

## FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH MIGRATION PLANS OF NATIVE YOUTH

Erasmus D. Monu

*Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada*

*Résumé*—Il s'agit ici d'une tentative à déterminer les plans de migration et les facteurs qui sont en rapport avec ces plans de la jeunesse indigène dans dix-sept communautés du Manitoba du Nord. Nos constatations indiquent que la décision pour la migration se rattache d'une manière significative au niveau de l'éducation, à l'aspiration professionnelle, à l'expectative d'importants autres et à l'aspect cosmopolite. Bien qu'on n'ait pas relevé une importante relation entre la déception professionnelle, la déception du revenu et l'intention d'émigrer, les rapports sont dans la direction escomptée. Les implications des constatations à l'égard de la politique sociale ont été notées.

*Abstract*—An attempt is made in this paper to determine the migration plans and the factors associated with these plans of native youth in 17 Northern Manitoba communities. Our findings indicate that the decision to migrate is significantly related to the level of education, occupational aspiration, expectation of significant others and cosmopolitanism. Although no significant relationship between occupational frustration, income frustration and intention to migrate was found, the relationships are in the expected direction. The implications of the findings for social policy are noted.

*Key words*—native youth mobility, migration, Northern Manitoba communities

Youth are the most precious asset of a community. They represent the future of our communities and the nation. Their maximum development and utilization of potentials thus become a great challenge for all those concerned with their education, growth and careers. This is particularly true with respect to native youth whose talents are often neither fully developed nor utilized.

We are told that the community in which a man is raised, just as the race or ethnic group into which he is born, defines an ascriptive base that limits his adult occupational chances. Although a man cannot change the color of his skin, he can migrate from the place of his birth to another where opportunities are better. Migration is thus seen as a possible means for overcoming these ascribed restrictions on achievement by enabling a man to take advantage of opportunities not available in his original community (Blau and Duncan, 1967). This is especially relevant to native youth who have very little chance for occupational mobility in their own communities, based on the present economic structure of these communities. We are aware, however, that psychological attachments, economic limitations in community of origin, and lack of knowledge of opportunities elsewhere could restrict geographical mobility.

This paper is thus an attempt to determine the migration plans of native youth and to investigate the factors which influence the decision to migrate. It has to be emphasized that this paper is not an attempt to show that migration is "good or bad" or that native youth should or should not migrate. Rather, it is an attempt to delineate migration plans of these youth so as to enable policy makers to base their decisions on reliable data. The major function of the Northern Manpower Corps, Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs, is to "train northern people for northern jobs." Native organizations in other parts of the country have been advocating for the establishment of similar programmes. One assumption which underlies this paper is that in order to take advantage of these training programmes and job opportunities many native youth will have to leave their communities of birth. If such programmes are to succeed, it is essential to know the extent to which the youth are prepared to leave their

communities of birth and the factors which influence the migration decision. Thus, in this paper both migration within northern communities and migration between northern and southern communities will be considered.

### *Framework*

The framework of this paper is based on studies done on youth of European origin. In a sense then, this paper may be considered as an exploratory study to determine whether the factors which explain migration decisions of youth of European origin will also explain migration intentions of native youth.

Kingsley Davis (1949) refers to the process as "the motives that migrants carry in their heads." This involves the personal beliefs, attitudes, aspiration, likes and dislikes of the youth. According to Stouffer, "Nobody who contemplates the multiplicity of economic, political, social and psychological factors that must enter into the personal contemplation of any prospective migrant would expect any simple model using only two or three variables to account for everything" (1962:109-110). This means that so many considerations may enter the decision-making process of the youth when they first consider moving from their home community that no single investigation could possibly deal with them all. The task of the investigator then is to select the more pertinent factors for systematic analysis.

Eisenstadt proposes three stages in the migration process: "First the motivation to migrate—the needs and dispositions which urge people to move from one place to another; second, the social structure of the actual migratory process, of the physical transition from the original society to a new one; third, the absorption of the immigrants within the social and cultural framework of society" (1954:1).

