Who helped you most in choosing the particular school or the kind of school you attended after high school?

My father	1
My mother	2
Father and mother equally	3
Wife or husband	4
Brothers or sisters	5
Other relatives	6
Teacher	7
School principal or vice-principal.	8
School guidance counsellor.	9
A friend already in post-secondary school	10
Other friends	11
An employer	12
Other (Who?)	13
No one helped me.	14

- * 15. About how much of the total cost of your education after high school has your family paid for?

None	1
About one-quarter.	2
About half	3
About three-quarters	4
All.	5
Don't know	6

GO TO Q. 17

16. If your family has not paid for all your education after high school, what is the main way you have paid for the rest?

Savings from summer job	1
Earnings from part-time work during school year.	2
Scholarship or bursary	3
Student loan from government	4
Loans from relatives and friends	5
Inheritances	6
Husband or wife's earnings or savings.	7
Personal savings	8
Other (What?)	9

17. Do you plan to continue your education later either on a full-time basis or on a part-time basis or not at all?

Definitely full-time	1
Probably full-time	2
Definitely part-time	3
Probably part-time	4
Definitely not at all.	5
Probably not at all.	6
Undecided.	7

GO TO Q. 18

GO TO Q. 19

18. What is the main way you think you will cover expenses?
Savings from summer job	1
Earnings from part-time job	2
Scholarship or bursary.	3
Student loan from government.	4
Loans from relatives and friends (other than parents)	5
Inheritances.	6
Husband or wife's earnings or savings	7
Personal savings.	8
Other (What?)	9
19. Some people get married before they finish their studies; others decide to wait until they have finished their education. Suppose a person like you undertakes further education after high school and falls in love before completing his (or her) studies. What do you think he (or she) should decide with regard to marriage?
Complete his (or her) education before marrying	1
Marry and still continue his (or her) education	2
Quit post-secondary school and get married.	3
Other (What?) _____	4
I don't know.	5
I have not thought about this much.	6
That depends.	7

Now, some questions about your occupation and career.

20. What is your normal job? If you work on more than one job, give the one in which you spend the most time. If you are presently unemployed, give the kind of job you normally have. If you are a full-time student, give that as your occupation.

Please be as specific as you can. Tell not only what you do but also what sort of place you work in. For instance:

--I deliver mail for the post office.
 --I sell insurance for a large insurance company.
 --I am a helper in a friend's fishing boat.

What do you do? (e.g., sell insurance) _____

In what sort of place? (e.g., in a large insurance company)

21. Are you currently employed?

<p>Yes 1</p> <p>↓</p> <p><u>GO TO Q. 23</u></p>	<p>No 2</p> <p>↓</p> <p><u>GO TO Q. 22</u></p>
---	--

22. How long have you been on the job market?

- Not at all 1
- Less than six months 2
- More than six months but less than a year. 3
- One year 4
- Two years. 5
- Three years. 6
- Four years 7
- Five years 8
- Six years or more. 9

GO TO Q. 24

23. How did you get your present job? (If presently unemployed, go to Q. 24.)

- Through an advertisement 1
- Through registering with Canada Manpower 2
- Through my father and/or mother. 3
- Through my brother or sister 4
- Through a relative other than immediate family 5
- Through a friend 6
- Through a former employer. 7
- Through a personal application 8
- Don't remember 9

24a. What is your marital status?

- Single, never married 1
- Now married 2
- Widowed 3
- Divorced. 4
- Separated 5

24b. When were you married?

Month	01	02	03	04	05	06
	07	08	09	10	11	12

Year	65	66	67	68
	69	70	71	72

Never married 9999

25. Have you any children?

One 1	Two 2	Three 3	Four or more 4	None 5

If never married, go to Q. 28.

26. How far did your wife or husband go in school?

- None 1
- Some elementary school (Gr. 1 - 5) 2
- Completed elementary school. 3
- Some high school (Gr. 7 - 11). 4
- Business or technical school after some high school. 5
- Completed high school. 6
- Business or technical school after completing high school 7
- Vocational certificate or diploma after completing high school 8
- Some university education. 9
- Graduate from university 10
- Post-graduate study at university. 11
- Other (What?). 12
- Don't know 13

27a. Does your wife or husband have a job outside the home now?

- Yes, full-time job 1
 Yes, part-time job 2
 No, not working now. 3
 Don't know 4
 Wife or husband dead 5

27b. If your wife or husband is working or has ever worked outside the home, either full-time or part-time, please describe his or her job. Please be as specific as you can.

What does (did) she do? _____

In what sort of place does
(did) she work? _____

Use the table of annual income to complete Questions 28 and 29 by entering the number corresponding to the income category listed.

None		1
\$ 1 -	499 . . .	2
500 -	999 . . .	3
1,000 -	1,499 . . .	4
1,500 -	1,999 . . .	5
2,000 -	2,999 . . .	6
3,000 -	3,999 . . .	7
4,000 -	4,999 . . .	8
5,000 -	5,999 . . .	9
6,000 -	6,999 . . .	10
7,000 -	7,999 . . .	11
8,000 -	8,999 . . .	12
9,000 -	9,999 . . .	13
10,000 -	10,999 . . .	14
11,000 -	11,999 . . .	15
12,000 -	14,999 . . .	16
15,000 -	19,999 . . .	17
20,000 -	24,999 . . .	18
25,000 and over		19
Don't know		99

28. Your own annual income in 1971?

If not now married, go to Q. 30.

29. Your spouse's annual income in 1971?

30. Thinking back to when you were in high school seven years ago, if you had had your choice, what sort of job or occupation would you have liked most to have made your life's work or career? Please be as specific as you can.

What would you have liked
most to have done? _____

In what sort of place would
you have liked to work? _____

31. Do you think there were opportunities in or near your home community seven years ago for the job you would have liked most to make your life's work or career?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2 Not sure . . . 3

32. Everyone does not end up doing the job he or she would like most. Thinking back to when you were in high school at _____ seven years ago, and considering your ability, grades in school, ambitions, family finances, and the opportunities for jobs then, what job did you actually expect to have as your life's work or career?

Please be as specific as you can in naming a job, and state in what sort of place you thought that would be.

