A study conducted in 1946 accumulated the migration expectations and background characteristics of 157 seniors from 9 rural high schools in North Central Iowa. These same respondents were reinterviewed in 1956 and again in 1967 (152 and 143 respectively responded for the 2nd and 3rd interviews), concerning their migration performances at those periods of time. The purposes of this paper were—(1) to analyze factors related to migration performances of a sample of rural young people, and (2) to determine the factors related to agreement (congruency) between migration expectations and performances. Through analysis of data from the above cited study, it was found that of the 64 percent of respondents who had made a decision concerning their migration expectations in 1948, nearly 80 percent achieved their goal by 1967. Those who planned to migrate from their home communities had the greatest amount of congruency between migration expectations and performances. Of those who were undecided concerning migration expectations, 40 percent remained in their home communities and 60 percent migrated to other areas. The data also indicated that sex, migration expectations, and college aspirations were related to migration performance. This paper was delivered at the Rural Sociological Society meeting held in San Francisco, August 26-28, 1967. (ES)
CONGRUENCE OF MIGRATION EXPECTATIONS AND PERFORMANCES:
A LONGITUDINAL APPROACH

by

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Joe M. Bohlen

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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San Francisco, California
ABSTRACT

Congruence of Migration Expectations and Performances: A Longitudinal Approach

Dean R. Yoesting
Joe M. Bohlen*

The purposes of this paper are (1) to analyze factors related to migration performances of a sample of rural young people and (2) to determine the factors related to agreement (congruency) between migration expectations and performances.

The benchmark study was conducted in 1948 when the respondents were seniors in nine rural high schools in North Central Iowa. The migration expectations and background characteristics were gathered from 157 seniors at that time. These same respondents were re-interviewed in 1956 and again in 1967 concerning their migration performances at those periods of time. There were 152 respondents in the 1956 study and 143 in the 1967 study.

Of the 64 percent of the respondents who had made a decision concerning their migration expectations in 1948, nearly 80 percent achieved their goal by 1967. Those who planned to migrate from their home communities had the greatest amount of congruency between migration expectations and performances. Of those who were undecided concerning migration expectations, 40 percent remained in their home communities and 60 percent migrated out. Data also indicated that sex, migration expectations and college aspirations were related to migration performance. College aspirations and the discussion of future plans while in high school with parents were related to migration congruency.

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CONGRUENCE OF MIGRATION EXPECTATIONS AND PERFORMANCES:
A LONGITUDINAL APPROACH

For several decades many young people from rural areas have had to leave their families and their home communities to seek occupational opportunities elsewhere. Changing technology with less demands for unskilled labor and a traditionally higher birth rate have been major factors in the increasing number of these young people who have to seek occupations outside.

Numerous studies have indicated that the rural portion of our population has in the past and presently continues to supply workers to the urban labor market. Between 1950 and 1960 the census count of the farm population of Iowa showed a decrease of approximately 15 percent in the number of people residing on the farm. In addition, with the increase in farm size and the rapid decline in the number of farms, even larger numbers of rural residents will leave the rural areas.

Past studies have discovered that migrants from rural areas differ from nonmigrants in a number of important characteristics. Those who migrate tend to be single, under 25 or 30 years of age, and generally move urbanward. Females tend to be more spatially mobile and migrate at an earlier age than boys. Most studies indicated that when sex-residence aggregates were analyzed, farm males were the least mobile while farm females were the most mobile. Schwarzweller found that the propensity to migrate was essentially the same for rural farm and rural nonfarm males.

There seems to be a general relationship between spatial
mobility and the types of occupations entered. Numerous studies found that nonmigrant farm males were more likely to be farming or employed in blue collar occupations. Generally, it has been found that males planning to farm have few plans to continue their education beyond high school. If these males ever decide to discontinue farming, their chances of attaining a high status occupation would be limited because of their poor educational background. Because of their desire and plans to farm, farm-reared males tend to isolate themselves from information concerning other types of occupations, know less about the occupational world, and are enrolled in fewer non-agricultural courses than males who do not plan to farm.