This paper focuses on the first stage—the motivation to migrate. It is our assumption that the migrant is motivated by the feeling of some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in his original setting. In other words, the migrant is unable to "attain some level of aspiration in his original society, where he is unable to gratify all his expectations or to fulfil the role of his desires" (Eisenstadt, 1954:2). This approach thus assumes that migration is the resultant of the frustration of certain aspirations in the community and the belief that these aspirations could be achieved in another community. This is what Lee (1966) refers to as "factors associated with area of origin" and "factors associated with the area of destination." As Lee (1966) points out in arriving at a decision to migrate, the individual has to take into consideration those factors which act to hold him within the area and those which act to repel him. However, as he cogently points out, it is not so much the actual factors at origin or destination which determine the decision to migrate but rather the individual's perception of these factors. It has to be recognized that the migrant does not necessarily feel frustrated at all aspects of life in his original community. He remains attached to his original community in various ways (Hannan, 1970). Indeed, it has been pointed out that one of the barriers in the adjustment process of migrants to their new community is their continuing attachment to the original community.

Studies dealing with motives of migrants have emphasized the importance of economic and social mobility motives (Newman, 1964; Hannan, 1970). This could be more important in the decision-making process of adolescents about to take up occupational roles for the first time. For these youth, a satisfactory job with an adequate income and a desired style of life could be the predominant variables involved in migration decision-making. This becomes more important when it is noted that the level of aspiration of native youth is constantly rising. It follows that these youth may not be satisfied with the jobs and incomes of their parents.

In this paper, occupational and income aspirations are considered to be among the factors contributing to migration. It is expected that if respondents perceive that occupational and/or income aspirations cannot be fulfilled locally, they will plan to migrate.

Another variable considered in migration decision-making is satisfaction with social provisions (Bracey, 1958; Hannan, 1970). However, satisfaction with social provisions could be very closely related to economic motives. By social provisions we mean things like water supply, sewage, shopping facilities and the inadequacies of local institutions, schools, etc. It is our view that to improve facilities without economic opportunities would be futile. "If occupational and income aspirations could be fulfilled locally on a large scale then the resulting improvements in transport and communications would enable people to travel more easily to distant and better shopping and entertainment centres" (Hannan, 1970:8). It is suggested that if the effects of occupational and income frustrations are controlled statistically, the attitudes toward the local provisions will have very little effect on the migration plans of native youth. The assumption here is that even though other frustrations may remain, the counteracting effects of native values will make for a highly satisfying life in northern small communities.

### *Methodology*

The data for this paper are derived from a questionnaire administered to native youth in 17 northern communities of Manitoba in the summer of 1974. These youth were participants in a project designed by the Northern Manpower Corps (Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs) to provide the youth with work experience, occupational awareness and career counselling. The project was limited to youth 16-18 years old, although a few individuals outside this age group were included in some cases. The questionnaire was sent to all participants in the project.

We are aware that our sample is not drawn randomly. However, the method used in selecting the youth for the project makes us feel that they are representative of native youth in Northern Manitoba. Each community was asked to select a maximum of 15 youth and not more than one person from a family. Furthermore, a comparison of the demographic characteristics of the participants with a preliminary analysis of the "human resources survey" carried out by Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs indicated that there are no marked differences between the participants and the rest of the youth population in Northern Manitoba (Monu, 1975).

Since the data were collected in the first two weeks of the project, we do not feel that the attitudes and knowledge of the youth were affected in any significant way by the project.

In all, 233 questionnaires were returned. However, upon preliminary analysis, it was found that a large number of the questions were answered as "don't know, can't tell or not sure" (we shall return to this later). It was, therefore, decided to restrict this paper to only those who have definite plans with regard to migration. This decision was taken since those who are not sure of their migration plans appear more likely to answer other questions as "don't know, can't tell, or not sure" than those who have definite plans. This paper is, therefore, based on 122 respondents. Approximately 70 per cent (69.7) of these respondents plan to migrate while 30.3 per cent plan to stay home.

The dependent variable "migration plan" was measured by asking the respondents three questions:

Do you intend to leave your community to get a job and live your life elsewhere?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure

Do you intend to leave your community so that you can get a better income elsewhere?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure

I am looking forward to leaving this community.

- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Strongly agree | 4. Disagree          |
| 2. Agree          | 5. Strongly disagree |
| 3. Undecided      |                      |

It was found that the percentage distribution of "intention to migrate" according to each of the above questions did not differ in any significant way from question to question. Indeed, the difference was not more than two per cent in any case. As pointed out earlier, the "undecided" or "not sure" category is excluded from the analysis presented in this paper.

### *Independent Variables*

1. Occupational aspiration: to measure this variable, the respondents were asked the question, "What jobs (occupations) have you thought of going into?"

It was observed that even where more than one job was mentioned, all jobs come from the same occupational category. For the analysis in this paper, therefore, five occupational categories are used — professionals, clerical and sales, skilled workers, unskilled workers, and fishermen and trappers.

Some sociologists have argued that there should be a distinction between "realistic" and "idealistic" levels of aspiration. In using only one measurement, we follow the work of Haller. "In all our studies, on the other hand, we have found the four indicators of realistic and idealistic levels which together make up the occupational aspiration scale to be so highly inter-correlated that they were well described by only one factor — obviously, level of occupational aspiration" (1968a:485).

2. Occupational frustration: this variable was operationalized by asking the respondents to answer the following question, "Of the jobs that you have just considered, do you think you will be able to get any of them in your community?"

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Not Sure \_\_\_\_\_

3. Income frustration: this variable was operationalized by asking the respondents, "For the type of income that you want to earn, do you think if you stay in or near your home community, that you will be able to earn this income?"

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Not Sure \_\_\_\_\_

All those who answered "yes" are classified as not frustrated, while all those who answered "no" are classified as frustrated. Those who have answered "not sure" are classified as uncertain.

4. Attitude towards social provisions in a community: the respondents were asked how satisfied they were with a number of social provisions in their community (see Table 13).

5. Influence of significant others: each individual is influenced by the information presented to him and emphasized as important for him by other people whose judgment he has trust in; these are significant others of the individual. Some sociologists have referred to these people as reference groups. The kinds of people who perform this function vary from one individual to the other and sometimes from one social action to the other. There is evidence, however, that parents form part of the group of significant others for youth. In this paper, the "influence of significant others" is measured in terms of expectations that parents have for their children with respect to education and migration.

6. Cosmopolitanism: our definition of this variable follows that of Rogers. Rogers defines cosmopolitanism as "the degree to which an individual is oriented outside his immediate social system" (1969:147). This variable is important since over the years members of northern communities have been conditioned to be concerned with only their immediate

environment. Roads, air strips and mass media are relatively recent facilities in some of these communities. In this paper, cosmopolitaness is operationalized in terms of number of visits to other large centres and the proportion of one's visitors which comes from outside one's community.

Since both our dependent and independent variables are ordinal, bivariate contingency tables are employed in the analysis. Kendall correlation coefficient is used as a measurement of association. Since this paper is exploratory in nature, all relationships which are significant within the .001-.10 level are reported. Because of the small size of the sample and the large percentage of the respondents who have answered some of the questions as "don't know" or "not sure," the findings in this paper should be viewed as exploratory.

### Findings

#### *Education and migration intention:*

Most studies of migration conclude that there is a relationship between educational level and migration (Hamilton, 1965; Mangalam, 1968).

Our data show that there is a relationship between grade completed and the intention to migrate as measured by Kendall coefficient correlation. Indeed, this relationship is significant at the .003 level. An examination of Table 1 indicates that 89.4 per cent of those who intend to migrate have completed grade eight or more while only 67.5 per cent of those who intend to stay in their community fall in the same category. On the other hand, only 3.6 per cent of those who intend to migrate have completed grade six or less while 10.8 per cent of those who intend to stay have completed the same grades. Level of education thus affects one's decision to leave or remain in one's community of birth.