What did you expect to end up doing? _____

In what sort of place? _____

33. Sometimes people change their job expectations after they have been out of high school for a while. Now that you are actually either continuing your education or in a job, have you changed your expectations of what you will be doing 15 to 20 years from now?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2

GO TO Q. 34

What do you expect to end up doing?
(e.g., medical technician) _____

In what sort of place do you think
that will be? (e.g., large hospital) _____

34. In what part of the world do you think that you will find the life's work or career you expect 15 to 20 years from now?

Somewhere around the area I attended high school in Nova Scotia . 1
Elsewhere in Nova Scotia 2
Somewhere in the other three Atlantic provinces. 3
Elsewhere in Canada (Where? _____) 4
Outside Canada 5
I have no idea where it will be. 6

35. If you could get the job you expect as your life's work in or around _____ (home community of seven years ago), would you settle there permanently?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2 Not sure . . . 3

Why not?

My parents have moved and I want to settle near them 1
My husband/wife wants to settle elsewhere. 2
I want to be independent of my family. 3
I want to settle near other relatives. 4
I want to make money 5
I want a change. 6
I want to travel 7
Other (What? _____) 8
Don't know 9

36. Do you think your parents expected you to take up a job locally after you completed your education?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2 Not sure . . . 3

37. Who has helped you most in planning your occupational career?

My father	1	School principal or vice-principal . . .	8
My mother	2	School guidance counsellor	9
Mother and father equally . . .	3	Friend in same kind of job	10
Wife or husband	4	Other friends.	11
Brothers or sisters	5	An employer.	12
Other relatives	6	Other (Who? _____)	13
Teacher	7	No one helped me	14
		I have no idea what I will do.	15

YOUR RESIDENCE

38. Where were you born?

If born in _____, the town or county where you attended school in 1965-66, skip to Question 40.

39. If born elsewhere, in what period did you come to live in _____, the town or county in which you resided seven years ago?

1945 or earlier	1
1946-50	2
1951-56	3
1957-60	4
1961.	5
1962.	6
1963.	7
1964.	8
1965.	9

40. How long have you been living in the town or county in which you now are?

One year or less	1	
Two years	2	
Three years	3	
Four years.	4	
Five years.	5	
Six years	6	
Seven years	7	
More than seven years	8	
All my life	9	

GO TO Q. 41 GO TO Q. 53

41. People move away from the place they grew up in for different reasons.
What was your main reason for moving away from _____
(place of residence in 1965-66)?

My parents moved and I went with them	1
To continue my education	2
To take a temporary job that was waiting for me	3
To take a steady job that was waiting for me.	4
To look for a job in line with my qualification	5
To look for any kind of job	6
To be independent of my family.	7
To be with a boy friend who went to study elsewhere	8
To be with a boy friend who took a job elsewhere.	9
To be with a girl friend who went to study elsewhere.	10
To be with a girl friend who took a job elsewhere	11
To get married.	12
To be with my husband who went to study elsewhere	13
To be with my husband who went to work elsewhere.	14
To be with my wife who went to study elsewhere.	15
To be with my wife who went to work elsewhere	16
To make more money.	17
I wanted to travel.	18
To get ahead in life.	19
I wanted a change	20
Other (What? _____)	21
Don't know.	22

42. How many times have you moved since you were in high school in 1965-66?

Count moving away and returning to the same place as two moves.
Do not count a move within the same town or county.

Once	1	Five times	5
Twice.	2	Six times.	6
Three times.	3	Seven times.	7
Four times	4	Eight times.	8
		Not sure, don't remember	9

43. Before you moved to your present place of residence, did anyone that you know already live in this area?

Yes 1

No 2

↓
GO TO Q. 45

44. Whom did you know already living in this area?

Parents	1
Brothers or sisters	2
Wife or husband	3
Other relatives	4
Boy friend.	5
Girl friend	6
Employer.	7
Other (Who? _____)	8

45. Did anyone suggest that you move to this area?

Yes 1

No 2

↓
GO TO Q. 47

46. Who suggested that you move to this area?

- Parents. 1
- Brothers or sisters. 2
- Wife or husband. 3
- Other relatives. 4
- Boy friend 5
- Girl friend. 6
- Employer 7
- Other (Who? _____) 8

47. Have you ever returned to _____ (place of residence seven years ago)?

- I have returned to visit the same town or county 1
- I have returned to Nova Scotia, but not to the same town or county 2
- I have not returned to Nova Scotia 3
- I have returned to reside in the same town or county 4

GO TO Q. 51

GO TO Q. 50

48. About how many visits have you made to the same town or county (or to Nova Scotia)?

One 1	Five 5
Two 2	Six. 6
Three 3	Seven. 7
Four. 4	Eight. 8
	Nine or more 9

49. What has been the main reason for these visits?

- Summer job. 1
- Other business. 2
- Pleasure or vacation. 3
- Family problems 4
- Other (What? _____) 5

50. Would you like to return to live permanently to live in _____ (place of residence seven years ago)?

- Definitely to the same town or county. 1
- Definitely to Nova Scotia, but not to the same town or county. . 2
- Undecided about returning to the same town or county 3
- Undecided about returning to another part of Nova Scotia 4
- Definitely not to the same town or county. 5
- Definitely not to Nova Scotia 6

GO TO Q. 53

51. People return to the place in which they grew up for different reasons. What is your main reason for going back?

- To take a job in line with my qualifications and experience. . . 1
- To take a job with better pay than I am getting now. 2
- To get married and settle down 3
- To be with my husband/wife who has a job there 4
- To be near my family and relatives 5
- To be near friends I grew up with 6
- To retire. 7
- Preference for (different) way of life 8
- Other (What? _____) 9

52. About how many years from now do you think it will be before you get back to live there permanently?

One	1	Five to ten years	5
Two	2	Ten to fifteen years	6
Three	3	More than fifteen years	7
Four	4	Never	8
		Don't know	9

53. Do you plan to settle permanently in your present place of residence (in the same town or county)?

Yes	1	No.	2
		Not sure.	3
		That depends.	4
- GO TO Q. 55

54. What would be your main reason for moving elsewhere?

To take a job in line with my qualifications and experience . .	1
To take a job with better pay than I am getting now.	2
To get married and settle down	3
To be with my husband/wife if he/she gets a job elsewhere. . .	4
To be near my family and relatives	5
To be near friends	6
To retire.	7
Preference for (different) way of life	8
Other (What? _____)	9

YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

55. Are your parents still living?

Both father and mother living.	1
Father living, but not mother.	2
Mother living, but not father.	3
Neither father nor mother living	4
Don't know	5

GO TO Q. 57

56. Do you keep in contact with your parents?

Normal contact	1
Contact is disturbed in some way	2
No contact	3

57. With whom are you living now?

Living independently (with spouse, or alone in room, boarding-house, apartment, etc.)	1
Living with both father and mother	2
Living with father, but not mother	3
Living with mother, but not father	4
Living with sister	5
Living with brother.	6
Living with boy friend(s).	7
Living with girl friend(s)	8
Other (With whom? _____)	9

58. In which part of the world were your father and mother born?

- a. Father's place of birth _____
 b. Mother's place of birth _____

59. How far did your parents go in school?

Please indicate the highest level of schooling each has.