Those farm males who have no plans to farm tend to have lower educational and occupational aspirations than other rural or urban youth. Upon entering the urban labor market, they encounter difficulty in adjusting to this way of life and find themselves generally employed in blue collar jobs, especially if no additional training beyond high school was obtained. Open-country and village males were generally found in blue collar and white collar occupations, with a greater proportion of white collar occupations held by the village males. For the females, the proportion engaged in white collar occupations increased from farm through village residents.

In considering the distance individuals migrated from their home communities, it has been found that females tend to travel greater distances than males. Allen, indicated that males were more likely than females to be classified as stay-at-homes. The females tended to be more mobile with a large proportion migrating
from their parental home but still resided within the home county. Those persons with nonfarm backgrounds tended to leave the county more frequently than farm residents. In the Pennsylvania study, marriage seemed to be the major factor in the large proportion of females moving away from home.

In analyzing reasons for leaving the parental home community, Andrews and Sardo found that among the males the major factor given for leaving home included going to school, job opportunities and greater avenues for success. Females gave the same reasons as the males for migrating, with marriage being of lesser importance than was indicated by Allen.

Past research has indicated that the more intelligent young people search for educational and occupational opportunities outside their home communities regardless of the opportunities that might have been available in the local communities. Frequently, those who would prefer to remain in their home communities must leave due to the lack of local job opportunities. A drain from the communities of persons with leadership potential occurs when there is this type of selective out-migration of youth.

Past research indicated that a large number of rural youth aspire to and eventually migrate from their home communities, but to date researchers have not been able to improve their prediction of those who will definitely migrate. A longitudinal research design that analyzes data collected at two or more points in time, can provide insights to improve the predictability of those people who will migrate. By analyzing the congruency of migration perfor-
With migration expectations and in analyzing the factors related to migration performances, the present study will add to existing research in improving that predictability.

The Data

The present paper analyzes the relationship between various social and personal characteristics and the agreement of migration performances in relation to migration expectations. A longitudinal research design was utilized with a sample of high school seniors interviewed in 1948. Data were gathered concerning the students' occupational and educational aspirations and their migration intentions. These same respondents were re-interviewed in 1956 and again in 1967 concerning their migration actions and their occupational and educational attainments at those periods of time.

The initial data were obtained prior to any migration actions on the part of the respondents. Data were collected from all graduating senior males and females from the eight rural high schools in Hamilton County, Iowa, and from Story City in adjoining Story County. Story City is not only in close proximity to Hamilton County but also is similar to it in ethnic and other cultural factors. The study area is located in the North Central cash grain area of Iowa. Hamilton County, which is basically rural, was one of the typical cornbelt counties selected for study by the U.S.D.A. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Farm Population.

The nine high schools studied were located in towns ranging from 100 to 1800 in population. Enrollment in the high schools ranged from 53 to 130 students. In the initial study in 1948, 157
students were interviewed in a group situation with each student completing his own questionnaire. The interviewer read each question to the group after explaining the mechanics of the questionnaire, allowing the student to complete that question before the next question was read. The same interviewer administered the questionnaire in all high schools. In 1949, one year after the initial study, the migration performances of the respondents were determined.\(^{14}\)

The first major restudy of this project was completed in 1956, eight years following the original study. This time span was felt to be sufficient enough to allow the respondents to achieve an occupational choice and geographic location of a more permanent nature. Personal interviews were conducted with all possible respondents, with a mailed questionnaire sent to those unable to be contacted by personal interviews. Of the 157 respondents originally interviewed, 152 schedules were completed in the 1956 study.\(^{15}\)