TABLE 1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND GRADE COMPLETED

GRADES	Migration Intention	
	INTEND TO LEAVE %	INTEND TO STAY %
0-5	1.2	2.7
6	2.4	8.1
7	5.9	18.9
8-9	58.8	43.2
10	30.6	24.3
No Answer	1.1	2.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = -0.171  
Significant Level .003

*Occupational aspiration, occupational frustration, income frustration and migration intention:*

Sociologists are of the opinion that in most people's minds, occupations are arranged in hierarchy. People grow up to learn to conceive of certain limited range of points along this hierarchy as appropriate to them. When this occurs, the individual is said to have a level of occupational aspiration. If an individual aspires to be a doctor, a lawyer, or a manager of a large business, he is said to have a high level of occupational aspiration. If he aspires to be a construction labourer, he is said to have a relatively low level of occupational aspiration. Since the majority of those occupations which are regarded to have a high status are absent in most native communities, we hypothesize that the higher the occupational aspiration level of the respondent, the more likely it is that he will intend to migrate. Migration in this case is the only channel opened to him if he is to fulfil his aspiration.

TABLE 2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Professional	8.2	5.4
Clerical & Sales	28.2	18.9
Skilled Workers	17.6	16.2
Unskilled Workers	38.8	51.4
Fishermen & Trappers	-	-
Can't Tell	7.2	8.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = 0.097

Significant Level .05

The data shown above indicate that our hypothesis is supported. The relationship between occupational aspiration and migration intention is significant at the .05 level. Indeed, a close look at the data reveals that while 36.4 per cent of those who intend to migrate aspired to professional, clerical and sales occupations, only 23.3 per cent of those who intend to stay in their communities aspire to similar occupations. However, half (51.4 per cent) of those who intend to stay compared with 38.8 per cent of those who intend to migrate aspire to unskilled jobs.

We also expect that those who are occupationally frustrated will intend to migrate.

The data in Table 3 demonstrate that there is no significant relationship between occupational frustration and migration intention although the relationship is in the direction expected. The evidence shows that 21.2 per cent of those who intend to migrate are occupationally frustrated compared with 10.8 per cent of those who intend to stay. On the other hand, 40.5 per cent of those who intend to stay compared with 17.6 per cent of those who

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TABLE 3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND  
OCCUPATIONAL FRUSTRATION

OCCUPATIONAL FRUSTRATION	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Frustrated	21.2	10.8
Not Frustrated	17.6	40.5
Not Sure	61.2	48.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = 0.050  
Not Significant

intend to leave are not occupationally frustrated. It should be noted, however, that a large proportion of respondents are undecided as to whether they will be able to fulfil their occupational aspirations at home (we shall return to this point later).

Table 4 shows the relationship between migration intention and income frustration. It shows that there is no significant relationship between migration plan and income frustration, although here also the relationship is in the expected direction. Indeed, the percentage distribution for those who intend to leave is the same as that for occupational frustration. The data reveal that while 21.2 per cent of those who intend to leave are frustrated with regard to income, only 8.1 per cent of those who intend to stay are in the same category. An examination of Tables 3 and 4 shows that the strength of the relationship between occupational frustration and migration intention is not as great as for income frustration. This finding is contrary to Hannan's observation in his study of Irish youth. Hannan (1970) notes that for the Irish youth, the strength of the association between income frustration and migration intention is not as

TABLE 4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND  
INCOME FRUSTRATION

INCOME FRUSTRATION	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Frustrated	21.2	8.1
Not Frustrated	17.6	27.0
Not Sure	61.2	64.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = 0.00  
Not Significant

great for occupational frustration. This could mean that for native Manitoba youth, the prestige attached to an occupation is not as important as the income associated with the occupation.

*Parental influence, family dependency and migration plans:*

As pointed out earlier, we expect that parental status and expectation will be related to migration expectation. This relationship has been found in previous migration researches but this is important in this paper since the focus of the study is on that part of the society which is less differentiated and characterized with minimum amount of division of labour. It is expected that relationship among family members will be based on primary relationships; hence, the desire to yield to family pressure and expectations will be great.