	(a) Father	(b) Mother
None	1	1
Some elementary school (Gr. 1 to 5)	2	2
Completed elementary school (Gr. 6)	3	3
Some high school (Gr. 7 to 11)	4	4
Business or technical school after some high school. .	5	5
Completed high school (Gr. 12)	6	6
Business or technical school after completing high school.	7	7
Vocational certificate or diploma after completing high school.	8	8
Some university education.	9	9
Graduated from university.	10	10
Post-graduate study at university.	11	11
Other: Father _____	12	12
Mother _____	13	13
Don't know	13	13

60. Is your father

- presently employed? 1
 temporarily unemployed? 2
 retired? 3
 not living? 4
 unknown? 5

61. What is (was) your father's normal job? Please be as specific as you can.

What does (did) he do? _____

In what sort of place? _____

62. Has your mother ever worked outside the home?

Yes . . . 1 No . . . 2 Don't know . . . 3

↓
GO TO Q. 65

63. Does your mother now have a job outside the home?

- Yes, full-time job 1
 Yes, part-time job 2
 No, not working. 3
 Don't know 4
 Mother not living. 5

68. (cont'd)

	(a) Age	(b) Present residence (Code)	(c) Highest level of education (Code)	(d) Job (Code)
<u>Oldest sister</u>				
Next sister				
Next sister				
Next sister				
Next sister				
Next sister				
Next sister				
Next sister				

69a. How many living uncles have you?

On your father's side

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 + none

69b. How many living uncles have you?

On your mother's side

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 + none

70a. How many living aunts have you?

On your mother's side

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 + none

70b. How many living aunts have you?

On your mother's side

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 + none

71. Where are your uncles living?

a. Uncles on father's side: (Code)

1st uncle _____

2nd uncle _____

3rd uncle _____

4th uncle _____

5th uncle _____

6th uncle _____

7th uncle _____

8th uncle _____

b. Uncles on mother's side:

1st uncle _____

2nd uncle _____

3rd uncle _____

4th uncle _____

5th uncle _____

6th uncle _____

7th uncle _____

8th uncle _____

72. Where are your aunts living?

b. Aunts on father's side: (Code)

1st aunt _____

2nd aunt _____

3rd aunt _____

4th aunt _____

5th aunt _____

6th aunt _____

7th aunt _____

8th aunt _____

b. Aunts on mother's side:

1st aunt _____

2nd aunt _____

3rd aunt _____

4th aunt _____

5th aunt _____

6th aunt _____

7th aunt _____

8th aunt _____

IF NEVER MARRIED, GO TO QUESTION 75

73. Where was your wife or husband born?

74. When was your wife or husband born?

(Day) (Month) (Year)

75. When were you born?

(Day) (Month) (Year)

76. Do you belong to any religion now?

Yes . . . 1

No . . . 2

Not sure . . 3

END

77. What religion would you say you belong to now?

Anglican. 1

Baptist 2

Greek Orthodox. 3

Jewish 4

Lutheran. 5

Mennonite 6

Pentecostal. 7

Presbyterian 8

Roman Catholic 9

Salvation Army 10

Ukrainian Catholic 11

United Church. 12

Other (What? _____) . . 13

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

APPENDIX C^a

ITEMS SELECTED FROM BRETON STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE, FALL 1965

The purpose of this questionnaire is to learn as much as possible about the interests and attitudes of high school students so that this information can be related to providing satisfactory career opportunities for Canadian young people when they finish school. The questionnaire is part of a research study being carried out by the Canadian Department of Labour in co-operation with the Department of Education in your province.

All information you give in this study is strictly confidential. It will be used only for statistical purposes.

Item B-3 Do you think you will continue your education after high school on a full-time basis, on a part-time basis, or not at all?

- a. Definitely full-time
- b. Probably full-time
- c. Definitely part-time
- d. Probably part-time
- e. Definitely not at all
- f. Probably not at all
- g. Undecided
- h. Have not thought about it yet

Item B-12 Suppose you continued your education after high school. Thinking of your ability, how good do you think your changes would be of being successful in getting a degree or diploma?

- a. Much better than average
- b. Above average
- c. Average
- d. Below average
- e. Much worse than average

Item B-13 Do you think that a student who graduates from this school has a better, equal, or worse chance of being successful in further education after high school as students graduating from other high schools you have heard about in this province?

- a. Much better
- b. A little better
- c. Equal
- d. A little worse
- e. Much worse

^aSource: Breton, 1972: 409-431.

- Item D-7,8 If you had your choice, what type of work would you like to have most as a career? (Write the type of work or occupation in the block provided on the answer sheet.)
 If no type of work or occupation in particular, mark space a on line 8.
 If you have not thought much about it, mark space b on line 8.
 If you are not sure, mark space c on line 8.
- Item D-9,10 Now, considering the opportunities for jobs today, what work or occupation do you expect to have as a career? (Write what is on your mind, even if you are not definite about it, in the block provided in the answer sheet.)
 If you have not thought about it, yet, mark space a on line 10.
 If you don't know, mark space b on line 10.
- Item D-16 Who has helped you most so far in planning your occupational career? (Mark only one space.)
- a. My parents
 - b. Other relatives or adults
 - c. A teacher
 - d. The principal or vice-principal
 - e. A guidance counsellor in this school
 - f. Another guidance counsellor or agency in your community
 - g. Friends
 - h. Other
 - i. No one helped me
 - j. I have not yet thought about my occupational career.
- Item D-19 (Girls only--Boys: Mark space e on answer sheet.)
 Do you plan to work full-time after you finish your schooling?
- a. Not at all
 - b. Only before I am married
 - c. Both before and after I am married
 - d. Have not thought about it yet
- Item D-32 Where do you think you stand in your chance of getting a good job compared with other students in your class?
- a. Much better than average
 - b. Better than average
 - c. About average
 - d. Below average
 - e. Much below average
- Item D-33 Do you think that a student who graduates from this school has a better, equal, or worse chance for a good job as students graduating from other high schools you have heard about in this province?
- a. Much better
 - b. A little better
 - c. Equal
 - d. A little worse
 - e. Much worse