The majority of the findings reported here were taken from data gathered in 1948 and from the most recent study conducted in the spring of 1967. The second restudy has allowed a time span of 19 years. It was assumed that most of the respondents had completed training beyond high school and that those who were going to be in the military service had served their time. It was assumed also, that the respondents' occupations and places of residence would be of a more permanent nature. Data for this phase were gathered by mailed questionnaire, except for approximately 20 interviews wherein the respondents were contacted and personally interviewed after they
had failed to respond to two mailed questionnaires and a series of follow-up letters. There were 143 completed questionnaires gathered in the 1967 study. 16

The operational definition of migration used by Bohlen in the original study is used in this paper. Migration is defined as the permanent departure from the parental home and home communities for any reason. The majority of the discussion centers around the dependent variables of 1967 migration performance and the congruency of migration actions with intentions stated in 1948. Congruency refers to agreement between the migration pattern aspired to in 1948 and the attainment achieved in 1967. 17 Incongruency refers to a lack of agreement between migration expectations and performances. It was assumed that each graduating senior was a potential migrant and his plan to leave the community was a migration intention. The 143 respondents interviewed at both periods of time are under study in this paper. These include 82 females and 61 males.

Results

In analyzing the aggregate data on migration expectations and performances for each of the study phases over the past 19 years, it is observed that the general trend has been for more persons to migrate from their home communities through time. In analyzing the 1948 migration intentions, data indicate that over a third of the respondents were undecided concerning their migration expectations, slightly more than one-half planned to migrate and about one-eighth had plans to remain in their home communities. One year after graduation, approximately two-thirds of the respondents had migra-
ted from their home communities.

(Table 1 about here)

The 1956 data indicated that slightly less than two-thirds of the respondents were living in communities other than their home communities. This was a slight decrease from the number of respondents living away from home in 1949 indicating that some of the respondents had moved from their home communities soon after graduation but returned by the time of the 1956 study.

By 1967, a considerably larger number of respondents had migrated from their home communities. Data indicate that three-fourths of the respondents had moved to communities other than those where they had resided while living at home with their parents. This large number of respondents who migrated from their home communities is a considerable increase over the 1956 migration performance stressing the desire of the respondents to pursue opportunities elsewhere.

In analyzing the amount of congruency that existed between what respondents expected to achieve at the time they graduated from high school and what they ultimately achieved in 1967, nearly 80 percent of those who had made a definite decision concerning their migration intentions had, by 1967, performed as they intended. Of those who had made a decision concerning migration, only 21 percent indicated different performance from intentions.

(Table 2 about here)

This excludes 52 individuals who were undecided concerning migration intentions in 1948, but this does indicate that those who had made a
Table 1. Distribution of the Migration Expectation of Young Adults in 1948 and Their Migration Performances in 1949, 1956 and 1967.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Migration Expectations</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leave</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Migration Performances in 1949, 1956 and 1967.
Table 2. Comparison Among Migration Expectation Groupings of Respondents Levels of Congruency and Incongruency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expectations in 1948</th>
<th>Stay</th>
<th>Leave</th>
<th>Totals*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congruent</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incongruent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 52 persons were undecided
decision prior to graduation had a good chance of achieving that goal regardless of their intentions to stay or leave their home communities.

(Table 3 about here)

The data in Table 3 indicates the distribution of migration intentions in 1948 and the actual migration performance of the respondents in 1967. In comparing the data, 40 percent of those persons who were undecided concerning their intentions were living in their home communities in 1967, while nearly 60 percent had migrated to other residential communities. Of the males who were undecided concerning migration intentions, 50 percent left their home communities and 50 percent remained at home. Seventy-one percent of the females who were undecided concerning migration intentions actually migrated. Over 50 percent of the total sample had expected to leave their home communities upon graduation and nearly 90 percent of these individuals achieved that goal by 1967. Of those who expected to remain in their home communities, less than 40 percent remained.