TABLE 5. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Professional	4.7	13.5
Clerical & Sales	7.1	10.8
Skilled Workers	17.6	10.8
Unskilled Workers	11.8	29.7
Fishermen & Trappers	36.5	10.8
Don't Know	22.3	24.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = -0.090  
Significant Level .07

Table 5 indicates that there is a significant relationship between father's occupational status and migration intention. However, as the data indicate, it is an inverse relationship, that is, the higher the occupational status of the parent, the less likely it is that the respondent will intend to migrate. In fact, only 11.8 per cent of the fathers of the respondents who intend to leave come from the professional, clerical and sales category while 24.3 per cent of the fathers of those respondents who intend to stay home come from the same occupational category. It could be that those whose fathers come from high occupational status groups are satisfied with their fathers' occupation and expect to attain similar occupational status. They, therefore, see no need for leaving their communities. On the other hand, respondents whose fathers have low occupational status may see no chance of doing better than their fathers; hence, the desire to migrate.

When we look at parental expectations and migration intentions, a different picture emerges.

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TABLE 6. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND FATHER'S DESIRE FOR RESPONDENT'S POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

FATHER'S DESIRE	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Desires Post-Sec.	45.9	29.7
Does not desire Post-Sec.	12.9	5.4
Don't Know	41.2	64.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = -0.212  
Significant Level .001

TABLE 7. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND MOTHER'S DESIRE FOR RESPONDENT'S POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

MOTHER'S DESIRE	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Desires Post-Sec.	52.9	32.4
Does not desire Post-Sec.	10.6	10.8
Don't Know	36.5	56.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = -0.152  
Significant Level .006

Tables 6 and 7 show the relationship between migration intention and parental expectations of respondents' entry into post-secondary education. Both tables indicate significant relationships between both mother's and father's expectation and migration intentions. In fact, 45.9 per cent of those who intend to leave home said their fathers expected them to enter post-secondary education, compared with 29.7 per cent of those who intend to stay home. Likewise, 52.9 per cent of those who intend to migrate compared with 32.4 per cent of those who intend to stay said their mothers expect them to enter post-secondary institutions. The explanation for this relationship is not hard to find. With the exception of The Pas, all the other communities in Northern Manitoba have no post-secondary institutions. This means

TABLE 8. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND PARENTS' MIGRATION PLANS FOR RESPONDENT

PARENTS' PLANS	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Parents Expect Respondent to Leave	76.5	29.7
Parents Expect Respondent to Stay	14.1	43.2
Don't Know	9.4	27.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = 0.099

Significant Level .05

that for most respondents, entry into a post-secondary institution means leaving home. It follows that those respondents who share their parents' expectation to enter post-secondary institutions will also plan to migrate.

Table 8 illustrates the relationship between parental influence and migration intentions. Over 76 per cent of those who intend to leave report that their parents expect them to leave their community, compared with only 29.7 per cent of those who intend to stay home. All these point to the fact that the influence of parents on northern youth cannot be ignored.

One factor which makes people immobile is family responsibility. Some youth may have strong obligation to their family in that they are required to stay at home even when they would prefer to migrate. This could even be more so in native communities where the family is more patriarchal and the parents exercise more control over family members.

TABLE 9. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND FAMILY'S EXPECTATION OF SUPPORT FROM RESPONDENT

DOES FAMILY EXPECT SUPPORT FROM YOU?	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Yes	57.6	40.5
No	12.9	21.6
Don't Know	29.5	37.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = -.0225

Significant Level .001

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Table 9 shows the relationship between migration intention and whether the respondent feels that his family will depend on him for support when he starts to work. As the data indicate, the relationship is significant. Indeed, the correlation coefficient is the highest obtained in this paper. Other findings in the larger study indicate that most of the youth do not expect to stay home to help out in household work or look after the aged or infirm, but they are aware that they are expected to contribute to the financial well-being of the family. The data presented above indicate that 57.6 per cent of those who intend to leave their home communities compared with 40.5 per cent of those who intend to stay feel that they are expected to provide financial assistance to their family when they start to work. The explanation for this relationship could be found in the economic structure of the north. Most of the communities in the north cannot provide the youth with occupational opportunities. Jobs that become available may only last for a short period (building air strips or schools). This means that for a youth to have a job that lasts for a relatively long period, he has to leave his community. It follows that native youth who feel that they are expected to provide financial support to their families are more likely to plan to migrate.