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: (Items E-2 to E-11)

- Item E-2 The most important thing for a parent to do is to help his children get further ahead in the world than he did.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
- Item E-3 A person should try to do what he does better than anyone else.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
- Item E-4 The most important purpose of high schools is to prepare people for their occupational career.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
- Item E-8 The job should come first, even if it means sacrificing time from recreation.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
- Item E-9 The best way to judge a man is by his success in his occupation.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
- Item E-11 I would make any sacrifice to get ahead in the world.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
- Item G-1 What is your father's occupation? (Indicate it as accurately as you can, using two words if possible; for example, write "shoe salesman" instead of just "salesman"; or write "electrical engineer" instead of just "engineer". If he is retired or deceased, say what his occupation was. (Write it in the block provided on the answer sheet.)
- Item G-5 Does your mother work outside the home?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

APPENDIX D

TABLES

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY STATED REASON FOR MIGRATION, BY SEX

Reason for migration	Males	Females	Total
My parents moved and I went with them	10.3% (12)	7.9% (10)	9.0% (22)
To continue my education	33.3% (39)	25.2% (32)	29.1% (71)
To take a temporary job that was waiting for me	0.9% (1)	0.8% (1)	0.8% (2)
To take a steady job that was waiting for me	20.5% (24)	10.2% (13)	15.2% (37)
To look for a job in line with my qualifications	4.3% (5)	7.1% (9)	5.7% (14)
To look for any kind of a job	8.5% (10)	3.9% (5)	6.1% (15)
To be independent of my family	1.7% (2)	0.8% (1)	1.2% (3)
To be with a boy friend who went to study elsewhere		0.8% (1)	0.4% (1)
To be with a boy friend who went to work elsewhere		0.8% (1)	0.4% (1)
To get married		3.9% (5)	2.0% (5)
To be with my husband who went to study elsewhere		0.8% (1)	0.4% (1)
To be with my husband who went to work elsewhere		18.1% (23)	9.4% (23)
To make more money	2.6% (3)	0.8% (1)	1.6% (4)
I wanted to travel	5.1% (6)	3.1% (4)	4.1% (10)
To get ahead in life	0.9% (1)	0.8% (1)	0.8% (2)
I wanted a change	2.6% (3)	11.8% (15)	7.4% (18)
Other (What?_____)	9.4% (11)	3.1% (4)	6.1% (15)
Total	100.0% (117)	100.0% (127)	100.0% (244)

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY PERSON KNOWN IN
1972 COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE, BY SEX

Person known	Males (N=84)	Females (N=111)	Total (N=195)
Parents	32.1% (27)	34.2% (38)	33.3% (65)
Brothers or sisters	16.7% (14)	9.0% (10)	12.3% (24)
Wife or husband	2.4% (2)	9.0% (10)	6.2% (12)
Other relatives	25.0% (21)	26.1% (29)	25.6% (50)
Boy friend	15.5% (13)	9.9% (11)	12.3% (24)
Girl friend	2.4% (2)	9.9% (11)	6.7% (13)
Employer	1.2% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.5% (1)
Other	4.8% (4)	1.8% (2)	3.1% (6)
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS, BY AGE AND SEX

Age	Migrant status										Total
	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
19											0.5% (2)
20	4.7% (4)	4.5% (4)	4.6% (8)		2.5% (1)	1.4% (1)	1.5% (1)	4.1% (3)	2.9% (4)		3.4% (13)
21	16.3% (14)	12.4% (11)	14.3% (25)	24.2% (8)	17.5% (7)	20.5% (15)	10.8% (7)	9.6% (7)	10.1% (14)		14.0% (54)
22	16.3% (14)	37.1% (33)	26.9% (47)	12.1% (4)	25.0% (10)	19.2% (14)	20.0% (13)	31.5% (23)	26.1% (36)		25.1% (97)
23	23.3% (20)	19.1% (17)	21.1% (37)	21.2% (7)	32.5% (13)	27.4% (20)	16.9% (11)	24.7% (18)	21.0% (29)		22.3% (86)
24	19.8% (17)	16.9% (15)	18.3% (32)	24.2% (8)	15.0% (6)	19.2% (14)	24.6% (16)	17.8% (13)	21.0% (29)		19.4% (75)
25	9.3% (8)	7.9% (7)	8.6% (15)	12.1% (4)	5.0% (2)	8.2% (6)	13.8% (9)	6.8% (5)	10.1% (14)		9.1% (35)
26	4.7% (4)	1.1% (1)	2.9% (5)	6.1% (2)	2.5% (1)	4.1% (3)	4.6% (3)	2.7% (2)	3.6% (5)		3.4% (13)
27	5.8% (5)	1.1% (1)	3.4% (6)				4.6% (3)		2.2% (3)		2.3% (9)
28							3.1% (2)		1.4% (2)		0.5% (2)
Total	100.0% (86)	100.0% (89)	100.0% (175)	100.0% (33)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (138)		100.0% (386)

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS, BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX

Marital status	Migrant status										Total
	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
Single	56.0% (47)	38.2% (34)	46.8% (81)	69.7% (23)	32.5% (13)	49.3% (36)	44.6% (29)	39.7% (29)	42.0% (58)	45.6% (175)	
Now married	44.0% (37)	57.3% (51)	50.9% (88)	27.3% (9)	65.0% (26)	47.9% (35)	53.8% (35)	58.9% (43)	56.5% (78)	52.3% (201)	
Widowed		2.2% (2)	1.2% (2)							0.5% (2)	
Divorced											
Separated		2.2% (2)	1.2% (2)	3.0% (1)	2.5% (1)	2.7% (2)	1.5% (1)	1.4% (1)	1.4% (2)	1.6% (6)	
Total	100.0% (84)	100.0% (89)	100.0% (173)	100.0% (33)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (138)	100.0% (384)	

TABLE V
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS, BY BIRTHPLACE OF SPOUSE, BY SEX