These findings indicate that the greatest amount of congruency exists among those who had definite migration intentions while seniors in high school, while plans to remain in the home communities show little relationship to that behavior. Among those who were undecided concerning a migration decision while in high school, there was nearly a fifty-fifty chance of their remaining in or migrating from their home communities. It is among those who are undecided that the greatest number of respondents remained at home.
Table 3. 1948 Migration Intentions by 1967 Migration Actions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1948 Migration Intentions</th>
<th>1967 Migration Actions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>Leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>89.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What, then, are the characteristics of those respondents whose migration performances were not consistent with their intentions?

Despite the limited number of cases among those who had made a decision concerning migration intentions and were incongruent with that decision, insights can be gained by analyzing their stated reasons for their performances. There were 4 females and 4 males among the individuals who stated intentions to migrate from their home communities but actually remained. All the females indicated that their husband's work was their main reason for remaining in their home communities, while all the men had military service and returned to farm or obtain a non-farm job in their home communities. Among the 11 who indicated plans to remain at home but actually migrated, 8 were men who obtained jobs elsewhere and 3 were females who left because of their husband's occupation.

Since researchers predict which individuals will remain in or migrate from their home communities from data gathered prior to migration, an attempt is made to determine which variables are related to migration performance. In 1948 Bohlen found that the place of residence, either rural farm or rural nonfarm, was not related at a statistically significant level to expressed intentions to migrate. He found a highly significant relationship between migration intentions and sex. A larger proportion of females than males planned to migrate and fewer females than males were undecided concerning a decision to migrate.

It is hypothesized that in 1967 more females than males migrated from their home communities and that more graduates with non-
farm backgrounds migrated than those with farm backgrounds. Data in Table 4 indicate the migration performance by sex and residential background. Chi-square tests indicated no relationship between 1948 residential background and migration performance for the total sample nor by sex-residence aggregates. A significant relationship at the .01 level of significance was found between migration performance and sex. A greater proportion of the females than males had migrated from their home communities. Of the sample 62 percent of the males and 83 percent of the females migrated from their parental home.

(Table 4 about here)

Another characteristic hypothesized to be related to migration performance is the socio-economic background of the respondents, but no statistically significant relationship was found to exist between socio-economic background and migration performance or for socio-economic background and migration congruency. Using the 1948 and 1956 data, the hypothesis was supported at the .05 level of significance for migration congruency. This indicates that over a short period of time, there was a relationship between congruency and socio-economic background, but for an extended time span this relationship faded out.

It is hypothesized that those persons who frequently discussed their future plans while in high school with their parents would be more likely to be congruent with migration intentions. Data support the hypothesis at the .001 level of statistical significance for migration congruency. This indicates that the persons who had fre-
Table 4. 1967 Migration Performances of Rural High School Graduates by Sex and 1948 Residential Background.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1948 Residence</th>
<th>Stay</th>
<th>Leave</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Farm</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
quenty discussed future plans with their parents were able to make a decision concerning their migration intentions and ultimately achieve that goal. There was no statistically significant relationship between whether or not individuals remained in or migrated from their home communities and the frequency of discussing future plans with parents.

The college aspirations of high school seniors are used in many studies of migration expectations and occupational aspirations. It is hypothesized that those respondents who had college aspirations would be more likely to migrate and to be more congruent with their migration aspirations. Data strongly support these hypotheses. Using a chi-square test, a statistically significant relationship was found at the .001 level between college aspirations and migration congruency. The relationship between college aspirations and migration performance was significant at the .01 level. In 1967 the relationship between these variables is stronger than were found in 1956 indicating that those who were congruent with migration intentions were more likely to attend college, while those who were incongruent or undecided had a lesser tendency to attend college. Furthermore, at the time of the 1956 study, all respondents had not completed their education beyond high school which could help explain the increase in the relationship over time.