### *Cosmopolitanism and migration intention:*

In line with our earlier definition of cosmopolitanism, it is expected that the more cosmopolite the respondent is, the more likely he will intend to migrate.

Tables 10 and 11 show the relationship between visits to northern and southern large cities and migration intention. The data indicate that although the relationship between visits to northern large centres and migration intention is not significant, the relationship between visits to southern large centres and migration intention is significant at the .05 level. However, it has to be noted that whereas 21.2 per cent of those who intend to migrate have visited Winnipeg and Brandon five times or more, 24.3 per cent of those who plan to stay at home reported the same number of visits. On the other hand, 41.2 per cent of those who intend to migrate compared with 21.6 per cent of those who plan to stay have visited Winnipeg two to four times. The only explanation we can suggest is that the more familiar people become of life in large centres in the south, the less important the attraction of southern cities becomes in making migration plans. This explanation is plausible when we consider the atmosphere within which

TABLE 10. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND  
THE NUMBER OF VISITS MADE TO THE PAS AND THOMPSON

NUMBER OF VISITS	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
54	36.5	35.1
2-4	20.0	27.0
0-1	10.6	10.8
Not Reported	32.9	27.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = 0.0637  
Not Significant

TABLE 11. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND  
THE NUMBER OF VISITS MADE TO WINNIPEG

NUMBER OF VISITS	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
54	21.2	24.3
2-4	41.2	21.6
0-1	21.2	40.5
Not Reported	16.4	13.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = -0.099  
Significant Level .05

natives live in Winnipeg. This means that although city life may be attractive to the native youth at first, he may become hesitant to move once he is aware of what awaits him in the city.

Table 12 supports our cosmopolitaness hypothesis. The data show that there is a significant relationship between proportion of visitors coming from outside the community and migration intention at the .001 level. Indeed, while 41.2 per cent of those who intend to leave reported that most of their visitors come from outside the community, only 23.9 per cent of those who intend to stay fall in the same category.

TABLE 12. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENTION AND  
PROPORTION OF VISITORS COMING FROM OUTSIDE COMMUNITY

PROPORTION OF VISITORS FROM OUTSIDE	Migration Intention	
	INTENDS TO LEAVE %	INTENDS TO STAY %
Most Visitors	41.2	23.9
Half of Visitors	40.0	48.6
Less Than Half	8.2	18.9
Don't Know	10.6	8.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Kendall's Tau = 0.200  
Significant Level .001

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### *Social provisions and migration intention:*

We suggested earlier that if the effects of occupational and income frustration are controlled statistically, the attitudes toward the local provisions will have little effect on migration plans. This statistical control is unnecessary because of the size of the Kendall coefficient correlations in Table 13.

TABLE 13. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIAL PROVISIONS AND MIGRATION INTENTION

<u>SOCIAL PROVISION</u>	<u>KENDALL'S TAU</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANT LEVEL</u>
Community Near a Big Town	-0.195	.001
Better Schools	0.185	.001
Better Recreational Facilities	-0.020	-
A Place for a Good Dance	0.022	-
Better Game Facilities	0.048	-
More Young People in Community	-0.036	-
Good Shopping Facilities	0.051	-

The data above clearly demonstrate that with the exception of "nearness to a big town" and "better schools," all the other social provision variables have no significant relationship with migration intention. This seems to support our earlier finding on the relationship between education and migration intention, since a greater proportion of those who intend to migrate compared with those who intend to stay reported that they would like to live in a community with better schools. The data also show that social provisions play very little part in the migration decision of native youth.

The weak relationship between recreational facilities and migration intention deserves some attention. Recently, it has been asserted by both community leaders from small communities and government officials that one of the main reasons why the youth are leaving small towns in southern Manitoba "is the lack of things to do." Indeed, some of the communities have responded to this "problem" by building new facilities or setting up organizations to develop activities for the youth. The data above clearly show that for northern Manitoba youth, recreational facilities are insignificant when it comes to make a decision with regard to migration.