Birthplace of spouse	Migrant status										Total
	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
Same county Nova Scotia	22.3% (8)	27.8% (15)	25.5% (23)	80.0% (8)	88.9% (24)	86.4% (32)	77.1% (27)	84.4% (38)	81.3% (65)	58.0% (120)	
Other county Nova Scotia	22.3% (8)	33.3% (18)	28.9% (26)		11.1% (3)	8.1% (3)	14.3% (5)	6.8% (3)	10.0% (8)	17.9% (37)	
Other Atlantic	16.6% (6)	7.4% (4)	11.1% (10)	20.0% (2)		5.5% (2)				5.8% (12)	
Elsewhere Canada	30.5% (11)	20.4% (11)	24.4% (22)				5.8% (2)	4.4% (2)	5.0% (4)	12.5% (26)	
Outside	8.3% (3)	11.1% (6)	10.1% (9)				2.9% (1)	4.4% (2)	3.7% (3)	5.8% (12)	
Total	100.0% (36)	100.0% (54)	100.0% (90)	100.0% (10)	100.0% (27)	100.0% (37)	100.0% (35)	100.0% (45)	100.0% (80)	100.0% (207)	

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS, BY LEVEL
OF SECONDARY EDUCATION ATTAINED, BY SEX

Level of secondary educational attainment	Migrant status										Total
	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
Grade 9 incomplete	2.3% (2)		1.1% (2)				3.1% (2)		1.4% (2)	1.0% (4)	
Grade 9 completed	2.3% (2)	3.4% (3)	2.9% (5)	3.0% (1)		1.4% (1)	3.1% (2)	1.4% (1)	2.2% (3)	2.3% (9)	
Grade 10 incomplete	4.6% (4)	4.5% (4)	4.6% (8)	6.1% (2)		2.7% (2)	1.5% (1)		0.7% (1)	2.8% (11)	
Grade 10 completed	1.1% (1)	9.1% (8)	5.1% (9)		2.5% (1)	1.4% (1)	4.6% (3)	8.2% (6)	6.5% (9)	4.9% (19)	
Grade 11 incomplete	3.4% (3)	3.4% (3)	3.4% (6)	9.1% (3)	5.0% (2)	6.8% (5)	9.2% (6)	4.1% (3)	6.5% (9)	5.2% (20)	
Grade 11 completed	19.5% (17)	18.2% (16)	18.9% (33)	15.2% (5)	25.0% (10)	20.5% (15)	16.9% (11)	28.8% (21)	23.2% (32)	20.7% (80)	
Grade 12 incomplete	6.9% (6)	5.7% (5)	6.3% (11)	12.1% (4)	7.5% (3)	9.6% (7)	7.7% (5)	1.4% (1)	4.3% (6)	6.2% (24)	
Grade 12 completed	59.8% (52)	55.7% (54)	57.7% (101)	48.5% (16)	55.0% (22)	52.1% (38)	52.3% (34)	54.8% (40)	53.6% (74)	55.2% (213)	
Total	100.0% (87)	100.0% (88)	100.0% (175)	100.0% (31)	100.0% (38)	100.0% (69)	100.0% (64)	100.0% (72)	100.0% (136)	100.0% (380)	

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS, BY CONTINUATION OF
EDUCATION AT POST-SECONDARY LEVEL, BY SEX

Education continued at post-secondary level	Migrant status									Total
	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants			
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Yes	79.1% (68)	71.9% (64)	75.4% (132)	81.8% (27)	55.0% (22)	67.1% (49)	60.0% (39)	63.0% (46)	61.6% (85)	68.9% (266)
No	20.9% (18)	28.1% (25)	24.6% (43)	18.2% (6)	45.0% (18)	32.9% (24)	40.0% (26)	37.0% (27)	38.4% (53)	31.1% (120)
Total	100.0% (86)	100.0% (89)	100.0% (175)	100.0% (33)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (138)	100.0% (386)

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WITH POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION
BY TYPE OF POST-SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED, BY SEX

Type of post-secondary school	Males	Females	Total
Business college	1.5% (2)	37.9% (50)	19.5% (52)
Agricultural college or institute	0.7% (1)	0.8% (1)	0.8% (2)
Teacher's college or normal school	0.7% (1)	6.1% (8)	3.4% (9)
Nursing school		14.4% (19)	7.1% (19)
Theological school or seminary			
Institute of technology or similar school	23.9% (32)	4.5% (6)	14.3% (38)
College or university	50.0% (67)	20.5% (27)	35.3% (94)
Other	23.1% (31)	15.9% (21)	19.5% (52)
Total	100.0% (134)	100.0% (132)	100.0% (266)

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WITH POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION
BY LOCATION OF POST-SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED, BY SEX

Location of post-secondary school	Males	Females	Total
Same county, N.S.	41.8% (56)	60.3% (79)	50.9% (135)
Other county, N.S.	35.8% (48)	30.5% (40)	33.2% (88)
Nfld.	0.7% (1)	0.8% (1)	0.8% (2)
N. B.	3.0% (4)	1.5% (2)	2.3% (6)
P. E. I.		0.8% (1)	0.4% (1)
Que.			
Ont.	13.4% (18)	3.8% (5)	8.7% (23)
Man.	0.7% (1)		0.4% (1)
Sask.			
Alta.	1.5% (2)		0.8% (2)
B. C.	1.5% (2)	1.5% (2)	1.5% (4)
Outside Canada (U. S. A.)	1.5% (2)	0.8% (1)	1.1% (3)
TOTAL	100.0% (134)	100.0% (131)	100.0% (265)

TABLE X

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WITH POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION
BY FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION OF FAMILY TO EDUCATION, BY SEX

Financial contribution of family	Males	Females	Total
None	64.3% (83)	60.8% (79)	62.5% (162)
About one-quarter	20.2% (26)	14.6% (19)	17.4% (45)
About half	5.4% (7)	6.9% (9)	6.2% (16)
About three-quarters	5.4% (7)	2.3% (3)	3.9% (10)
All	4.7% (6)	14.6% (19)	9.7% (25)
Don't know		0.8% (1)	0.4% (1)
Total	100.0% (129)	100.0% (130)	100.0% (259)