Previous research has indicated that migration from rural areas takes place soon after graduation and at a faster rate for females than males. Pedersen indicated that among females, the highest mobility rate was from ages 17 to 26 after which the rate
slowed down, and after age 26 males migrated at a higher rate than females. Data for the present study strongly support these findings. Among the females, over 50 percent migrated within one year of graduation, approximately 33 percent migrated between 1950 and 1957, and the remaining 16 percent were living in their home communities at the time of the study in 1967. All of the females who migrated from and presently live outside of their home communities migrated prior to 1958.

A different trend was found among the males. Approximately 25 percent of the males migrated within one year after graduation, another 30 percent migrated between 1950 and 1957 and approximately 8 percent migrated between 1958 and 1967. The remaining 38 percent of the males were living in their home communities in 1967.

What was the geographic distribution of the respondents in 1967? It was found that only 16 percent of females but nearly 38 percent of the males are presently residing in the communities in which they lived when they were seniors in high school. Data indicate that 36 percent of the females and 57 percent of the males reside within their home counties while 72 percent of the females and 84 percent of the males reside in the state of Iowa. These data (Table 5 about here) indicate that approximately 23 percent of the respondents have migrated and are living out of the state of Iowa. A much larger proportion of the females have migrated from their home communities and they also have migrated greater distances from their homes than the boys.
Table 5. 1967 Residence of 1948 High School Graduates from Nine North Central Iowa Rural High Schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1967 Residence</th>
<th>Female No.</th>
<th>Female %</th>
<th>Male No.</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home Community</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home County</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contiguous County</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Counties in Iowa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contiguous States</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other States</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In comparing the 1956 data with the 1967 data, fewer persons were residing in their home communities at the latter date, a change of from one-third to one-fourth of the respondents. Only slightly more persons reside outside the state presently than resided outside in 1956. Over time, the respondents became less mobile in their residential mobility.

Summary and Conclusions

The present paper was concerned with the factors related to migration performances and congruency between migration expectations and performances. Data were obtained in 1948 from the high school seniors of the 8 rural high schools in Hamilton County and Story City High School in Story County, Iowa. These same respondents were reinterviewed 8 years later in 1956 and again reinterviewed in 1967 concerning their migration performance at those periods of time. In 1948, respondents were asked their migration expectations from their home communities and their residence was determined in 1956 and 1967. Of the 64 percent who had made a decision concerning their migration intentions in 1948, nearly 80 percent of the respondents achieved their goal by 1967. Those who planned to migrate had the greatest amount of congruency. Of those who were undecided, 40 percent remained in the home communities and 60 percent migrated out. These findings indicate that migration congruency is highly related to making a decision, especially if the decision is to migrate out of the home communities. Of those who are undecided, it is more difficult to predict whether they will stay or leave their home communities.
Since the project is of an extended longitudinal design, the factors that are related to migration performance and migration congruency were determined. Data indicated that sex, migration intentions and college plans were related to migration performance, and that college plans and their discussion of future plans while in high school with parents were related to migration congruency. Factors indicating no relationship with migration congruency included 1948 residential background, and father's occupation in 1948. These same three factors and the discussion of future plans with parents indicated no relationship with migration performance.

The data presented in this paper should yield insights to researchers of occupational and migrational aspirations and expectations. Variables utilized include those characteristics of respondents that are attainable at the time of high school graduation. With the limited number of longitudinal studies that are available, these data give additional insights to existing studies concerning the importance of the decision-making process of youth. In support of Haller it seems that levels of migration performance in adult life are substantially influenced by the migration expectations in youth.


3Pedersen, op. cit.


Allen, Buck and Wink, op. cit.


Story City was chosen to increase the number of cases in the sample. Although it lies in Story County, it is the center of a Norwegian
Cultural area which includes the Southeast portion of Hamilton County.


14 Bohlen and Wakeley, *op. cit.*

15 Two persons were deceased and three were unavailable because of personal factors.

16 Of the possible 152 questionnaires, 1 was deceased, and 8 persons refused to respond to the questionnaire or to personal interview.


19 Pedersen, *op. cit.*