### *Summary and Implications:*

Overall, the theoretical orientation which guided us in this study has been supported. Our findings indicate that migration intention is affected by the frustration of certain aspirations in the community and the belief that these aspirations could be achieved in another community. The analysis above demonstrates a significant relationship between level of education, occupational aspiration, expectation of significant others, cosmopolitaness and migration intention. Although no significant relationship between occupational frustration, income frustration and migration intention was found, the relationships are in the expected direction.

One further observation that emerges in this paper is the uncertainty expressed by the youth. About 43 per cent of all the youth surveyed are uncertain as to whether they would like

to migrate or stay home. This uncertainty is expressed in all the factors analyzed in this paper. In fact, 57.4 per cent of all the respondents in this paper are uncertain as to whether they will obtain their desired occupation at home or not and 62.3 per cent of them are not sure as to whether they could earn at home the income they would like to have. This raises the question as to what are the explanations for the uncertainty. Since we have no data to explain this phenomenon, we can only suggest a number of plausible explanations.

First of all, this uncertainty may be a reflection of lack of knowledge about job opportunities or the income structure of the province. As Lee points out, "Knowledge of the area of destination is seldom exact, and indeed some of the advantages of an area can only be perceived by living there" (1966:50). It could even be argued that this shows that these youth do not think about work very much. On the other hand, we could seek an explanation in the psycho-cultural structure of the native. It has been suggested that because of the harsh and uncertain environment in which the native lives, he tends to be non-future oriented (Ward, 1975; Friedl, 1956). Through the process of socialization the youth surveyed in this study could have acquired the same personality structure. As Friedl (1956) points out, "regardless of whether a Chippewa hunted or fished, or worked in lumber camps; whether he was brought up by a mother or grandmother, with or without a father regularly in the home; whether he was trained by his relatives or went to a government school, he acquired the same expectations concerning the nature of human events. By carrying out the patterns of Chippewa culture, each Chippewa has always come to expect that every situation in which he finds himself is likely to be relatively unique, immediate and short-lived in its consequence." Indeed, the drastic changes that often take place in government policy and programmes could only strengthen such a personality structure.

Further, the high percentage of "don't know" or "not sure" could be a function of the methodology used in this study. Anthropologists have noted that native Indians are "non-verbal." They also point out that to obtain information from native Indians, you have to gain their confidence first (Hallowell, 1955; Hamer, et al., 1974). If we accept the above statement, it could mean that a questionnaire is not a valid instrument for data collection cross-culturally.

It has been noted that of those who have made definite migration plans, 69.7 per cent of them intend to leave their home community. This means that if this intention is carried through, more than half of these youth will leave their home community. If the exodus that has characterized the youth of southern rural Manitoba is to be avoided in the north, programmes should be designed to fulfil the aspirations and needs of the native youth. Findings in this paper indicate that native youth are experiencing educational, occupational, and income frustrations. Unless these needs are satisfied, the youth are likely to migrate.

It is recognized that some of the youth will have to migrate. It is, therefore, suggested that a programme be designed to educate the youth to develop social skills and personality characteristics that help them adapt to new situations and maintain social relationships with other people.

If these youth are to fulfil their aspirations in their new communities, they must be aware of the educational and vocational opportunities that exist at these centres. It is, therefore, suggested that vocational and educational information and counselling be made available to the youth on a continuous basis.

The data reported in this paper indicate a very strong statistical relationship between parental expectation and intention to migrate. This means that for the youth to make maximum use of the vocational and educational counselling that may be provided, parental encouragement may be needed. It follows that the parents themselves will have to be knowledgeable about the educational and occupational opportunities available.

Lastly, it is assumed in this paper that attitudes, aspirations or intentions are indicators of

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future overt behaviour. The work of researchers in occupational and educational achievement tends to support this assumption (Haller, 1968b). However, it is necessary to determine whether this is valid for native youth with respect to migration. It is hoped that a re-study of this group in the future will provide this information.

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