TABLE XI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY BY SEX, 1972

Occupational Category	Males	Females	Total
Professional	13.0% (11)	11.3% (10)	12.1% (21)
Proprietors, managers, and officials, large	17.8% (15)	-	8.8% (15)
Semi-professional	4.8% (4)	11.4% (10)	8.7% (14)
Proprietors, managers, and officials, small	2.4% (2)	-	1.2% (2)
Clerical and sales	8.3% (7)	45.4% (40)	27.3% (47)
Skilled	15.5% (13)	5.7% (5)	10.6% (18)
Semi-skilled	18.9% (16)	3.3% (3)	11.1% (19)
Unskilled	5.9% (5)	2.3% (2)	4.1% (7)
Housewife	-	8.0% (7)	4.0% (7)
Full-time student	14.1% (12)	12.5% (11)	13.3% (23)
Unemployed	-	-	-
Unclassified other	-	-	-
Sub-total	100.0% (85)	100.0% (88)	100.0% (173)
TOTAL			

TABLE XII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RETURNED MIGRANTS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, BY SEX,
1972

Occupational category	Males	Females	Total
Professional	6.0% (2)	10.0% (4)	8.2% (6)
Proprietors, managers, and officials, large	6.0% (2)	-	2.8% (2)
Semi-professional		22.5% (9)	12.2% (9)
Proprietors, managers, and officials, small	-	-	-
Clerical and sales	15.2% (5)	52.5% (21)	35.5% (26)
Skilled	45.3% (15)	7.5% (3)	24.8% (18)
Semi-skilled	6.0% (2)	-	2.8% (2)
Unskilled	12.2% (4)	2.5% (1)	6.8% (5)
Housewife	-	-	-
Full-time student	9.1% (3)	5.0% (2)	6.8% (5)
Unemployed	-	-	-
Unclassified other	-	-	-
Sub-total	100.0% (33)	100.0% (40)	
TOTAL			100.0% (73)

TABLE XIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NON-MIGRANTS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, BY SEX,
1972

Occupational category	Males	Females	Total
Professional	6.1% (4)	4.1% (3)	5.0% (7)
Proprietors, managers, and officials, large	4.6% (3)	1.4% (1)	2.8% (4)
Semi-professional	4.5% (3)	5.5% (4)	4.8% (7)
Proprietors, managers, and officials, small	1.5% (1)	-	0.7% (1)
Clerical and sales	15.3% (10)	60.3% (44)	38.9% (54)
Skilled	26.1% (17)	9.5% (7)	18.1% (24)
Semi-skilled	16.8% (11)	2.8% (2)	9.3% (13)
Unskilled	7.6% (5)	2.7% (2)	4.9% (7)
Housewife		5.5% (4)	2.9% (4)
Full-time student	12.3% (8)	8.2% (6)	10.1% (14)
Unemployed	4.6% (3)	-	2.2% (3)
Unclassified other	-	-	-
Sub-total	100.0% (65)	100.0% (73)	
TOTAL			100.0% (138)

TABLE XIVa
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIED MALE RESPONDENTS
BY NORMAL OCCUPATION OF WIFE

Normal occupation of wife	Per cent
Teachers	9.9% (8)
Graduate nurses, therapists, health professionals	4.9% (4)
Medical and dental technicians	1.2% (1)
Semi-professionals (dietitians, social workers, etc.)	4.9% (4)
Clerical workers	43.2% (35)
Sales clerks	2.4% (2)
Armed forces	2.5% (2)
Housekeepers, waitresses, etc.	6.2% (5)
Hairdressers	4.9% (4)
Telephone and telegraph operators	3.7% (3)
Textile workers, etc.	5.0% (4)
Unskilled factory workers	3.7% (3)
Full-time student	2.5% (2)
No employment	4.9% (4)
Total	100.0% (81)

TABLE XIVb
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIED FEMALE RESPONDENTS
 BY NORMAL OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND

Normal occupation of husband	Per cent
Professional	12.1% (15)
Proprietors, managers, and officials, large	11.2% (14)
Semi-professional	1.6% (2)
Proprietors, managers, and officials, small	3.2% (4)
Clerical and sales	26.7% (32)
Skilled occupations	5.6% (7)
Semi-skilled	31.2% (29)
Unskilled	6.4% (8)
Full-time student	4.0% (5)
Total	100.0% (124)

TABLE XV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS,
BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND, BY SEX

Level of socio-economic background	Migrant status										Total
	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
High	30.7% (23)	22.5% (18)	26.5% (41)	7.7% (2)	22.2% (8)	16.1% (10)	16.4% (9)	15.4% (10)	15.8% (19)	20.7% (70)	
Medium	40.0% (30)	38.7% (31)	39.4% (61)	38.5% (10)	19.4% (7)	27.4% (17)	49.1% (27)	33.8% (22)	40.8% (49)	37.6% (127)	
Low	29.3% (22)	38.7% (31)	34.2% (53)	53.8% (14)	58.3% (21)	56.5% (35)	34.5% (19)	50.8% (33)	43.3% (52)	41.7% (140)	
Total	100.0% (75)	100.0% (80)	100.0% (155)	100.0% (26)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (62)	100.0% (55)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (120)	100.0% (337)	

TABLE XVI
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS, BY FAMILY SIZE, BY SEX

Family size	Migrant status										Total
	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
Only child	1.2% (1)	3.4% (3)	2.3% (4)	3.0% (1)		1.4% (1)	12.5% (8)	5.5% (4)	8.8% (12)	4.5% (17)	
2 children	21.4% (18)	18.4% (16)	19.9% (34)	21.2% (7)	15.0% (6)	17.8% (13)	23.4% (15)	19.2% (14)	21.2% (29)	19.9% (76)	
3 children	20.2% (17)	13.8% (12)	17.0% (29)	18.2% (6)	17.5% (7)	17.8% (13)	12.5% (8)	21.9% (16)	17.5% (24)	17.3% (66)	
4 children	21.4% (18)	12.6% (11)	17.0% (29)	21.2% (7)	10.0% (4)	15.1% (11)	14.1% (9)	12.3% (9)	13.1% (18)	15.2% (58)	
5 children	7.1% (6)	14.9% (13)	11.1% (19)	9.1% (3)	20.0% (8)	15.1% (11)	20.3% (13)	11.0% (8)	15.3% (21)	13.4% (51)	
6 or more children	28.6% (24)	36.6% (32)	32.8% (56)	27.3% (9)	37.5% (15)	32.9% (24)	17.1% (11)	30.2% (22)	24.0% (33)	29.7% (113)	
Total	100.0% (84)	100.0% (87)	100.0% (171)	100.0% (33)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (64)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (137)	100.0% (381)	

TABLE XVII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, NON-MIGRANTS, BY SIZE
OF COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN, BY SEX

Size of community of origin	Migrant status										Total
	Migrants			Returned migrants			Non-migrants				
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T		
100,000 or more	28.7% (25)	16.9% (15)	22.7% (40)	42.4% (14)	25.0% (10)	32.9% (24)	52.3% (34)	38.4% (28)	44.9% (62)	32.5% (126)	
10,000- 99,999	9.2% (8)	6.7% (6)	18.0% (14)	12.1% (4)	10.0% (4)	11.0% (8)	4.6% (3)	5.5% (4)	5.1% (7)	7.5% (29)	
1,000- 9,999	20.7% (18)	24.7% (22)	22.7% (40)	18.2% (6)	30.0% (12)	24.7% (18)	24.6% (16)	21.9% (16)	23.2% (32)	23.2% (90)	
Less than 1,000	41.4% (36)	51.7% (46)	46.6% (82)	27.3% (9)	35.0% (14)	31.5% (23)	18.5% (12)	34.2% (25)	26.8% (37)	36.8% (142)	
Total	100.0% (87)	100.0% (89)	100.0% (176)	100.0% (33)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (138)	100.0% (387)	

TABLE XVIIIa

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Level of occupational aspirations	No.	%	Sub-total
Professional (physical scientists; teachers; physicians, surgeons, dentists; lawyers; artists, writers, etc.; religion professionals; architects, draftsmen, surveyors; accountants, computer programmers)	4 7 7 3 3 3 4 <u>6</u>	2.2 3.8 3.8 1.6 1.6 1.6 2.2 <u>3.2</u>	20.0 (37)
Semi-professional (medical, dental, and science technicians; athletes, entertainers; air pilots; supervisors in communications)	7 6 4 <u>2</u>	3.8 3.2 2.2 <u>1.1</u>	10.3 (19)
Managerial, small			3.3 (6)
Skilled (carpenters, machinists, plumbers, mechanics and repairmen, electricians, linemen, electronics men, construction foremen, stationary enginemmen)			12.4 (23)
Clerical			2.7 (5)
Semi-skilled (policemen; armed forces; steelworkers)	11 6 <u>1</u>	5.9 3.2 <u>0.5</u>	9.6 (18)
Unskilled			0.5 (1)
Other industry, but no stated occupation			11.8 (22)
No response			29.4 (54)
Total			100.0% (185)

TABLE XVIIIb

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Level of occupational aspirations	No.	%	Sub-total
Professional (physical scientists; biologists and agriculture; teachers; physician, surgeon, dentist; religion; artists, writers, musicians; economist, statistician)	3 2 28 1 1 6 1	1.5 1.0 13.8 0.5 0.5 3.0 0.5	20.8 (42)
Semi-professional (graduate nurse; medical and dental technician; dietician, social workers; science technicians) funeral director) entertainers, dance teachers)	40 2 9 9 1 6	19.7 1.0 4.4 4.4 0.5 3.0	33.0 (67)
Skilled (nursing assistant; hairdresser jeweller, watchmaker)	1 7 1	0.5 3.4 0.5	4.4 (9)
Clerical (secretaries, office work)			16.6 (34)
Semi-skilled (policewoman, armed forces)			1.0 (2)
Unskilled (attendants, service workers; stewardesses, housekeepers, waitresses, etc.)	1 13	0.5 6.4	6.9 (14)
Other industry, but no stated occupation			1.5 (3)
No response			15.8 (32)
Total			100.0% (203)

TABLE XIX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ASPIRATIONS
TO POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1965

Response category	Males	Females	Total
Definitely full-time	31.5 (59)	35.0 (71)	33.3 (130)
Probably full-time	17.0 (32)	17.2 (35)	17.2 (67)
Definitely part-time	2.1 (4)	2.5 (5)	2.3 (9)
Probably part-time	8.0 (15)	8.4 (17)	8.2 (32)
Definitely not at all	3.2 (6)	3.9 (8)	3.6 (14)
Probably not at all	8.4 (16)	5.4 (11)	6.9 (27)
Undecided	22.4 (42)	18.7 (38)	20.4 (80)
Have not thought about it yet	7.0 (13)	8.9 (18)	7.9 (31)
No response	0.4 (1)		0.2 (1)
Total	100.0% (188)	100.0% (203)	100.0% (391)

TABLE XXa

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS 1965 AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT 1972, MIGRANTS

Level of occupational attainment 1972	Level of occupational aspirations 1965								Total
	Professional	Managerial, large	Semi-professional	Managerial, small	Skilled	Clerical sales	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	
Professional	17.6% (3)	0	18.2% (8)	0	7.1% (1)	0	9.1% (1)	0	12.6% (13)
Managerial, large	17.6% (3)	0	2.3% (1)	0	14.3% (2)	0	9.1% (1)	0	6.8% (7)
Semi-professional	23.5% (4)	0	22.7% (10)	0	0	0	0	0	13.6% (14)
Managerial, small	0	0	0	33.3% (1)	0	0	9.1% (1)	0	1.9% (2)
Skilled	0	0	11.4% (5)	0	42.9% (6)	0	9.1% (1)	0	11.7% (12)
Clerical, sales	23.5% (4)	0	40.9% (18)	0	28.6% (4)	88.9% (8)	0	60.0% (3)	35.9% (37)
Semi-skilled	5.9% (1)	0	4.5% (2)	33.3% (1)	7.1% (1)	0	45.5% (5)	40.0% (2)	11.7% (12)
Unskilled	11.8% (2)	0	0	33.3% (1)	0	11.1% (1)	18.2% (2)	0	5.8% (6)
Total	100.0% (17)		100.0% (44)	100.0% (3)	100.0% (14)	100.0% (9)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (5)	100.0% (103)
Column total	16.5%		42.7%	2.9%	13.6%	8.7%	10.7%	4.9%	100.0%

Chi square = 101.04507****, d.f. = 42; C = .70371

TABLE XXb

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS 1965 AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT 1972, RETURNED MIGRANTS

Level of occupational attainment 1972	Level of occupational aspirations 1965								Total
	Professional	Managerial, large,	Semi-professional	Managerial, small	Skilled	Clerical, sales	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	
Professional	27.8% (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10.2% (5)
Managerial, large	5.6% (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.0% (1)
Semi-professional	5.6% (1)	0	38.9% (7)	0	33.3% (1)	0	0	0	18.4% (9)
Managerial, small	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Skilled	16.7% (3)	0	16.7% (3)	0	66.7% (2)	20.0% (1)	33.3% (1)	0	20.4% (10)
Clerical, sales	33.3% (6)	0	38.9% (7)	0	0	80.0% (4)	33.3% (1)	100.0% (2)	40.8% (20)
Semi-skilled	0	0	0	0	0	0	33.3% (1)	0	2.0% (1)
Unskilled	11.1% (2)	0	5.6% (1)	0	0	0	0	0	6.1% (3)
Total	100.0% (18)	0	100.0% (18)	0	100.0% (3)	100.0% (5)	100.0% (3)	100.0% (2)	100.0% (49)
Column total	36.7%		36.7%		6.1%	10.2%	6.1%	4.1%	100.0%

Chi square = 44.31454**, d.f. = 30; C = .68913

TABLE XXc

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS 1965 AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT 1972, NON-MIGRANTS

Level of occupational attainment 1972	Level of occupational aspirations 1965								Total
	Professional	Managerial, large	Semi-professional	Managerial, small	Skilled	Clerical, sales	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	
Professional Managerial, large Semi-professional Managerial, small Skilled Clerical, sales Semi-skilled Unskilled	15.0% (3)	0	0	0	0	11.1% (2)	0	0	5.8% (5)
	0	0	4.3% (1)	0	0	5.6% (1)	0	0	2.3% (2)
	15.0% (3)	0	13.0% (3)	0	0	0	33.3% (1)	0	8.1% (7)
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	15.0% (3)	0	4.3% (1)	0	53.8% (7)	16.7% (3)	66.7% (2)	14.3% (1)	19.8% (17)
	40.0% (8)	0	73.9% (17)	0	23.1% (3)	55.6% (10)	0	85.7% (6)	51.2% (44)
	5.0% (1)	0	4.3% (1)	50.0% (1)	15.4% (2)	5.6% (1)	0	0	7.0% (6)
	10.0% (2)	0	0	50.0% (1)	7.7% (1)	5.6% (1)	0	0	5.8% (5)
Total	100.0% (20)	0	100.0% (23)	100.0% (2)	100.0% (13)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (3)	100.0% (7)	100.0% (86)
Column total	23.3%		26.7%	2.3%	15.1%	20.9%	3.5%	8.1%	100.0%

Chi square = 56.92242**, d.f. = 36; C = .63109

TABLE XXI
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS, RETURNED MIGRANTS, AND NON-MIGRANTS, 1972,
BY CAREER INDECISION, 1965, BY SEX

	Migrant status					
	Migrants		Returned migrants		Non-migrants	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Attitude towards career 1965						
Career goal	77.0% (67)	66.3% (59)	63.6% (21)	67.5% (27)	63.1% (41)	69.9% (51)
No career goal	23.0% (20)	33.7% (30)	36.4% (12)	32.5% (13)	36.9% (24)	30.1% (22)
Total	100.0% (87)	100.0% (89)	100.0% (33)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (65)	100.0% (73)
Column total	47.0%	44.1%	17.8%	19.8%	35.1%	36.1%

TABLE XXII

SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN 1965 BY SIZE OF DESTINATION COMMUNITY 1972, MIGRANTS, BY SEX

Size of community of destination	Size of community of origin											
	100,000 or more			10,000 - 99,999			1,000 - 9,999			Less than 1,000		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
100,000 or more	40.0% (10)	33.3% (5)	37.5% (15)	87.5% (7)	33.3% (2)	64.3% (9)	66.7% (12)	57.1% (12)	61.5% (24)	52.8% (19)	54.3% (25)	53.7% (44)
10,000 - 99,999	24.0% (6)	13.3% (2)	20.0% (8)	0	50.0% (3)	21.4% (3)	5.6% (1)	14.3% (3)	10.3% (4)	11.1% (4)	15.2% (7)	13.4% (11)
1,000 - 9,999	28.0% (7)	20.0% (3)	25.0% (10)	12.5% (1)	16.7% (1)	14.3% (2)	22.2% (4)	9.5% (2)	15.4% (6)	16.7% (6)	13.0% (6)	14.6% (12)
Less than 1,000	8.0% (2)	33.3% (5)	17.5% (7)	0	0	0	5.6% (1)	19.0% (4)	12.8% (5)	19.4% (7)	17.4% (8)	18.3% (15)
Total	100.0% (25)	100.0% (15)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (6)	100.0% (14)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (21)	100.0% (39)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (46)	100.0% (82)

For total sample: Chi square = 9.25582, d.f. = 9; C = .22413
 Among males: Chi square = 12.29467, d.f. = 9; C = .35188
 Among females: Chi square = 9.21452, d.f. = 9; C = .30787

TABLE XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY ORIGIN COMMUNITY AND DESTINATION COMMUNITY, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS CONTROLLED

Size of destination community	Size of community of origin											
	100,000 or more				10,000 - 99,999				1,000 - 9,999			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Single		Mard.		S		M		S		M	
	M		S		M		S		M		S	
100,000 or more	41.7 (5)	33.3 (4)	100 (2)	25.0 (3)	83.3 (5)	100 (2)	66.7 (2)	0	70.0 (7)	57.1 (4)	55.6 (5)	58.3 (7)
10,000-99,999	25.0 (3)	25.0 (3)	0	16.7 (2)	0	0	0	100 (3)	0	14.3 (1)	0	25.0 (3)
1,000-9,999	25.0 (3)	33.3 (4)	0	16.7 (2)	16.7 (1)	0	33.3 (1)	0	20.0 (2)	28.6 (2)	22.2 (2)	0
Less than 1,000	8.3 (1)	8.3 (1)	0	41.7 (5)	0	0	0	0	10.0 (1)	0	22.2 (2)	16.7 (2)
Total	100% (12)	100% (12)	100% (2)	100% (12)	100% (6)	100% (2)	100% (3)	100% (3)	100% (10)	100% (7)	100% (9)	100% (12)

For single males: Chi square = 5.93065, d.f. = 9; C = .33473
 For married males: Chi square = 9.95720, d.f. = 9; C = .46049
 For single females: Chi square = 8.13981, d.f. = 9; C = .43950
 For married females: Chi square = 14.96577*, d.f. = 9; C = .47274

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